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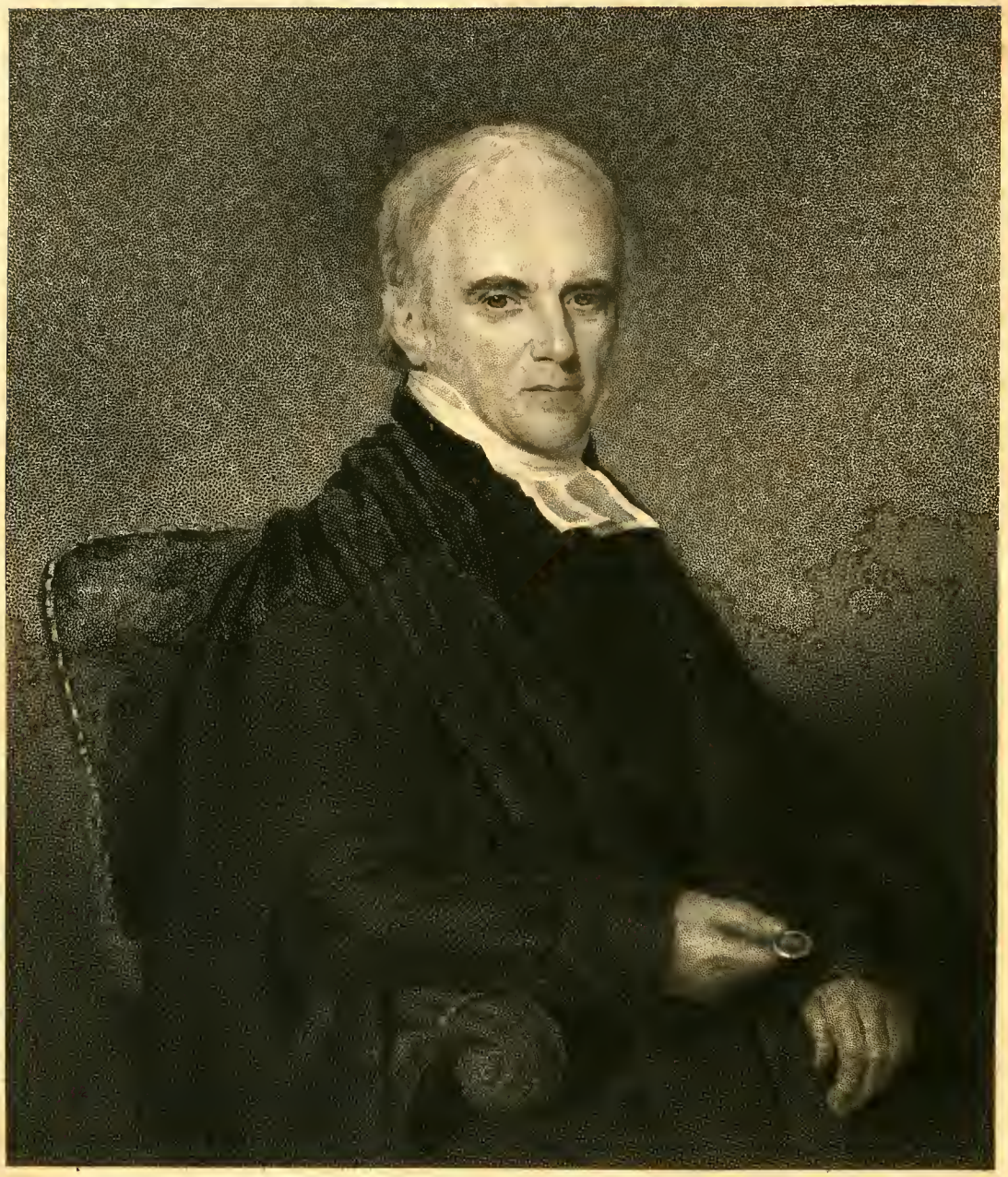

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THE REV.D SAMUEL SEYER, M.A.

AUTHOR OF THE MEMOURS OF BRISTOL.

Etatis 67.

Published by William Strong Corn Hill Bristol & Carter

MEMOIRS

HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL

OF

BRISTOL

AND ITS

NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY THE REVEREND

SAMUEL SEYER, M.A.

VOL. I.

BRISTOL

Printed & Published by

JOHN MATHEW GUTCH.

Our Ancestors proceed from race divine
From Brennus & Belinus is our line,
Who gave to Sovereign Rome such loud alarms.

DRYDEN The Cock & the Fox

MEMOIRS

HISTORICAL *and* TOPOGRAPHICAL

OF

BRISTOL

AND IT'S

NEIGHBOURHOOD,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

VOL. I.

BY

THE REV^D. SAMUEL SEYER, M. A.

Formerly of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

BRISTOL:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY JOHN MATHEW GUTCH,

AND SOLD BY

NORTON, FROST, BARRY, AND OTHER BOOKSELLERS IN BRISTOL; AND BY RODWELL AND MARTIN,

AND NICHOLS AND SON, LONDON.

1821.

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TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL

GEORGE HILHOUSE, Esq. MAYOR,

THE WORSHIPFUL SIR ROBERT GIFFORD, KT.

HIS MAJESTY'S ATTORNEY-GENERAL, RECORDER,

THE WORSHIPFUL THE ALDERMEN, THE SHERIFFS,

AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMON COUNCIL

OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL.

GENTLEMEN,

The Memoirs *of* Bristol, *which have already experienced your patronage, cannot be presented to any others, so appropriately as to you. They will be found* nationally *interesting as being the Annals of a Town and City, which has been for many Centuries the Metropolis of the West of England: to* us, *who are Burgesses and Citizens of it, they are for* local *reasons, an object of greater curiosity; and to* you, *Gentlemen, who are entrusted with it's government, the narrative will come with increased interest, inasmuch as it relates the transactions of your predecessors, men who had the same cares and habits of office as yourselves, the duties and dangers of the same magistracy,*

administration of the same property, and superintendence of the same institutions. By just and prudent regulations and practices they raised this city to a high degree of opulence and importance: nor were they meanwhile inattentive to the arts of elegance and ornament, as the many admirable pieces of architectural beauty, with which this city abounds, sufficiently testify; and to these subjects of Antiquarian research, you have shewn an honorable attention, on other occasions beside the present.

That Arts and Knowledge of every kind, particularly the study of our own local Antiquities, may flourish here more and more under your patronage, is my sincere wish in presenting to you these Memoirs *of our native city.*

I am, Worshipful Sirs,

Your obliged humble Servant

SAMUEL SEYER.

Bristol, September 25, 1821.

Preface.

THE MEMOIRS OF BRISTOL, which are now submitted to the reader's perusal, will prove, if compleated according to the author's intent, no inconsiderable addition to the Local History of our country. Beside it's commercial importance, the great civil and military power, which it sustained for 600 years *after* the Conquest, and for some time *before* that event, makes the history of such a place particularly national; and it's progress from an humble and oppressed situation to wealth, power and independence, may be considered as a sufficient specimen of what happened in all other great towns about the same period. With a view to this national connection, the writer of these Memoirs has extended his narrative to many events, which happened not exactly in Bristol, but in some of the neighbouring counties: by which means the local and the national stories elucidate each other, and the tædium of minute and private particulars is relieved by the relation of public transactions. In the British and Roman periods, and in the early part of the Saxon, there being no actual and undoubted Memoirs of our city, I have borrowed largely from the *general* history of those periods, as others have done before me. Yet even here, many things will be found not to be met with elsewhere, and some circumstances cleared up, which were before uncertain.

§ 2. My engagement in this laborious undertaking has been of many years. The late Mr. Barrett published his *History and Antiquities of Bristol* in 1789; with him I was in the constant habit of conversation, and sometimes saw what he wrote, before it was printed: and it is for the purpose of avoiding an interference with his title, that I call my

own book, *Memoirs* of Bristol. After the decease of my excellent friend, who did not long survive the publication of his history, many papers were offered to me, which were not in time for his purpose: these I preserved, without any definite intention of the present work. But when it was known, that a collection of this kind was begun, papers and information accumulated fast; and there being a considerable number of persons here, who attend to subjects of antiquity, few days passed without hearing or seeing something of this kind worthy of observation; a gothic window never before noticed, a fragment of the town-wall, the house where Cromwell was lodged, and the like. Copies of ancient papers were given in abundance, and many original Title-deeds, French and Latin, of which I received more than 250 at one time, all relating to Bristol, some of them dated as early as 1130. These presents were always accompanied with enquiries, what progress had been made in the work itself, and it was more than difficult to withstand such continual and complimental applications; especially for one, who has much of that local attachment, which when applied to our whole country is called *Patriotism*; and which is in fact the same spirit, and deserves the same name, when applied to what the learned Roman* calls our second country, the town of our birth and early abode: *Omnibus municipibus duas esse censeo patrias; unam naturæ* [*Bristowam*]; *alteram civitatis* [*Britanniam*].

§ 3. In every work of this kind, it's credibility must depend on it's authorities; but in these Memoirs it must be so particularly: because unfortunately many things have been introduced into the history of Bristol, which rest only on the information of Chatterton: which has in the public opinion thrown a shade of doubt over our general history, however unquestionable. Whether the Poems and other writings published under the name of Rowley were really written by such a person; or whether they are the whole and sole forgery of Chatterton; or whether there be room for an intermediate opinion, that he found ancient MSS, which he ignorantly and faithlessly fitted up in a new

* Cicero de legg' 2, prooem'.

dress; I will not here pretend to determine. If I have any thing to say on that subject, it shall form a Chapter by itself: but I can faithfully promise that no fact, however trifling, shall be introduced into these Memoirs, which rests on his foundation, without notice. My authorities will be found in the Notes, being nearly the only use I make of notes; esteeming them to be an artifice of modern times, devised for the purpose of saving to the writer the trouble of forming one regular narrative. Most of these authorities will be described where they first occur; but some I wish particularly to mention in this place.

§ 4. The early history of Bristow, particularly that of the abbey of St' Augustine, was so closely connected with the ancient lords of Berkeley castle, that I consider myself fortunate in having obtained from the liberality of Colonel Berkeley free access to the Archives of his family. This valuable favor the Author of these Memoirs acknowledges with thankfulness and pleasure; and by the freedom, with which it was conferred, he was principally determined to sit down to the regular compilation of the present work. These Archives are preserved in the ancient Chapel of our Lady in the eastern tower of the Keep of the Castle, now called *the Evidence house:* and for the purpose of examining them and making extracts, every facility was granted, which a reasonable man could wish; and I had moreover the valuable asistance of a much-lamented friend, W' H' Shrapnell Esq' of Berkeley. In this Chapel are deposited the following valuable Documents.

§ 5. The history of the family of the lords of Berkeley from the earliest times, by Mr. John Smythe. The Author was in a great measure bred up in that family; he studied at Magdalen College, Oxford, and afterwards practiced the Law. In 18 Jac' I. he was M' P' for Midhurst; and finally he spent the greater part of his life as Steward to his Patron; living at North-Nibley, where his kindred still remain. Taking advantage of his situation as Steward, he became Historiographer of the family; and in this employment he was eminently accurate and industrious, seldom failing to quote his authorities, as well from the

public Records of the kingdom, as from those in the Castle of Berkeley; and appearing to be perfectly impartial, even in questions, wherein the fame of his Patron's family was concerned. He was acquainted with the Latin classics, quoting them frequently with propriety; and apparently he was a religious man, altho' freely censuring the improprieties of churchmen, and other religious persons. The History of which I am now speaking was finished in 1628, and is comprehended in three Volumes, folio, fairly written on vellum; an inestimable treasure to the Noble family, in whose possession it remains: for it contains a most minute account of their works of piety and their atchievements in arms; their munificence; their public employments; the splendor and hospitality in which they lived; their property and law-suits; their domestic economy, sometimes even to a detail of their dinners; the number of their servants and men at arms; their dresses, amusements and the like: and some circumstances also it contains of a public nature, which have not yet found their way into our national Histories. From this book of Mr. Smythe, Dugdale (as Sir Robert Atkyns says) compiled his account of the Berkeley family; and from it I have been permitted to extract whatever relates to Bristol. There is likewise preserved in the same place another work of Mr. Smythe's, *the History of the Hundred of Berkeley*, which is (I believe) the same as that called by Sir Robert Atkyns a most elaborate account of Gloucestershire in seven or eight other folio books, which he* says were then in the possession of his great Grandson George Smythe of Nibley. Sir Robert himself is without doubt much obliged to these books; but unfortunately it is not his practice to quote his authorities in any part of his great Work, *the History of Gloucestershire.*

§ 6. Another valuable Document, preserved in the castle of Berkeley is the original Chartulary belonging to the Abbey of St Augustine. It is a small folio or large quarto written on vellum, about two inches thick, marked No 25, and called the Red Book: and is bound in the original wood. It appears to have been written by one

* Atkyns p' 303.

of their own body, for he often uses the words *nobis*, *nostra &c*; but certain verbal errors, which sometimes occur, betray an unlearned scribe. It is probable, that all the papers and records of this Abbey were on it's dissolution carried to Berkeley: and not without reason; for beside that it's existence and great part of it's property emanated from this family, the Abbey appears to have been at some times a depository of their muniments, as the following record may serve to prove. "A n're Seignur le Roi p'e Thom' de Berkeleie, qu' il puysse avoir bref a l' abbe de Seynt Austyn de Bristuyt, de avoir deliveraunce de ces munimetz & autres biens et chateux, q' furent arrestuz par Mons'r Richard Lovel et autres Ministres n're Seignur le Roi, et demeur'et en lour garde, desoutz lour seals. RESPONSIO. Soit mande p' Brief de la Chauncellerie a ceux, q' aresturent les choses contenues en ceste peticion, qu' ils c'tifient en la Chauncellerie de la causa de l' arrest de mesmes les choses, et sur cele c'tificacion lui soit fait* droit."

§ 7. Abbat Newland's Roll is another Record preserved in Berkeley castle, from which I have made extracts. He was Abbat in the time of Edw' IV. &c from 1481 to 1515. And there is another similar Roll, written in Latin, which also contains a list of the Abbats of St Augustine, and of the Magistrates of Bristol. Many other papers there are relative to Bristol in that valuable repository, some of which I examined, but very many my time would not allow me to transcribe, such as Rentals of Redcliffe street manor: Bedminster Court-rolls: lands belonging to St Aug' Mon' 22 Hen' VIII. &c. One bundle there is, ticketed in such words, as to rouze the very Sprite of Rowley from his slumber: *Rolls relating to two chests lodged in Redcliff church, Bristol.* The sensation of curiosity for a moment was extreme; until they appeared to belong to *the property of Roger Kemys, a minor.*

§ 8. The ancient history of our city is particularly indebted to the Itinerary of William Botoner, more usually called William of Worcester. A full account of him and his writings will be given in the Chapter of

* Copied from the Rolls of Parl[t] Vol' 2, p' 385, in the reign of Edw' III, but the exact year is not given.

Biography. He wrote an Itinerary about A' D' 1480, partly in very bad English, and partly in worse Latin. Bristol being his native place, he shewed his attachment to it by measuring the length and breadth of almost every street in the town. This book of his lay nearly unknown in the Library of Corp' Ch' Coll' Cambridge, untill the year 1778, when it was printed: a work of no small labor, for the hand-writing is miserable. In the following pages, his work will be quoted thus W' W'.

§ 9. It is well known, that there is in Bristol a number of MS Calendars or Chronicles, containing a list of the magistrates of each year, and an account of such events, as happened under each. These are not peculiar to Bristol; they are found in London, Coventry, and Oxford, and no doubt in most other ancient towns; and I observe by a *note of Tho' Hearne, that there are in the Coventry Calendars and in others, variations in the different copies, as in our own: and in his edition of Fordun he copied one of Coventry, which is considerably different from that published by Dugdale. Most of those in Bristol, but not all, were written within the last 200 years; but they are evidently derived from more ancient copies, transcribed by various hands, having generally a great similarity, but many particular differences. The Originals of them were probably the Registers, kept by the Religious in their Convents, particularly that kept by the Kalendaries of Christchurch; and they have been enlarged, contracted and altered according to the fancy of each copyist; and most of them, beside the affairs of our own city, contain also notices of our national history. Several of the older are written on narrow Rolls of Vellum; one of them is in the City-Library: another about three inches wide, very neatly written and mounted, is in the possession of Matthew Brickdale Esq': part of one was recovered after having been formed *(by the Muses*, I suppose) into a thread-paper; part of another was found in the case of a †sky-rocket, which fell into a garden near my house: by such means many have been destroyed, but probably 40 or 50 still remain, chiefly in families of long

* In Lib' Nig' Scacc'.

† The Theological reader will recollect the fate of the Complutensian MSS of the N' Test'.

continuance in Bristol, of which about 20 have passed under my inspection; and I have made considerable use of them in compiling the following Memoirs; yet from the account given above, the reader will perceive that it is not safe to trust them implicitly, except in common trivial affairs.

§ 10. Far the best, which I have met with, is one written by William Adams as far as A' D' 1639, in the possession of Charles Joseph Harford Esq'; and it contains much general English history. But the most remarkable is one written by Robert Ricart, Town-clerk, in the reign of Edward IV; carefully preserved in the Town-clerk's office, and annually exhibited on Michaelmas day, when the new Mayor is sworn into his office. It is a thick folio, in good preservation, well written partly on vellum, and partly on paper, ornamented with rude portraits of the Kings, and several other paintings of the same kind. He began to write it in 1478, as he says in the following preface. "In honorem Dei omnipotentis gloriamque, laudem suæ benedictæ Matris, pro tranquillitate pacis, ac prosperitate villam Bristoll' inhabitantium; necnon pro consuetudinibus, ordinacionibus, libertatibus & franchesiis dictæ villæ melius in posterum fore conservatis & manutentis; ad requisitum et mandatum venerabilis viri Will'i Spencer, Maioris dictæ villæ, et omnium discretorum virorum dicti Maioris consultorum; Ego *Robertus Ricart* ex tunc ibidem Communis Clericus electus a festo Sti Michaelis Archangeli, anno r' r' E' quarti post Conquestum decimo octavo, istum librum incepi, composui et conscripsi de diversis Chroniclis, consuetudinibus, legibus, libertatibus, ac aliis memorandis et necessariis diversis, ad perpetuam rei memoriam inviolabiliter observandam: *Assit principio Sancta Maria meo.*" To the same effect he says in English. "The mayor [Mr Spencer] 18 Edw' IV commanded me, Robert Ricart, the same year elected and admitted into the office of Town-clerk of the said worshipful town, for to devise, ordain, and make this present book for a remembratif ever hereafter, to be called and named *the Maire of Bristowe is Register;* or ellis *the Maire is Kalendar.*"

§ 11. The book consists of several parts. The Chronicle is national and not merely of Bristol. He begins, nearly after the manner of Geoffry of Monmouth, with the story of Brutus and his successors, and the building of Bristol by Brennus and Belinus. As a Chronicle however the work is very defective in information, by no means equal to several others of the same kind. There is scarcely a single notice, national or Bristowan, through the reigns of the three Edwards, abounding, as they are, with events: even when he comes nearer to his own time he has very little to relate. About the beginning of Henry VII's reign the hand-writing changes, and the chronicle is continued by different persons nearly to the present time. I shall always quote the book throughout by the letters R' R'. Beside the Calendar, it contains the form of choosing the Mayor &c, with the ceremonies and oaths used on that occasion, which is the most valuable part of the book; and a very curious painting representing the ceremony. There are also copies of one or two of the Charters. Lastly, he gives a copy of the *Constitutiones civitatis London'* in Norman French "wretin oute of a boke, that was Maister Henry Daarcy, sometyme Recorder of the saide citee, in kinge Edward the third's daies." From these local chronicles, such as they are, I have copied many minute particulars; which are however interesting to all, who have local attachments; and they often give a better insight into the manners and opinions of the times, than more important events.

§ 12. Such are our Bristow Calendars; and whoever observes the utility of what little is left, and feels the want of what our predecessors might have delivered down to us with little inconvenience to themselves: whoever knows, as I have known in several instances, how much local knowledge is lost for ever with every old man, who dies; will join with me in recommending to our fellow-citizens of the present day, particularly to the young, to keep regular Chronicles of such events as pass in the city and it's neighbourhood during their own memory. A Register of this kind would be an amusement at the time of it's compiling: a greater, when perused after some few years' interval;

a greater still, when two or more persons compare their Chronicles together. The Newspapers can by no means answer the purpose here mentioned, for this reason chiefly among many; because the local information required is overwhelmed in a mass of various matter: it is impossible to read the History of the city out of many Volumes of Newspapers, even if they could be procured. I would advise, that these Chronicles should also contain delineations of Buildings, particularly of the very old, and of the new; and ground plans of particular places, streets, churches, and other public buildings. For want of such Chronicles, it is grievous "to know how little can be known" of the Castle, the walls, the Fort, the Abbey &c, of places, whose renown once filled the whole kingdom. Let us hope that the present generation will be more communicative to their posterity; and that Bristow may again boast a Fraternity of Kalendaries.

§ 13. In setting down dates, these Calendars frequently vary, one from another, one, two, or three years. The cause of this variation is usually the different times of beginning the year: for some of the compilers of them began the year with the election of the mayor, others began with the day of the King's Accession, and others at other times; which necessarily throws the event into different years. This difficulty is not peculiar to our Bristol Calendars; it is equally the case with our best English historians, and from the same cause. Gervase in the prologue to his Chronica gives some account of this matter. "There is some difference (he says) among the writers of Chronicles: for altho' it be the sole and principal purpose of them all to narrate the years of our Lord, and the occurrences in them by a true computation, they reckon up these very years in different manners, and with different terms, and thus they introduce into the church of God much confusion of lies. For some begin to compute the years of our Lord from the Annunciation, some from the Nativity, some from the Circumcision, and others from the Passion. To which of them are we to give the most credit? The Solar year according to the tradition of the Romans, and the custom of the church of God, begins from the Kalends of January, and ends"

"in the days of our Lord's birth, that is, at the end of Dec'." An example lies immediately before me. Matth' Westm' begins the reign of Hen' III, as others do, in Oct' 1216: but he says that he spent his Christmas 1217 in Bristol. It was the Christmas of 1216 which he spent in Bristol, two months after his accession, as all agree: but Matth' Westm' calls it 1217, because he always begins the year at Christmas. In the following Memoirs I wish to consider the year, as beginning Jan' 1.

§ 14. It would be endless to reckon up all the maps, plans, and views relative to Bristol, which were ever published: of late years they have been very numerous. Of those which describe particular parts of the town, notice will be taken of each in it's proper place: the following relate to Bristol in general.

I. A Plan of the town in it's ancient state, given by Mr. Barrett in p' 51. It is intended to represent it before the building of the bridge in 1248; but the High Cross is inserted, which was not erected until about the year 1360. On account of this anachronism, and for other reasons, I suspect that this plan is not authentic.

II. The same Historian* gives another plan of the town; but concerning this also, he does not inform us, whence it was copied, nor of what age it is. As a conjecture, it might have been delineated about A' D' 1560. It is probably one of those mentioned below.

III. "A map† of the city of Bristowe, by George Hoefnagle, a sheet 1575." But Mr. Barrett says‡ that it was "printed about A' D' 1570 in a book called *Ciritates Orbis Terrarum*, Hoéfnagel sc'." Walpole says‖ that Hoefnagle was of Antwerp; judging from this plan of Bristowe, and from a plan of Nonsuch house, which he published, he supposes that he came over to England. It is probably the same map as that contained in Geo' Braun's *Theatrum Urbium Orbis Terrarum*, large folio: *Coloniæ Agrippinæ* 1599: It is a book of Maps and bird's eye Views of Cities, colored and ornamented; and on the back of each map is printed a description of the city in Latin. The books are seldom

* Barr' p' 57. † Ames Typogr' Ant' p' 1641. ‡ Barr' p' 112.
‖ Catal' of Engravers p' 13, 2d Edit'.

perfect, particular maps being torn out; I have before me the third Volume, the Emperors Privilegium for which is dated 1576: it contains some few English Towns, among them *Brightstowe*, size 1 *f* 5 *i*, by 1 *f* 2 *i*. *Hoefnagle sculpsit* is on several of the maps, but not on that of Bristol.

IV. "Another *Plan taken from the corner of a map of Glocestershire; one of Mr Speed's."

V. Robert Ricart's Plan,† by which he intended to represent the town, when first built. This must be dated about 1480.

VI. A view of Bristol, "very small‡ and neat, two inches long and one inch and a quarter wide, by Hollar." He died aged 70 in 1677.

VII. James Millerd in 1671 published *an exact delineation of the famous cittie of Bristoll:* size 9½ *i* by 8¾ *i*. He professes to have made it on a scale: in the corners it contains *the Armes of the See*, and *the armes of the cittie;* and the following lines.

"Urbs hæc sublimis, spatiosa, fidelis, amoena,
dulcis, et insignis, prisca, benigna, nitens,
jura, Deum, Regem, regionem, crimina, pacem,
servat, adorat, amat, protegit, odit, habet."

VIII. James Millerd about the same time published also *the Citty of Bristoll;* size 2 *f* 4 *i* by 1 *f*. It is a bird's eye view of the city and neighbouring hills, and contains several things worth notice. In the corners are the arms of queen Katharine, with the inscription *vivat Regina Ka':* the Arms of the Society of Merchants: the King's Arms: the Arms of the city. At first he dedicated it to the Mayor and Aldermen; but having, as I suppose, taken some offence he obliterated the greater part of the inscription by ingeniously drawing a curtain before it. The following verses are in the corner.

"Bristolia Angligenas inter numeranda priores
ritè (volunt Veteres) quòd tot supereminet urbes,
in gemmante plagâ, gemino super amne, feraci
structa solo, Solis mulcente favore salubris,
templa, domos, naves, duo reflua flumina, turres,
officiis miro fungentes ordine cives,
leges, & regimen, mores, commercia, merces
jactat; & innumeris præstans præstasse refertur,
atque per immensum celebratur gloria mundum."

* Barrett p' 112. † It is given below Chapt' III, 65. ‡ Barr' p' 112.

In another corner are the following lines.

" Terrarum partes comprendit quatuor Orbis" &c, &c.

of nearly the same merit as the preceding. The copper Plate of this map still exists.

IX. James Millerd published also *An exact delineation of the famous city of Bristoll and suburbs thereof* in four sheets ; size 2*f* 9*i* by 2*f* 6*i*. Different parts of this map seem to have been done at different times ; the earliest date is 1673, the latest 1710 : Queens square and St James's square are both in my copy. It contains in the margin 22 views of places &c in and near Bristol, beside good copies of the arms of the see and the city arms ; forming a valuable collection of local drawings, all which except the King's and Queen's arms, the map of the Channel, and the view of Bath will be found in the following work. This map also contains Latin verses.

De Aedibus sacris urbe spectabilibus.

" Sunt Aedes, quarum surgentia culmina coelos
formosam reddunt &c &c."

It is an enumeration of all the churches, and an assertion, that St Mary-Redcliffe is superior to them all. In another corner is another copy of similar verses.

Bristolia.

" Cingitur urbs muris muros cingentibus, altis
fossis, et fossas unda proterva replet.
Has interum &c."

Copies of this *Delineation* are extremely scarce.

X & XI. Among the many Views of Towns published by S' and Nath' Buck are two of Bristol, 1734, 2*f* 6*i* long by 9½*i* wide : one a Prospect to the North-west, taken from Pile-hill : the other taken from Brandon Hill, looking to the East. They are well-drawn and curious.

XII. The next is a map of John Rocque, published 1742 in four sheets, size 4*f* by 3½*f*. It is drawn from actual survey, and is an exact and well-finished performance. It has in the corners two Elevations of the Exchange.

XIII. John Rocque in 1759 published a smaller *Plan of the city and suburbs of Bristol*, probably reduced from the former ; size 2*f* 4*i*

by 1 *f* 8 *i*. It is a convenient and useful map. There are in the margin ten Views, some of Buildings in the city, and some of the adjacent country.

XIV. Mr Benjamin Donne, a teacher of Mathematics, and Author of many useful works, in 1769 published *a map of the country eleven miles round Bristol, drawn from actual survey.* In one corner it has a view of S't Vincent's Rocks; and in another, of the Druidical stones at Stanton Drew. Size 3 feet square. It is now very scarce.

XV. The same Mr. Benj' Donne in 1773 published a small and neat plan of the city.

XVI. Mr B' Donne, nephew of the former, published a small map of Bristol, comprehending Clifton, &c.

XVII. The same person in 1801 published a map of the country 21 miles round Bristol: size 14 inches square. Since which time, many other Plans have been published, some separate, others in the books, called *Bristol Guides.*

These are all the authorities, which seem necessary to be mentioned in this place.

§ 15. The reader will observe, that in quoting any passage, if it be copied word for word, a double inverted comma is placed at the beginning and ending of the quotation and page; if only the general sense of the passage be given, a single comma is generally used. It may be observed perhaps as a peculiarity in some part of these Memoirs, that much of it consists of quotations. I have not done this without due consideration, and this is my defence. Whoever writes a record of ancient times, must from the nature of the case be a Compiler; and he must either form a narrative of his own out of the best authorities, which he can procure; or he may transcribe his authorities, from which the reader may collect the information which he wishes to receive, particularly when assisted by the writer's comment. The former is the usual method of historians; and is that certainly which gives the best opportunity for elegance of composition; and it is the most favorable to the writer's fame; but it may be questioned whether the truth and certainty of History do not suffer by it. Facts of short narration are

frequently omitted: dates are too seldom inserted; authorities not strictly quoted; and differences in dates and authorities very seldom reconciled: because all these minutiæ are not susceptible of elegance of language. An epithet of praise or dispraise may be inserted for the harmony of the period; or a particle of intensity or diminution imperceptibly added; modern historians all do so, and such trifles escape notice; but the color of a fact is sometimes materially altered by this mode of writing. By a more frequent adoption of the method of quotation, more certainty would be attained. Beside which, the words of the original writer carry you back into the manners, and language, and sentiments, and party-spirit of the age in which he wrote, more than it is possible for any modern composition to effect. By these means local History assumes a national character, and the pursuits of the Antiquary are blended with those of the Historian, from which they should never have been separated. For these reasons I have, as much as possible, adopted this method; not by inserting the quotations into the notes, but by making them a constituent part of the text.

§ 16. The more frequent study and quotation of these cotemporary writers is much to be desired, of whom England can boast a more respectable *number, than any other nation; and to those, who wish to be acquainted with the history and antiquities of their own country, they are indispensible. To them, next to the original Records, we must resort for every information, whether minute or important, relative to our ancestors; their forms of government, their civil and military arts, their estates, tenures, dignities, family-alliances, religion, religious establishments and the like. Whoever wishes to gain a perfect knowledge of these subjects, should lay aside the ordinary compilations of the *History of England*, and collect his information from the cotemporary or earliest writers. By studying them, our youth will draw their notions of the English Constitution from as high a source, as possible, in the stream of time, and not from the turbid channels, which party writers of later times have deduced for themselves. Their attention will be drawn away from less liberal pursuits: and our

* They are enumerated, and an account of each is given in *Nicholson's Historical Library.*

gentry will learn to be Historians and Lawyers, and Statesmen: and what is of still greater consequence, they will be competent judges of the conduct of Statesmen; learning, whereby they will adorn their own dignity, and promote the honor and prosperity of our country, more than by attaching themselves to the prevalent studies of modern Curiosi. It is to be lamented that these ancient English Historians, valuable as they are, should be so little in common use. To reprint them would be a work of national utility, and worthy of national munificence: and if such an undertaking be in contemplation, as it is said to be, it's general utility will be much promoted by having them published in a more commodious form: their large folio weight and high price prevent them at present from receiving their due attention.

§ 17. Few subjects require the explanation of engraven Plates more than Local Histories; many of this explanatory kind will therefore be found in the following work, particularly in the early part of it, some cut in wood, some on copper, and some few executed in the new lithographic method. Beside which, ornamental Plates, as well as explanatory, are expected, and no where more than here: for no place contains more and better specimens of ancient Architectural elegance and of picturesque beauty than Bristol and it's neighbourhood; and it was the general wish of all, who encouraged the progress of this publication, that Designs of the most ornamental kind should be made and engraven in the best manner. This last requisite is become indispensable; for the excellence of Artists and the delicacy of the public taste have so sharpened each other, that the purchasers of books are now not easily satisfied, and this city and neighbourhood partake of the general improvement. I am therefore fortunate in having obtained the assistance of Mr. Blore in particular for this department of the work, the merit of whose pencil and graver is already well known to the public, by the part, which he has taken in various works of this kind. It is to be hoped that these admirable specimens of his art will tend to revive the spirit of Gothic Architecture among those, who have the care of building and repairing our religious edifices; for it must be confessed

that, of late years (with one beautiful exception at the Mayor's Chapel) the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Bristol has been lamentably deficient.

§ 18. It remains only to return thanks to those persons, who have in any way contributed to promote the success of the following *Memoirs:* to many gentlemen, who have communicated Papers, and pointed out books and other sources of information: to several of the Vestries for the inspection of their books and papers, curious and ancient, and for the liberal offer of a full use of them, if the Topographical Volumes of this work shall be required: and to the Subscribers, who have set down their names, for the purpose of bringing out an expensive publication, which without such a subscription would have been too hazardous for me to undertake. In the last place, but most particularly, I beg leave to express my acknowledgements to the MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMON-COUNCIL of the City of Bristol, for the patronage which they have extended to these Memoirs in two different ways. First, by allowing me to inspect and make extracts from their ancient and valuable Records; and I cannot but add, that I have found the Officers of the Corporation desirous of seconding the inclinations of the Common-Council, and of giving every information concerning the ancient state of the city, which could be desired. The other obligation, which I wish to acknowledge, as due to the MAYOR, ALDERMEN and COMMON-COUNCIL, is this: when the progress, which had been made in the compilation of these Memoirs, was first brought to their notice, and the great expence which would attend their publication; without any formal request or representation, they took up the subject as a matter of public interest, and by vote contributed 200 guineas to the embellishment of the volumes: judging that the character and honor of the city were concerned in having it's History brought forward not only well and faithfully, but elegantly and ornamentally, suitably to it's station among the Corporations of England. The universal voice of liberal men will praise the spirit and the motives, which dictated their conduct on this occasion: whether my part of the publication has been executed equally to the credit of our native city, I submit at last, not without some anxiety, to the judgement of the reader.

CHAPTER I.

1, 2. *First Population of Britain.*—3. *Brennus quits Britain and invades Italy. Invasion of the Belgæ, and of Divitiacus.*—4. *Account of Richard of Cirencester.*—5. *Wars of Cassivellaun.*—6. *Cæsar's Invasion, and State of Britain at that time.*—7. *The ten Southern Tribes.*—8. *The Cantii, London.*—9, 10, 11, 12. *The Rhemi, Regni, and Bibroci.*—13, 14. *The Attrebates and Berkshire.*—15. *The Segontiaci.*—16. *Vindomi, Silchester.*—17, 18, 19, 20. *Vindomi, Calleva, Reading.*—21. *The Itineraries.*—22. *The Belgæ.*—23. *The Durotriges.*—24, 25, 26. *The Hædui.*—27. *Dumnonii, Cimbri, and Carnabri.*—28. *Silures, and Dimetæ.*—29. *Ordovices.*—30. *Cangi.*—31. *The Dobuni.*—32. *The Cassii.*—33.—*The Trinobantes.* —34. *The Iceni.*—35. *The Coritani.*—36. *The Cornavii.*—37, 38. *The Brigantes, and the Parisii.*—39. *The Sistuntii, and the Volantii.*—40. *The Ancalites, Jugantes, and Gewises.*—41. *Celtic and Teutonic Nations invade each other.*—42. *Difference between Gauls and Kelts.*—43. *Belgæ invade Gaul, and afterward Britain.*—44, 45. *Celtic or Belgic origin of all the British Tribes.*—46. *Early division of South-Britain into Welsh and English.*—47. *Welsh Chronicles; Geoffry of Monmouth's History of Brutus.*—48. *Credibility of that History.*—49. *Caer-Odor built by Molmutius.*—50, 51. *Or by Brennus or Belinus.*—52. *Credit of the Chronicles.*—53. *Caer Odor at Clifton.* —54. *Etymology of Caer Odor.*—55. *Ancient and Modern Clifton.*— 56. *The three Fortresses on the Avon.*—57, 58. *Description of Clifton Camp.*—59, 60, 61. *of Bower-wall Camp.*—62, 63. *of Stokeleigh Camp.* —63*. *Bristol derived from Caer Odor.*—64, 65. *Use of the British*

Camps.—66, 67. *Blaize-hill Camp.*—68, 69. *British Roads.*—70. *Camp on Kingsweston-hill.*—71. *Knowle in Almondsbury.*—72. *Camp at Wick.*—73. *Berry-hill Camp.*—74. *Old Abbey, near Alveston.*—75, 76, 77. *Oldbury Station.*—77*. *Burrill Camp.*—78. *Ryam Field.*—79. *Micklewood.*—80. *Camp at Ashton Court.*—81. *Cadbury Camp.*—82. *Three small Intrenchments on Leigh Down.*—83. *Another at Portbury: another near Keynsham.*—84, 85. *Worlehill Camp.*—86. *Banwell-hill Camp.*—87. *Singular Earth-work.*—88. *Dolberry Camp.*—89. *Cadbury Camp.*—89*. *Maes Knoll.*—90. *North-stoke Camp.*—91. *Religion of the Britons.*—92, 93. *Druidism.*—94. *Druidical Structures.*—95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. *Stanton Drew.*—101. *When and by whom erected.*—102, 103, 104. *Use of such buildings.*—105. *No Druids in Germany.*—106. *Druidical Structure at Wick—Stone near the Armoury.*—107. *Another at Stoke Bishop.*—108. *Great numbers of them.*—109. *Druidical Structures in Britany.*—110. *Sepulture: Burrington: Butcombe.*—111. *Government of the Britons.*—112. *Their Military Skill.*—113. *Houses, Money, Persons: they stained their bodies.*—114. *Superiority of the Maritime States.*

§ 1. THE sacred historian, who has recorded the origin of the earth and of the human species, informs us that after a deluge, which swept away the original inhabitants, a new generation of men arose, descended from one family, which alone survived the general inundation: who coming down from the mountains of Armenia into the vallies and plains, which lie on or near the river Euphrates, there began that population, which in process of time spread over the whole earth. The same general conclusion has been adopted by historians and antiquaries: who from a consideration of the traditions, customs, languages &c of different tribes, have been enabled to trace them to a common origin in the country abovementioned; from whence, as from a centre, colonies diverged into every corner of the globe. In this manner the coast of

Europe, opposite to Britain received it's first inhabitants: and if we consider the difficulties, which in that early age must have attended the emigration of those tribes, which separated from the main hordes, it does not seem unreasonable to conjecture, that certain wandering barbarians with their flocks and herds might have arrived on the coasts of the British seas about 1200 years after the Deluge, and not earlier: then allowing 400 or 500 years for a sufficient accumulation of inhabitants, it may be that tribes of them passed over into England from Britany, Normandy and Flanders about 1600 or 1700 years after the Deluge; which date, if we adopt the reformed chronology of Dr. Hales, which places the Creation at 5411 years before Christ and the Deluge 2256 years after the Creation, will be about 1400 or 1500 before Christ.

§ 2. Beside the above, there is another mode of conjecture (for it cannot be called calculation) which may be adopted in this case. If we consider the state of barbarism, in which these colonies must have been at their first settlement, it may reasonably be supposed, that not less than 1200 or 1500 years after the first arrival would be necessary to fill up the population of Britain to the state, in which Julius Cæsar found it in the year 55 B' C', and to bring the inhabitants to that comparative degree of improvement and civility in which they then appeared. We have also another date of this event in Richard of Cirencester. He writes* that some think that Britain was first inhabited about A' M' 3000, which according to his computation is 1344 years after the Deluge, and about 1000 before Christ: but he gives no argument or authority for this date. From all this it may be supposed that the first colonists crossed over to the nearest shores of this island some time between 1500 and 1000 years B' C', which seems to be as near to the truth as we are likely to arrive on a subject so ancient, and void of positive authority: and we may reasonably conclude that about 100 years after the first arrivals, some wandering companies might traverse the woods and marshes of Gloucestershire and Somersetshire: and that the banks of our Avon after a solitude of 1500 or 2000 years were at last enlivened by the clamors of the chace, and the occupations of pastoral life.

* De situ Brit' 2, 1.

§ 3. After this, during a long period of more than 1000 years until the invasion of Julius Cæsar, scarcely a ray of light penetrates the darkness of British history. The Phœnicians and Carthaginians traded to Cornwall for Tin during this period ; but when the trade began is not ascertained. Rich' Cirencester writes,* that 'all Britain south of the Thames was first possessed by the Senones, as ancient memorials declare ; who under the command of the famous Brennus, quitted Britain, traversed Gaul and the Alps, and sacked Rome ; and then that the Belgæ invaded the deserted country ; which however was not wholly depopulated, because they found it full of plunder.' The story of Brennus and Belinus is to be found in all the Welsh and Latin Chronicles, from whence Richard must have copied it, and it's credit may be questioned ; but the invasion of the Belgæ, is a fact perfectly ascertained by the testimony of† Cæsar : coming from the opposite coast they settled in the maritime parts of Britain, expelling the original inhabitants, or incorporating with them. This invasion Richard of Cirenc' dates ‡ 297 years before Cæsar's invasion, and consequently about 350 years before Christ : and if the story just related concerning Brennus be true, it must have been about that time ; for Rome was sacked by the Gauls 390 years before Christ, soon after which the Belgæ might have begun to invade the deserted country, and the invasion might well have continued 40 or 50 years, probably much more. Next follows the invasion of Divitiacus, king of the Suessones [*Soissons*], who within Cæsar's own memory passed over into Britain with an army, subdued a great part of it, and reigned over it. Cæsar's‖ authority for this fact is unquestionable : Richard therefore must be wholly mistaken, when he § says that Divitiacus, whom he calls erroneously king of the Ædui, came into Britain with an army soon after the Senones left it, i' e' more than 300 years before Cæsar's time.

§ 4. Richard of Cirencester has been already quoted more than once, and his authority will be often referred to : some account of him

* 1, 6, 13. and 2, 1, 9.
† B' G' 5, 12. See the passage below § 43.
‡ 2, 1, 9, compared with 2, 1, 12.
‖ B' Gall' 2, 4.
§ Ric' Ciren' 2, 1.

therefore seems to be required. He was a monk of Westminster, and lived A' D' 1330—1400. He wrote several treatises, one *de situ Britanniæ*, which lay hid in MS until the middle of the last century, and being then accidentally discovered at Copenhagen was printed in 1757. This and other particulars relative to it may be seen in Dr Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum* Vol' 2, or in Whitaker's Hist' of Manchester 1, 3: or in the late Edition of the work, entitled *The description of Britain: translated from Richard of Cirencester, with the original treatise* DE SITU BRITANNIÆ 8*vo London* 1809. The discovery of this treatise may be considered as an era in the study of British and Roman-British Antiquities; it threw a great and unexpected light on that period, and contributed much to the revival of Antiquarian pursuits. Yet his credit and even his fidelity have been attacked: I venture to add, with little success. It is true, his book must be redd, as other books on the same subject must, with discrimination and criticism: and Mr Whitaker in his History of Manchester, may perhaps have given himself up too implicitly to his new guide. Nevertheless, the treatise is of prime utility: for he must have seen many books, which are now lost: because the variety of information contained in it, together with the ignorance of the age in which he lived, utterly incompetent to the fabrication of such materials, sufficiently vindicate him from the charge of fraud. More will be said of him, when we come to the Roman Itineraries. He is frequently quoted by his Latin name, Ric' Corin' i' e' *Ricardus Corinensis*.

§ 5. Cassibellinus, (or as Cæsar writes the name, Cassivellaunus) king of the Cassi, is the next person mentioned in British history. Before Cæsar's invasion he had carried on continual wars with the other states, and had made some of his neighbours tributaries:* in particular he had subdued the Trinobantes, and had put to death their king Imanuentius, whose son Mandubratius escaped to the continent, and put himself under the protection of Cæsar:† the conqueror was chosen as the ablest general to oppose the Romans.

* Ric' Cor' 1, 6, 28. † B' G' 5, 11.

§ 6. This brings us to the invasion of Julius Cæsar: for the Romans having succeeded in uniting together many warlike nations under one goverment, and having thereby formed numerous and permanent armies, at length invaded Britain; and after a contest which the inhabitants unsuccessfully maintained for some years, subdued nearly the whole island, and held it for about 400 years as a province of their empire. From this point the historical records of Britain assume a more regular form. Cæsar not only fought in Gaul and Britain, but also during a war of eight campaigns carried on with extraordinary activity and bloodshed, he found time, beside other literary employments, to write a narrative of all his military exploits, diversified with an account of the arts, arms, manners, religion &c of the nations with whom he was engaged: and after him several Greek and Roman authors wrote concerning Britain and it's inhabitants, such as they were during the dominion of the Romans and before. From these authorities we find that the Britons, at least the Southern and the Eastern, long before the arrival of the Romans, had laid aside the wandering life, which forms the first state of society: for the island was well peopled, and divided into districts having regular limits, and inhabited by different tribes, who were subject to separate governments, for the most part each to his separate king or chieftain. The map, which accompanies this §, will give, it is presumed, a more correct view of the situation of the southern British tribes, than has been yet published; in which the dots represent the boundaries of our modern counties, and the bars or lines are intended as the limits of the tribes. Neither ought this to be considered as a matter of mere antiquarian curiosity; for the boundaries of the Saxon kingdoms and counties were derived from those of the Britons; and our local customs and the dialects and pronunciation of our language are in some measure influenced to this day by the original boundaries of their tribes.

§ 7. The southern district of Britain, which is contained by the Thames and the Severn, and which afterwards formed that province of the Romans called *Britannia Prima*, was occupied by ten tribes, under

three powerful governments. Richard* says "this province comprehends three very celebrated and very powerful states, the Cantii, the Belgæ, and the Damnonii; and afterwards he enumerates the ten. It is plain therefore that these three had absorbed or ruled the rest.

§ 8. The *Cantii* were the inhabitants of Kent: and London being reckoned by Ptolemy one of their cities, they must in his time have occupied the north-eastern part of Surrey, as far perhaps as Kingston, or the Way or thereabout; and probably a part of Middlesex and Essex. Richard Cirenc'† says, that "as some think, the Bibroci also were subject to them." The isle of Thanet was at that time separated from the main land by a strait of the sea, into which ran the river *Sturius* [*the Stour*]; the entrance of which strait on one side formed the harbour of *Rutupiæ* 1 [*Richborough*] and on the other the harbour of *Regulbium* 2 [*Reculver*]. They had also *Dubris* 3 [*Dover*]: *Durobrivæ* 4 [*Rochester*] on the river *Madus* [*the Medway*]; *Cantiopolis* or *Durovernum* 5 [*Canterbury*], the British metropolis of the tribe. Ptolemy sets *Londinium* 6 [*London*] also as one of their towns, and rightly no doubt: for altho' it was a town of the Trinobantes, and sometimes called *Augusta Trinobantum*, yet it seems from the first to have been on both sides of the river, and the Cantii being the more powerful tribe had probably conquered that part which lay on the opposite shore.‡

§ 9. The *Attrebates* are universally considered to be the inhabitants of Berkshire: but there is a great difficulty in settling the position of the adjoining tribes, the *Regni*, *Rhemi*, *Bibroci*. I consider them as two tribes united, occupying Sussex and the greater part of Surry. Ptolemy is the only original authority for the Regni; his words are these. "After the Dobuni are the Atrebatii and their city *Calcva*" [read *Caleva*, that is *Reading*]: "after whom are the Cantii, the most eastern people, among whom are the cities London, Dorvernum, and Rutupiæ:" again, "under [that is, to the south of] the Atrebatii and the Cantii lie"

* De situ B' 1, 6, 4. † De situ Br' 1, 6, 9.

‡ See on this subject Gale's Anton' pp' 64, 65, 74.

"the Regni, and their town Neomagus." From which words I understand, not that the Regni lay *immediately* on the south of the Atrebatii and the Cantii, but merely that they lay more to the south, which is the meaning of those words in other passages of that writer. According to which interpretation the Regni are usually placed in Surry and Sussex.

§ 10. It may be observed in the preceding quotation out of Ptolemy, that he makes no mention of the Bebroci: but nevertheless there certainly was a tribe of that name hereabout, for Cæsar mentions them. Richard Cirenc' places them in his map where others place the Regni, that is in Surry and Sussex; and in his map he extends them northward to the Thames, and makes *Bebroicum*, otherwise called *Bibrox* and *Bibrax*, one of their towns. He is certainly right in this: for as Bibrax in Gaul is the present *Bray* or *Braisne*, so our Bibrax near the Thames is *Bray* or *Braywick*, or possibly *Bracknell*, as appears from Richard's Iter XII from Bath to London. The Bebroci therefore, according to Richard's account, inhabited not only Surry and Sussex, but also that small part of Berkshire, which is contained within the bend of the Thames, between Staines and Reading, and as far as the river Loddon or thereabout. Richard moreover extends the Bebroci to the sea, making the river Lemanus [the Rother] on one side the boundary between them and the Cantii, and on the other side he makes Regentium, a town of the Regni, as may be supposed, to belong to the Bebroci; not even mentioning the Regni. It appears therefore that Ptolemy's Regni and Richard's Bebroci are either two names for the same people, or they are two tribes living in the same country.

§ 11. Nothing has yet been said concerning the Rhemi. Richard is the only writer who mentions them, and he says that "the Bibroci are called by other writers Rhemi." Beside Richard's authority, the thing itself is probable: for the Bibroci, whose town was Bibrax, seem to have come to Britain from * Bibrax in Belgic Gaul, a town about

* See *Observations on the Roman Stations &c in Berkshire*, published in the Archæologia Vol' XV, A'D' 1804, *by the Rev' Dr' H' Beeke*, Dean of Bristol, whose asistance in the early period of these Memoirs I acknowledge with pleasure.

25 or 30 miles N' W' from Rhemi [*Rheims*]. Being neighbours therefore in Gaul, they joined in an invasion of Britain, and when settled were called *Bebroci* or *Rhemi* indifferently. Still it is strange that Richard should record the appellation *Rhemi* and omit the mention of *Regni:* and I am therefore inclined to suspect that there was really no such people or name as *Regni;* and that Ptolemy's ΡΗΓΝΟΙ ought to be written ΡΗΜΟΙ. It is true, this conjecture may be reversed, and Richard's *Rhemi* may be corrected from Ptolemy, and read *Rhegni:* but the neighbourhood of Bibrax to the Rhemi in Gaul makes the former conjecture more probable: and the book whatever it was, from whence Ptolemy took his account of Britain must have been so very incorrect, (as in *Iamissa* and *Imensa* for the Thames; and other like examples in abundance), that the error more probably rests with him. There was certainly a town called *Regnum* or *Regentium*, which is the modern *Chichester:* but this will not prove the existence of a tribe called the *Regni;* it was a town of the Bibroci, as Richard says. It may be asked in return, how Ptolemy came to overlook the Bebroci. The answer is plain: he did not overlook them; he mentions them by the name of Regni, or Rhemi; but his account being *short*, he does not here or elsewhere give two names of one tribe; whereas Richard endeavors to give an *exact* account of the several tribes; and therefore his omission of the Regni, if there were such a people, is unaccountable.

§ 12. We have not yet quite finished with the Bibroci. The Editor of Rich' Cirenc' * thinks that they occupied also a small portion of Kent; his reason for which appears to be, because the Itineraries mention a place called *Noviomagus*, which must be several miles within the borders of modern Kent, and on the road to Rochester, and is therefore supposed to be at Holwood-hill: now Ptolemy writes that Neomagus was the chief town of the Regni; and copying from him probably, Richard writes that Noviomagus was the metropolis of the Bibroci. But the territory of the Cantii extended in this part many miles beyond the modern Kent; it is therefore incredible that the

* p' 35.

Bibroci, an inferior tribe should thus encroach on them, and plant their capital in the country of the Cantii, and near London. The latitude which Ptolemy assigns to Neomagus, the capital of the Regni, is 15 minutes below that of Bath; according to which calculation, it must have been somewhere near the boundary line between Surry and Sussex: and therefore the Noviomagus of the Cantii, mentioned in the Itineraries, was as Mr Reynolds * supposes, a different place from the Neomagus of the Bibroci, mentioned by Richard and Ptolemy: each tribe might have had a *New-town*. The towns of the Bibroci mentioned in the map are, *Bibrax* 1 [*Bray-wick* on the Thames]; *Portus magnus* 2 [*Portchester*]; *Anderida* 3 [*Pevensey*].

§ 13. The *Attrebates* inhabited the main part of Berkshire, and the North of Wiltshire. Their territory was bounded on the North by the Thames, as we are informed by Richard; on the South by the Segontiaci; the present boundary between Berkshire and Hampshire, as far as it goes, being probably the ancient division between the two tribes: on the East they were bounded by the Bibroci, and the Loddon or a line near it must have been the boundary: on the West they touched the Hædui.

§ 14. The Metropolis of the Attrebates was *Callera*, probably *Reading*. It was mentioned above, that the small detached portion of Berkshire on the east belonged to the Bibroci: and it has been said † on very good authority, that they yet communicated their name to the whole county: *Berroches-scire*, *Berroche-scire*, *Berche-scire*, and *Berchsire*, which are the orthography of Domesday-book, being apparently derived from *Bebroces*. If this be the case, the Bibroces originally possessed all Berkshire, and might have been subdued by the Belgian invaders, the Attrebates, or expelled from the main part of it, but maintained themselves in the Eastern portion. There is however another derivation of the word *Berkshire*, resting also on good authority, which if admitted sets aside the former conjecture. It is in Asser's life of Alfred.

* Iter' Britann'. † See the Dean of Bristol's *Observations*, quoted above § 11.

"A' D' 849 Ealfrid, king of the Angulsaxons was born in the royal town, which is called *Wanating* [Wantage], in that district [*pago*] which is called *Berroc-shire* from *Berroc*, a wood, where the box-tree [*buxus*] grows very abundantly." The same thing is said by Florence Worcest' in 849, and by others, but they probably copied from Asser. By the word *buxus* he may perhaps mean the *Birch-tree*, pronounced *Birk*, as in *Berkeley*. Leland gives another derivation: after quoting Asser, as above, he * adds, "there are some, I know, who assert that the name of this province was given to it from a *bare oak* [*Bar-oc-shire*], at which the people of the province used to meet." As a question of mere Etymology, it is of little consequence, which of these derivations be adopted. But the boundary and history of two British tribes are involved in it; and it is therefore to be wished, that some further information could be obtained concerning *Berkshire* and the *Bibroci*.

§ 15. Below the Attrebates were the *Segontiaci;* the boundary on the map is that of Hampshire and Berkshire; but they might perhaps have extended to the Kennet. Richard's words are, "Below the Attrebates, rather near to the river Kennet [*propiùs flumen Cunetium*] dwelt the Segontiaci." This is a vague description; but perhaps he means simply *near* the river: if *propiùs* be understood literally *nearer*, then the Segontiaci must have dwelt on both sides of the river, occupying the whole vale of the Kennet; which cannot be, because Reading belonged to the Attrebates. Their country did not touch the Thames; for in † mentioning the nations, by which that river passed, Richard omits them. Their western border touched the Hædui, as mentioned above; but the line of separation, as expressed in the map, is conjectural; it must have been somewhere in Wiltshire. Their southern boundary also, which divided them from the Belgæ, was probably some miles to the south of the modern bounds of the counties. Their capital was *Vindonum* [*Silchester*] on the northern extremity of Hampshire. Ptolemy makes no mention of this people; considering them probably a part either of the Attrebates or the Belgæ. Altho' the

* Comm' Cygn' Cant' voc' *Atrebates.* † Rich' 1, 6, 28.

situation of these two tribes and their capital towns have been made a subject of frequent discussion, there is yet room for some few remarks.

§ 16. That *Vindomi* or *Vindomis*, or *Vindonum* is *Silchester* in Hampshire is the usual opinion of Antiquaries, and is sufficiently confirmed by Dr Beeke, in his *Observations* quoted above: I shall make some few additions to them. The testimony of Henry of Huntingdon is decisive: his words are these: "*Kair Segent*, quæ fuit super Tamesin, non longe a *Reding*, et vocatur *Silcestre*." Another* writes to the same purpose; "*Caer Segent*, id est, *Cilcestria*, quæ super Tamisium non longè a Radingo ponitur." So also † another: "*Cilcester* non procul à Basnigo [*Basingstoke*], quæ olim *Caer* et *Segontium* a Romanis dicebatur." No one can reasonably doubt that Kair-Segent means the city of the Segontiaci, and it is extremely improbable that writers of credit in that early age should be mistaken, when they say that Silchester was the place. Perhaps the real and original name of the tribe was the Selgontiaci; from which were derived the names Silchester and Silbury. In the Welsh chronicle of Tysilio a town called *Caer-Vyddau* or *Vuddau* or *Vydau* frequently occurs, and is always translated *Silchester* by Geoffry of Monmouth, and is so understood by all Welsh Antiquaries. *Vyddau* is evidently the origin of the Latin name *Vindomi*.

§ 17. In questions of this kind writers always appeal to the ‡ Iters of Antonine and Richard. I have therefore extracted from them all the passages wherein Vindomi and Calleva occur; they are as follow. *The first Extract* is from Richard's 18th Iter. "From Dorocina [*Dorchester* in Oxfordshire] to Tamesis [the bank of the *Thames* at Moulsford] is 6 miles.—to Vindomi 15.—to Clausentum [*Bittern* near Southampton] 46." This Iter decisively places Vindomi at Silchester. The two first numbers 6 and 15 are right. But from Silchester to Winchester is 23 or 24; and from Winchester to Clausentum is 12: that is, from Vindomi to Clausentum is XXXVI instead of XXXXVI, which is a very easy correction. The late Editor of Richard places Vindomi at *St Mary Bourne*

* Higden de antiquis urbibus lib' 1. † Hum' Lluyd frag' p' 14. ‡ See Chapt' II, § 19.

in Hampshire: yet notwithstanding the decisive tone in which he pronounces *Silchester* to be *Calleva*, he finds it impossible to accommodate this iter to his opinion, and therefore proposes to alter the word *Vindomi* to *Calleva*, which is in fact to give up the argument. Mr. Reynolds places Vindomi at *Vine*, six or seven miles to the South of Silchester; and supposes this latter place, which is manifestly a Roman city of the first importance, to be wholly omitted in the itineraries. This is very improbable; no town in Britain has more Roman-british roads pointing to it; and therefore it's name, whatever it be, must certainly occur in some of Antonine's or Richard's Iters, which cross that country in every direction. In future I shall assume it for certain, that Vindomi is *Silchester*.

§ 18. *The second Extract* is from Richard's 12*th* iter, and Antonine's 13*th* and 14*th*. From Bath to Verlucio [*in Spy Park*] 15 miles.—to Cunetio [*Kennet*] 20.—to Spinæ [*Speen*] 15.—to Calleva [*Reading*] 15.—to Bibrax [*Bracknell* or *Bray*] 20.—to London 20. Calleva has been placed by different writers at Wallingford, Wantage, Reading, Silchester, Henley and Farnham in Surry. From this iter we may certainly collect that it cannot be Wantage, nor Wallingford proposed by Whitaker, nor Henley proposed by Gale. No reason can be given, why the road from Bath to London having so long kept a strait eastern direction through Cunetio [*Kennet* or *Marlborough*] as far as Spinæ [*Speen*] should suddenly turn to the north-east, going towards London by a very devious course. The same argument is good against those who would place Calleva at Farnham in Surry; the road would in that case equally deviate to the south-east. Against the north-eastern direction there is another argument: for in that case after having crossed the Thames at Wallingford the road must cross it again at or near Henley; and again at or near Maidenhead, three times in all: whereas if Calleva be at or near Reading, to cross it once will be sufficient; an object of no light importance in that age. Reading was first proposed by Reynolds and again by Dr. Beeke, as the situation of Calleva, and there or thereabout we may safely place it: I say, *thereabout*, because

if there be any remains of a station from two to four miles west of Reading, it would suit the distance from Spinæ to Calleva 15, which must otherwise be altered to 17 or 18, or Spinæ must be brought forward to Thatcham, which is not a probable expedient. Reading beside has no remains of antiquity to prove it's importance; and it's situation in the lowlands by the side of the river, altho' not unexampled, is yet not very usual for a British town. However, Calleva is certainly Reading itself, or within a mile or two on the west. The two next numbers, to Bibrax XX, to London XX, must be altered, altho' the whole may be right or nearly so: if Bibrax be Bracknel, the numbers must be X [or perhaps XII], and to London XXX: for the distance from Reading to London (i' e' to the city) through Bracknel and crossing at Staines is about 40 miles. If Bibrax be Bray, the numbers must be XIIII and XXVI, or thereabout.

§ 19. *The third Extract* is from Antonine's 7*th* iter, and Richard's 15*th*. "From Winchester to Calleva 22.—to Pontes [*Colnbrook*] 22.—to London 22. Or as Richard writes it from Calleva to London 44." This iter seems to favour the notion that Calleva is Farnham, for it lies in the road from Winchester to London. Nevertheless that hypothesis is sufficiently refuted by the last iter: and it is evident that the present iter was not intended as a *direct* rout to London, for it begins at Chichester, and goes to Winchester in it's way to London. It may be, that the forest of Anderida at that time prevented the direct communication of Chichester and Winchester with London. The first number XXII is certainly corrupt; from Winchester to Reading are XXXII miles. The two next numbers XXII and XXII, or as Richard writes them in one XLIV, are too many, if Calleva be exactly at Reading: the road may have crossed the Thames at the large British and Roman station at Bray, described by Whitaker,* which he supposes to be *Bibracte*, i' e' *Bibrax:* and the distance to Pontes [at *Colnbrook*] is XXII and to London XIX, which is a total of only 41: if Calleva be 2 or 3 miles westward from Reading, the number XLIV will be right.

* Hist' of Manch' Append' p' xliii.

§ 20. *Extract the fourth* is from Antonine's 12*th* and 15*th* iters, and Richard's 15*th*.—From Calleva to Vindomi 15.—to Winchester 21. Both numbers are certainly wrong; from Reading to Silchester cannot be more than IX or X miles instead of XV: and from Winchester to Silchester are XXIII or XXIV instead of XXI.

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§ 21. We cannot have a better proof of the entire inaccuracy of distances as given in these iters, than in the extracts abovementioned. In the last of them Antonine in two places and Richard in one agree in the numbers 15 and 21; yet all three are demonstrably wrong. In the 3d extract the number 22 occurring regularly three times following suggests a suspicion that they were all capriciously inserted from conjecture: and the 3d and 2d extracts furnish examples of a case very common throughout the whole of these itineraries, wherein the names of three or more towns follow each other, of which if you add together all the numbers they will give the true distance between the first and the last, which are usually places of note, but the intermediate distances may be all wrong: thus Reading is said to be 40 miles distant from London, which may be nearly right; but the division into two twenties is certainly wrong. This imperfection in our two itineraries ought not to raise surprise. The MSS from whence they were copied must have been very corrupt, as the mutilated names of many towns sufficiently prove; and every one knows that the numerals in MSS are particularly uncertain. Moreover we know not to a certainty the length of the Roman mile in Britain: we know not whether the distances were actually measured or only computed, nor whether they began reckoning at the end of the towns or in the middle of them; beside the strong suspicion that these iters were made from maps necessarily rude and imperfect. Under all these uncertainties it appears that the distances as expressed in the printed editions deserve very little attention; and that Mr Reynolds would have made his *Iter Britanniarum* much more valuable, if he had treated them with less ceremony.* We now return to the enumeration of the British tribes.

* See more on this subject in Chapt' II, § 19.

§ 22. The south of Hampshire and of Wiltshire was occupied by the Belgæ. Their towns were *Venta Belgarum* [*Winchester* 1] the capital: *Portus magnus* [*Portchester* 2]: *Clausentum* [*Bittern* near Southampton 3]: *Sorbiodunum* [*Sarum* 4]: which last was garrisoned by the Romans: and Humph' Llwyd says, that the neighbourhood of Salisbury was called *Severia* by the Romans; which could not be, until the reign of Severus. A river called *Antona* was in the region of the Belgæ, which Ric' Corin'* supposes to be that, which passes thro' Winchester: but it may be questioned, whether the *Test* and the *Avon* of Christchurch have not either of them a better claim to the name *Antona*, than the Itchen.

§ 23. Next to the Belgæ on the coast lived the *Durotriges*, occupying all Dorsetshire: their chief town was Durinum 1. [*Maiden-castle*]; but afterwards Durnovaria 2 [*Dorchester*] was built by the Romans near it. Ric' Corin' says, that they were sometimes called *Morini*.

§ 24. The *Hædui* come next, who occupied Somersetshire as far south as the river Ivel, and perhaps a part of Gloucestershire above the river Avon. Their towns were, according to Ric' Cirenc' *Ischalis* [*Ilchester* 1], *Avalonia* [*Glastonbury* 2.], *and Aquæ Solis* [*Bath* 3.], which was afterward a Roman colony. Our settlements on the Avon, at Clifton, Leigh, and Sea-mills, and the others in our neighbourhood, must have been in this territory, if they occupied a part of Gloucestershire. That the Hædui extended as far southward as the river Ivel is plain, because they inhabited Ilchester: their boundary reached to the river † Parrett, but certainly did not pass it, because the town Uxella, which must be on the river Uxella [*the Parrett*] belonged to the Dumnonii. Musgrave‡ is therefore mistaken in extending the Belgæ [i' e' Hædui] as far as Exmoor.

§ 25. The boundary between the Hædui and the Durotriges depends on no other authority than the modern division of the two Counties of Somerset and Dorset: and in like manner the line between

* Ric' Cor' 1, 6, 12. † Ric' Corin' 1, 6, 15. ‡ In Belgium Britannicum.

Somerset and Wilts furnishes a probable boundary between the Hædui and the Belgæ. Toward the higher part of the river Avon, the boundary between the Hædui and the Segontiaci is liable to some doubt: the line of separation between Wiltshire and Gloucestershire appears to have great probability, because the range of the Cotswold hills is a great natural division, and the inhabitants of the hills seem even now to be somewhat different from those of the vale. From thence the boundary of the Hædui went to the Thames. Ric' Corinensis is positive on that point. "At the Severn (he* says) below the Thames dwelled the Hædui;" and in his map he carries them to the Thames; and he† says that the Thames rises in the Dobuni, and passes along the borders of the Hædui, of the Attrebates, of the Cassii, of the Bibroci, of the Trinobantes, and of the Cantii. That river therefore, according to Richard, touched the boundary of the Hædui; but from the head of the Thames in what direction the boundary between the Hædui and the Dobuni was drawn to the Severn, is not to be ascertained. Ric' Corin' in his map makes it touch the Severn about half way between the Avon and Gloucester: a very improbable line of division, it must be confessed; for it divides the inhabitants of the vale into two parts, without any natural division, making the one part Dobuni, and the other Hædui, altho' from the appearance of the country it is likely to have been inhabited by only one tribe. Less improbably the line might be drawn from the head of the Thames to or near to Gloucester, comprehending the whole vale of Gloucester within the limits of the Hædui, and on this hypothesis the map is formed. Nevertheless, were it not for Richard's positive evidence, that the Hædui touched the Thames, it would be more probable, that on the north of the Avon they occupied the vale only of the Severn, and no part of the hills; their boundary being the Severn on one side and the Cotswold hills on the other. And still more probable I suppose it to be, and on this probability I finally rest, that the Hædui were settled in Somersetshire only, the whole of Gloucestershire down to the Avon being occupied by the Dobuni; for certainly in all after ages, the Avon was a boundary between different tribes.

* I, 6, 14. † I, 6, 28.

§ 26. After all it must not be omitted, that the existence of the Hædui depends on the sole authority of Ric' Corinensis. No other ancient writer mentions them; and Ptolemy considers their country as belonging to the Belgæ; for he sets down Ischalis and Bath, as towns of the Belgæ. Nevertheless I see no sufficient reason for questioning Richard's authority in this case. There are very few other writers, in whom we could reasonably expect any mention of the Hædui: and Ptolemy has evidently omitted them, because he considered them as a part of the Belgæ, or as subject to them; as he omitted the Segontiaci for the same reason, and some other minor tribes. Whoever supposes that there was no such tribe as the Hædui, must likewise suppose, that Richard forged the whole account of it; and if of that, then of others, and the whole book must be full of forgeries: a supposition very improbable, and almost impossible. That he made many mistakes cannot be doubted, and I suppose his bringing the Hædui across the Avon, and to the Thames to be one of them; but every writer on subjects of antiquity is liable to them, and must be read with caution.

§ 27. On the southern coast next to the Durotriges were the *Dumnonii*, who inhabited all Devonshire and the south of Somersetshire as far as the river *Uxella* [*Parrett*], and a considerable part of Cornwall. The word is written *Dumnonii*, *Dunmonii*, and *Danmonii*: the last of which being more euphonous has generally prevailed; but the first is probably the true Latin denomination, as being nearer to the original Welsh *Dymnaith*. From this last is derived the modern appellation *Devon*: for M before N is in Welsh oftentimes written F, and pronounced with the sound of the English V: *Dymn* is therefore pronounced *Dyvn* or *Duvn*. Their chief town was *Isca* [*Exeter*], on the river of the same name. From the river Parrett along the coast of Somerset and Devon, Richard places a tribe, whom he calls *Cimbri*, mentioned by no other writer; and his map extends them on the northern coast of Cornwall, as far as Padstow harbour, which he improperly calls the river *Cambala* [*Camel*]. They must have been a part of the Dumnonii, or subject to them: or perhaps some straggling settlers from the opposite coast of

Cumbria: the boundary between them on the map is conjectural. The isle of Lundy is *Insula Herculea;* and Hartland point is in Richard's map *Promontorium Herculeum:* he says* also, "here are seen the pillars of Hercules;" by which he may perhaps mean *Hartland point;* but it is as probable, that his knowledge of Geography was so imperfect, that he actually thought that the rock of Gibraltar might be seen from the coast of Devon and Cornwall.—Lastly, the lower part of Cornwall was inhabited by a small tribe called *the Carnabii* mentioned by Ric' Corinensis only. They extended from Padstow harbour round the Land's end as far as Falmouth harbour; on the eastern side of which was a town called *Cenia*, belonging to the Dumnonii. These are the ten tribes of South Britain or Britannia prima.

§ 28. The Roman province called *Britannia secunda* comprehended all Wales, together with that adjoining part of England, contained within the Severn and the Dee. The principal nation of this district was the *Silures*, who inhabited all South-Wales (except the three western counties), together with Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, and that part of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, which lies on the right bank of the Severn below the river Teme. This was the most warlike tribe in the southern part of Britain, the most uncivilized and ferocious, who made a longer and more dangerous resistance to the Romans than any other, particularly under their king Caractacus. Solinus† writes, that even in his time, about A' D' 250, they rejected the use of money, and used only barter. They had many towns: *Isca Silurum* 1 [*Caerleon*], on the river of the same name, the Roman capital of the whole province, the seat of the second legion, until‡ it was transferred to Valentia and Rutupiæ: *Venta Silurum* 2 [*Caerwent*] the British metropolis: *Gobannium* 3 [*Abergavenny*]: *Sariconium* 4 [near Ross]. A tribe called the *Dimetæ* was subject to them, or perhaps was a part of them: they had Caermarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, and Cardiganshire, as appears from their towns; *Maridunum* 1 [*Caermarthen*]; *Menapia* 2 [St. David's]; the Romans held *Lovantium* 3 [on the Tivy, near *Llandewi brefi*]. Mr.

* Visuntur hìc, antiquis sic dictæ, *Herculis Columnæ*, et non procul hinc *Insula Herculea*. Ric' Cor' 1, 6, 16. † Apud Ric' Cor' 1, 6, 21. ‡ Ric' Cor' 1, 6, 22.

Whitaker gives Brecknockshire and Glamorganshire also to the Dimetæ, but he quotes no authority: if it were so, the Silures, the principal tribe, would have the smaller territory; which is improbable. The name of this tribe subsisted for many ages in the word *Dyvet* the British appellation for Pembrokeshire: and it is likely that the Romans extirpated the name and nation of the Silures, as far as they were able, and that the Dimetæ thereupon spread themselves over their whole territory: for there are no remains of the word *Silures*, except perhaps the isle of *Silley* on the coast of Glamorgan; whereas in the Welsh Chronicles* the whole of South Wales is called *Demetia*, and Caerleon is said to be its capital.

§ 29. The *Ordovices* possessed a small part of Merionethshire, all Montgomeryshire, a small part of Denbighshire, great part of Shropshire, and that small part of Worcestershire which lies to the north of the river Teme. The lower part of Shropshire is attributed to them, because *Bravonium* was their principal town, which is either *Ludlow* or *Leintwardine*. The Severn is usually considered as the boundary between them and the Cornavii as high as Shrewsbury or thereabout: from which point the line of division must quit the Severn and go to the Dee by a conjectural route. They had another town called *Mediolanum*, which may be either *Meivod* or *Old Oswestry*. It seems that the Cornavii also had a *Mediolanum* probably at *Whitchurch*. Ptolemy sets down *Branogenium* [*Worcester*] as belonging to the Ordovices. Either they had crossed the Severn, and taken Worcester from the Dobuni, or they held a suburb of Worcester on the opposite side of the river. They were a very warlike nation, and were always in alliance with the Silures against the Romans: and when the Silures were subdued, they maintained the war alone, and brought the power of the Romans into extreme danger. It is therefore difficult to believe that they were subject to the Silures, as Richard tells us.

§ 30. The Cangi, Ceangi, Cangani, or Cangiani were to the North of the Ordovices on the sea-coast. The promontory Braich-y-pwl was

* Geoff' Monm' 4, 3, et alibi.

theirs, being called *Promontorium Cangianum:* their boundary was the river *Deva* [*Dovay*] on one side, which separated them from the Dimetæ; and the other river *Deva* [*the Dee*] on the other side. According to this account, the map gives them a larger territory, than other writers have done. My authority is Ric' Corin', who says "their rivers were the *Tosibius*, called also *Canovius* [*the Conway*], and the two rivers called *Deva* were their boundaries." They must therefore have inhabited Carnarvonshire with *Mona* [*Anglesea*]; most part of Merionethshire; most part of Denbighshire; and all Flintshire. The river *Canovius* [*Conway*] was in their territory, and their only town was *Segontium* [*Caer Seiont*] near Caernarvon. They had lead mines in their country; for Camden in *Cheshire* gives an account of twenty masses of lead, which had been found on the shore in Cheshire, with this inscription, *Imp. Domit. Aug. Ger. de Ceang;* meaning (as I apprehend) not a victory over the Ceangi, as it is usually understood, but that the lead came from their country; and being inscribed with the Emperor's name, it was public property, perhaps tribute. We may collect from Richard, that they were once independent, but afterward conquered by the Ordovices; and at the time of the Roman invasion considered as a part of them.

§ 31. Above the Thames to the north lay the tribes, which formed the Roman province *Flavia*. The *Dobuni* inhabited that part of Gloucester and Worcester shires, which is on the left bank of the Severn, excepting that part of the former on the south, which was possessed by the Hædui, if any was. They also certainly inhabited a small part of Warwickshire, on the southwest, near Alcester, but more probably the southern half of that county; and a good part of Oxfordshire, perhaps as far as the river Charwell. The towns which they possessed in Glouc' and Worcester shires are proof that they held those counties: Alauna [*Alcester*] in Warwickshire proves that they possessed that neighbourhood: that they dwelt in some part of Oxfordshire seems expressed in Richard's map; Whitaker gives them all Oxfordshire and a-part of Buckinghamshire, which last seems rather to belong to the Cassii. The northern boundary between them and the Cornavii is conjectural; but it

must have been between Droitwich on the south, and Wall and High cross on the north. Dio Cassius says, that the Boduni, as he calls them, or at least a part of them, were subject to the Cassi; for 'after the *battle, in which Plautius defeated Cataratacus and Togodumnus, the sons of Cynobellin, who was dead, that part of the Boduni which was subject to the Catwellani, surrendered to Plautius, who left a garrison in their country and went on.' Richard's account is somewhat different; that the Cassi and Dobuni had so far coalesced, as to form one kingdom or rather one republic. The towns of the Dobuni, as enumerated by Richard, were *Corinium* 1 [*Cirencester*], their capital; *Glerum* 2 [*Gloucester*]; *Brannogena* 3 [*Worcester*]; *Salinæ* 4 [*Droitwich*]; and *Alauna* 5 [*Alcester*]. In his map he writes the Avon of Warwickshire *Antona*. With regard to one of the abovementioned towns, it is plain that by *Brannogena* he means *Worcester*, because he adds, that it lies on the left bank of the Severn. Therefore when in his 13*th* iter he lays down the road from *Magna* [*Kenchester*] to *Uriconium* [*Wroxeter*] thro' *Brannogenium;* and Antonine in iter 12 describes it as passing thro' *Bravonium*, or *Bravinium*, I would not suppose, as some have done, that *Bravonium* and *Branogenium* were the same place; but that the two writers describe two different routes, the one thro' Worcester, and Antonine thro' Ludlow or Lewardine.

§ 32. Eastward from the Dobuni lay *the Cassii*, or *Cassi* or *Catti*, who inhabited all Hertfordshire (in which are Cashio hundred and Cashiobury) and Buckinghamshire, the eastern part of Oxfordshire, and all Bedford, Northampton and Huntingdon shires. The authority for this situation of the Cassi is this. They joined the Dobuni on the west; the boundary of the latter therefore, wherever it be placed, is also that of the Cassi. They possessed Verulam and Dunstable; and between those places, and the borders of the Dobuni on the west, and of the Trinobantes on the south and the east, no other tribe is mentioned by any author. Ptolemy makes them touch

* Φυγόντων δὲ ἐκείνων, προσεποιήσατο ὁμολογίᾳ μέρος τι τῶν Βοδούνων ὧν ἐπῆρχον Κατυελλανοί ὄντες. Dio Cass. 60, 20. The latter part of the sentence is incomplcat; some such word as ὅμορα is wanted before ὄντες.

the Coritani; on the north of course: but whether the Nen or the Welland divided them has been questioned. Ptolemy calls this tribe Κατευχλανοὶ, *Catyeuchlani*; which Mr. Whitaker suggests may be *Catieuchlan-i*, i' e' the clan of the Catti. Dio Cassius in the passage quoted above § 31, calls them Κατελλανοὶ *Catuellani*. Horsley in his *Britannia Romana*, gives the following inscription on a stone found in Cumberland: E CIVITATE CATVELLAVNORUM T. OISEDIO —: from whence it may reasonably be conjectured that the whole name is *Catti Vellauni*. Ptolemy's χλ, *chl*, seems to be an attempt to express the sound of the Welsh aspirated *ll*: and since the Latin V was sounded as our W, the word *Wellauni* has a plain connection with the river *Welland*, perhaps the *Wellaun*. Which of the two gave the name to the other, may be a question; whether the people were the Catti dwelling on the Wellan, or whether the Wellan was so called, because the Cattiwellauni dwelt on it; in either case, it is an argument for placing the border of the tribe on the Welland, rather than on the Nen; and Wellingborow, Weldon, Welton, Welham, Welford, Wellaston, all in Northamptonshire, apparently inhabited by the Wellauni, decide in favor of the Welland. Richard's list of their towns is only *Verulam* 1 [*St Alban's*] their capital, and *Forum Diancæ* 2 [*Dunstable* or near it]. The Cassi were a powerful tribe, and their king Cassivellaunus was general in chief of the Britons against Cæsar at his second invasion.

§ 33. Next to the Cassi were the *Trinobantes*, who inhabited Middlesex and Essex. The late editor of Ric' Corinensis will not allow them all Middlesex, but makes the river Brent the boundary between them and the Cassi: but he quotes no authority. Their country was confined on the north of Middlesex by the Cassii, who possessed Verulam, and to the north of Essex by the Stour. Their towns were *Londinium* 1 [*London*], and *Camulodunum* 2 [*Colchester*]; where was afterwards a Roman colony settled by the Emperor Claudius.

§ 34. To the north of the river *Sturius* [*Stour*] were the *Iceni*, otherwise called the *Cenomanni*, which last word may be no more than

Icenomanni, as we say *Turk* or *Turcoman*: they seem to be the same whom Cæsar * calls Cenimagni. Ptolemy calls them *Simeni*, which is probably a mere literal error from *Iceni* or *Cenimani*. They inhabited Norfolk and Suffolk, and all or part of Cambridgeshire, with small parts of Northampton and Lincoln shires. Their boundary to the north was the Nen or the Welland, probably the latter; to the south, the river Stour: there may be some doubt in drawing the remainder of the line between them and the Cassi; but there can be no great error. The towns which Richard attributes to them are *Venta Icenorum* 1 [*Castor* near Norwich]; *Camboricum* 2 [*Cambridge*], a Roman colony; and *Durobrivæ* 3 [*Castor* on Nen]. The rivers according to the same author are *Sturius* [*the Stour*], and *Aufona* he intends for the *Nen*, as far as can be ascertained from his miserable map: this last river (he says) falls into the bay *Metoris*.

§ 35. The *Coritani* dwelt in Lincoln, Leicester, Rutland, Nottingham, and Derby shires; and in a small part of Yorkshire, south of the river Don. The authority for this situation is as follows. Their southern boundary is the Welland, as already mentioned. The western boundary between them and the Cornavii must be regulated by *Venonæ* which belonged to the latter: so that it appears almost certain, that the Watling street was the boundary between the two tribes, as it is at present between the two counties of Warwick and Leicester. The northern boundary is the Don; for Ric' Corin' in his third iter coming from the south to Doncaster says, "here you enter the Province Maxima"; i' e' the country of the Brigantes: and the same may be collected from his 18*th* iter. Whether Derbyshire belonged to the Coritani or Cornavii or Brigantes, may be still a question. When Ric' Corin' says that the Trent cuts the region of the Coritani into two parts, that expression seems rather to give Derbyshire to the Coritani: or perhaps the Derwent, which runs thro' the middle of Derbyshire, divided the two tribes. It is however of no importance; for the whole county at that time must have been a wood, as the greater part of the region of the Coritani is said to have been. Their towns according to Ric'

* B' G' 5, 21.

Cor' were *Ratæ* 1 [*Leicester*] their capital, which that writer spells *Ragæ*, copying probably from Ptolemy, who writes it PAΓH; but a mile stone lately dug up, purporting to be II miles *à Ratis* confirms the orthography of *Ratæ*. Their other town is *Lindum* 2 [*Lincoln*], a Roman colony. The river *Trivona* [*Trent*] ran through the middle of their country. Richard says that the Cenomanni and the Coritani were two tribes of one people called *Iceni*; but there is no other authority for this assertion.

§ 36. Lastly, the *Carnabii* or *Cornavii* were settled in all Cheshire and Staffordshire, in the northern half of Shropshire, in the northern part of Warwickshire, perhaps in a small part of Worcestershire, and perhaps in half Derbyshire. Their towns were *Venonæ* 1 [*High-cross* near Claybrook on the borders of Warwick and Leicester shires]; *Etocetum* 2 [*Wall* a mile south of Litchfield]; and their metropolis *Uriconium* 3 [*Wroxeter* on Severn] one of the chief cities in all Britain: *Dera* 4 [*Chester*] on the river of the same name was a Roman colony.

§ 37. The Roman province called *Maxima* lay to the north of the preceding, and extended as far as the Roman wall in Northumberland. It contained four tribes, of whom the Brigantes were so far the superior, that they are sometimes spoken of, as occupying the whole province under the name of *Brigantia*. Immediately on the north of the river *Abus* [*Humber*], which separated them from the Coritani, lived a small tribe called the *Parisii*: they were placed near the sea, and the promontories *Oxellum* [*Spurnhead*], and *Prom' Brigantum* [*Flamborough head*] were in their territory. Ric' Corin' gives two of their towns, *Petuaria* [*Brough* on the Humber], and *Portus felix* [*Bridlington* or near it]. The line which divides them from the Brigantes is conjectural.

§ 38. The *Brigantes*, properly so called, extended from the borders of the Parisii and the river Don to the river Tine, and the wall of Severus. Some of their towns were these: *Eboracum* 1 [*York*], which was made by the Romans the capital of the whole province:

Isurium [*Aldborough* on the Yore], which was the British metropolis; *Cataracton* [*Catterick* on the Swale below Richmond]: *Vinovium* [*Binchester* adjoining Bishop's Auckland]: and *Cambodunum* 2 [near *Huddersfield*]. These Brigantes were a very populous and powerful nation, and made great resistance to the Roman arms, supported as they were by the Parisii, the Sistuntii, and Volantii, who were subject to them: and there is a passage in Tacitus,* which may lead us to suppose, that even the Iceni were a part of the Brigantian kingdom, or in some measure dependent on it. Galgacus haranguing the Caledonians exhorts them to opppose the Romans by setting before them the example of the Brigantes, who had risen up against their oppressors and had utterly destroyed the colony of Camulodunum. "The Brigantes (he says) under the command of a woman were able to burn the colony, and to take the camp by storm:" now we know that it was the Iceni, who performed this exploit.

§ 39. Adjoining to the Brigantes, but separated by the mountains of Yorkshire and Westmoreland are the *Sistuntii* or *Setantii*, and another mentioned only by Richard, called the *Volantii*; these two he says were united in a league, but were subject to the Brigantes. The Setantii occupied Lancashire and the adjoining part of Westmoreland, which latter county must have been a mere forest and wilderness; they were separated from the Carnabii by the Mersey. The Volantii (if there were such a tribe) must have occupied Cumberland and Westmoreland as far north as the Wall: but their existence is supported only by the authority of Richard Cirenc'; for in the inscription VOLANTI VIVAS which Mr. Whitaker† produces as proof of such a tribe, the first word is certainly the proper name of a man: Dr' Whitaker‡ therefore wholly rejects them from the catalogue of tribes in Britain. The following seems to be a correct list of the rivers and towns of this tribe. *Moricambe* is the great bay of the sea which divides Lancashire. *Setantiorum portus* is *Lancaster*: *Belisama* is the *Ribble*, which is the uppermost river in the map: *Seteia* may be the *Mersey*, as Richard supposes;

* Vita Agric' 31. † Hist' of Manchester 1, 1, p' 8. ‡ Hist' of Whalley 1, 1, p' 6.

perhaps it may be an erroneous reading in *Ptolemy for SE.DEVA i' e' *Setantiorum Deva*, the Dee of the Setantii, which distinguishes it from the well-known *Deva* of Chester. *Rhigodunum* or *Coccium* 1 is *Ribchester*; *Mancunium* 2 is *Manchester*; and *Luguballium* is *Carlisle*.

§ 40. Beside these tribes there are two others, whose places cannot easily be found. Among those, who after the defeat of Cassivellan sent messengers to Cæsar with offers of submission, were the *Ancalites*. Cæsar's † words are these. "As soon as the Trinobantes were protected, and secured against all injuries from the Roman soldiers, the Cenimagni, the Segontiaci, the Ancalites, the Bibroci, the Cassi, sent embassies and surrendered to Cæsar." Being mentioned in no other passage of any author, any attempt to fix their place must be merely conjectural. They may perhaps be the inhabitants of Calleva and it's neighbourhood, or it may be only a verbal error for Attrebates. The other of these doubtful tribes is the *Jugantes*. Tacitus ‡ informs us, that Venusius, the husband of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, was of this tribe, which is the only mention made of it by any author. Mr. Whitaker § says that they are *undoubtedly* the same as the Huiccii, which will be mentioned hereafter: but he has no other proof than a fancied resemblance in the names, *Huicc-ii*, *Guic-cii*, *Jug-ant-es*.— Among many etymological fancies, which this excellent antiquary has admitted, another equally strange can scarcely be found. And a third tribe there is, which may be mentioned in this place, *the Gevisei*, or *Gevissi*. The West-saxons inhabiting Hampshire, and the neighbouring counties are frequently called by this name. For example Florence Wore' A' D' 849 is tracing the genealogy of "Cerdic, who was the son of Elisius, who was the son of Esla, who was the son of Gewisius, from whom the Britons call the whole nation the *Gewisses* [*gentem Gewisam*]." The bishopric of the West-saxons also is sometimes called *the bishopric of the* ‖*Gewissi*. Yet if we may trust Matth' Westm' (a distant testimony, it must be confessed, as writing about A' D' 1375) they were a British tribe under

* See the Var' Lect' in Horseley's Britan' Rom'. † Bell' G' 5, 21. ‡ Ann' 12, 40.
§ Hist' Man' 1, 5, 3. ‖ As in the Annal' ad calcem Flor' Wigor.

the Roman government. The passage is as follows. "In the year of grace 314 Octavius, king of the Gewisei, raised an insurrection against the Proconsuls of the Roman authority, to whom the government of Britain had been entrusted, and having slain them, he raised himself to the throne of the kingdom." And not long after he calls the famous Vortigern, Consul of the Gevvisei. Probably both accounts are true in part. Such were the tribes who inhabited Britain within the Roman wall.

§ 41. The origin of these tribes still lies under some obscurity. Writers agree in general, that the first inhabitants of Gaul and Britain and Ireland were of the Celtic nation. The Celts, or rather as they ought to be called, *the Kelts*, overspread these three countries at least, if not more, exclusively of any other nation. They were, like other ancient nations, divided into tribes, which spake different dialects of the same Celtic language, some of which have reached to modern times, altho' mixed with foreign languages. After the Kelts had been in possession of these countries for a long time, another nation in it's progress from the common center came behind them, differing in many respects from them. These were the Teutonic or Gothic or German tribes, who spake a language wholly different from Keltic, and were different in person, religion and manners. In Gaul the two nations being separated only by the Rhine were engaged in very frequent hostility: sometimes tribes of Celtæ made inroads on the Germans, and sometimes the latter invaded the Keltæ. Long before Cæsar's time about 12 or 14 tribes of the northern Germans called *Belgæ*, whose names and number of fighting men are given by *Cæsar, had crossed the Rhine; and having either expelled the Celtic inhabitants, or more probably a large part of them, and incorporated with the remnant, settled in all that part of Gaul, which lies between the Rhine and the Seine. By this conquest and incorporation of the Germans among the Gauls in Belgium, a new nation was formed, the Belgic Gauls, or the Gallic Belgæ, compounded of both, and distinct from both; for they were always at war with the Germans, and usually on unfriendly terms with the Keltic Gauls; and

* B' G' 2, 4.

their language originally German must have received a considerable mixture of the Keltic; and their proper names appear to have been common to both, since we find Divitiacus, the name of a king of the Suessones [*Soissons*] a Belgic tribe, to be the name of a king of the Aedui also, a Celtic tribe: and Bibrax [*Autun*] a Celtic town, was the name of a town also among the Rhemi, a Belgic tribe.

§ 42. This invasion of the territory of the original Gauls, and the changes produced by it, make it necessary to distinguish between *the Gauls*, that is, the inhabitants of the whole of Gaul, and the *Celts*, that is, the people of Celtic origin and language; altho' before the Invasion all the Gauls were Celts, the two words being only a variety of pronunciation, *Galli*, in Greek *Galatæ*, *Keltæ*. For want of attending to this distinction, the word *Galli* or *Gauls* has been taken in two significations, as by Cæsar himself, who uses it sometimes for the *inhabitants* of Gaul, of whichever nation they were, and sometimes for the true Kelts. Thus he frequently * distinguishes the *Galli* from the *Belgæ*, and he often uses *Gallia* for the Celtic part of Gaul, as when he † says, that "the Rhemi of all the Belgæ are the nearest to Gaul". The very beginning of his history furnishes examples of both significations of the words *Gallia* and *Galli*.

§ 43. The Belgic invasion of Gaul had happened some ages before Cæsar's time: his words are these ‡: *Reperiebat plerosque Belgas &c* "Cæsar found that most of the Belgæ were sprung from the Germans, who having crossed the Rhine in ancient times on account of the fruitfulness of the country, had there settled, and had driven away the Gauls who dwelt in it." If by the word *antiquitùs* [*in ancient times*] we understand about 500 years before Cæsar's time, and if we suppose them to have continued in their new possessions in Belgium about 200 years before they could attempt the invasion of Britain, they might arrive here about 350 B' C', as was said above § 2. Here they conquered all the maritime parts of the island, at least as far as Cæsar was acquainted with

* Bell' G' 2, 2, et passim. † Id' 2, 3. ‡ B' G' 2, 4.

them, and permanently settled here. "The interior part of Britain (says that * author) is inhabited by those who are reported to have been originally formed in the island itself: the maritime part by those who crossed over from Belgium for the sake of plunder and warfare; most of whom are called in Britain by the names of the states [in Gaul] from whence they came; and after carrying on war with the natives they remained there, and began to cultivate the lands."

§ 44. We may hence gain some knowledge concerning the origin of the British tribes mentioned above. The Cantii were certainly Belgic invaders. The Rhemi were Belgæ; Cæsar † speaks much of them as such. The Bibroci were originally a Keltic tribe, because there is a town called *Bibrax* [*Autun*] in Keltic Gaul. It is probable, that the Bibroci (i' e' the inhabitants of Bibrax) near Rheims, being conquered by the Rhemi, coalesced with them; and both united as one tribe, joined in the ‡ invasion of Surry and Sussex. The Belgæ of Hampshire and Wiltshire were likewise all invaders. They were a mixed race, as we are informed ‖ by Ric' Corin'; part of them being Belgæ and part Keltæ; which last quitted Gaul about the same time, being oppressed by the Romans and Germans; and joining with the Belgæ just mentioned, they § assisted in driving out or conquering the remainder of the Senones, the original inhabitants of the south of Britain, and in settling in their country. The ejected ¶ inhabitants migrated into Ireland, and were known by the name of the Scots. Neither were these the only emigrants to Ireland: the same writer says ** that many of the Irish tribes, the *Brigantes*, the *Damnii*, the *Voluntii*, the *Cangi* &c emigrated from Britain, when they were overpowered by the forces either of Divitiacus or the Romans. To return to the conquerors of Hampshire, the Belgæ and Keltæ; these incorporating together were known by the common name of Belgæ; and having gained firm footing on the coast, they spread themselves from thence by degrees, and by accessions of their countrymen from the continent, until they had conquered all that part of Britain, as far probably as the Thames. The Attrebates, like those in

* B' G' 5, 12. † Cæsar B. Gall' 2. ‡ See above § 11.
‖ De situ Brit' 1, 6, 12 and 13.—2, 1, 9. § See above § 3. ¶ Ric' Corin' 2, 1, 9. ** 1, 8, 9 and 17.

Gaul of the same name, were certainly Belgic; they and the Segontiaci were apparently parts of the Belgæ. The Durotriges were probably a Celtic tribe conquered by the Morini, a Belgic tribe, and incorporated with them, and subject to the Belgæ. The Hædui were no doubt an aboriginal Keltic tribe, because the Ædui in Gaul, whose capital was Bibrox, of whom Divitiacus was king in Cæsar's time, were * Celts. These were certainly in subjection to the Belgæ; for Bath and Ilchester, which are towns of the Hædui, are by Ptolemy called towns of the Belgæ; he makes no mention of Hædui.

§ 45. As for the Dammonians, Baxter † thinks that they were Belgæ, and allies of the Romans, as he supposes all the Belgæ were. In this he is surely mistaken; they were a Celtic tribe, speaking the Cornish-celtic language even in Exeter, until after the extinction of the Saxon heptarchy. The Cimbri and Carnabii must have been subdivisions or subjects of the Dumnonians, for Ptolemy gives the whole peninsula of Devon and Cornwall to these latter. And since it is said, that the Phoenicians traded with the Dammonians for tin, it is plain that Cornwall was inhabited by Dammonians; for there is no tin in modern Devonshire. Of the rest, the four tribes of Wales were certainly pure Celtic, as well as all the western coast of Britain: and according to Cæsar's information above quoted, the inland tribes, viz, the Dobuni and the Cornavii were Celtic, and all the eastern coast was Belgic. That same writer represents the interior tribes, viz. the Keltæ, as very barbarous, and much inferior to the maritime in manners and arms.

§ 46. From this representation of the different inhabitants of Britain it seems probable, that even before the Roman invasion, the Teutonic or German tribes who landed on the eastern and southern coasts, had begun already partly to drive the Keltic population backwards toward the west, and partly to incorporate with them: as afterwards the Saxons continued to do in the fifth and sixth centuries; and that south Britain was even before the Roman Invasion divided

* Mela 3, 2. † Glossary voc' *Cogidumnus.*

between the Teutonic and Celtic nations, that is, between the English and the Welsh, between Cumbria and Loegria, by a line running irregularly from south to north thro' the middle of the island.

§ 47. After this enumeration of the inhabitants of Britain, it is time to draw the reader's attention to our own immediate neighbourhood. If the Welsh Chronicles and Triads may be depended on, there was a fortified town, at or near Bristol long before the invasion of Julius Cæsar. The Chronicle best known is that of Geoffry Arthur, commonly called Geoffry of Monmouth, who translated the history of the Kings of the Britons from British into Latin. He was made Bishop of St Asaph in A' D' 1152. He relates that Æneas, with his son Ascanius, escaped from Troy to Italy, nearly as related by Virgil, where he married Lavinia. After his death Ascanius reigned in his stead, and had a son called Silvius, who married a niece of Lavinia. She being pregnant, his father Ascanius ordered his magicians to consult of what sex the child should be. They told him, that the child would be a boy, who would kill his father and his mother, and would arrive at great glory. When born he was called Brutus, and unfortunately fulfilled the prophecy; for his mother died at his birth, and when he was grown up, he killed his father accidentally by throwing a spear at a stag. For this he was driven out of Italy, and took refuge in Greece with Helenus, a Trojan, who was king of that country. Here he gained great renown by conquering king Pandrasus; but he afterward quitted Greece, and went to Gaul, where he performed many great military exploits, and built the city *Tours*, so called from Turnus one of his associates. From Gaul he and all his followers crossed over to the island then called *Albion*, and landed at Totness; from him the country was called *Britain*, and was peopled by the descendants of him and his followers.

§ 48. This romantic history of the British nation was generally received as true in early ages: but in later times it was entirely discredited, and Geoffry himself was accused of having forged the whole tale. Of late learned men seem inclined to receive it more favorably: Geoffry

could not have forged it; it is mentioned by Ammianus* Marcellinus, who wrote about A' D' 370; *Aiunt enim quidam &c* "some say that a few persons having escaped from the destruction of Troy, seized on Gaul, then void of inhabitants," and he says that he took his account from Timagenes, a Greek Historian. Nennius also, who wrote about A' D' 858 relates the same story with many variations, among which is the name of the Hero, whom he sometimes calls Brito and Bruto, a Roman Consul; so that he must have had more than one Chronicle before him: and a copy of Nennius written in the tenth century by the hand of † Mark the Anchorite, still exists and has been lately printed: and at last the original Welsh of Geoffry's history and of others similar has been published in the Myvyrian Archæology: and there is now an English translation of one of them, entitled *The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain translated from the Welsh copy attributed to Tysilio, by the Rev' Peter Roberts*, 4*to*. 1811. It is usually quoted as the *Brut Tysilio*. From Nennius and other Latin Chroniclers it is plain, that there must have been many such British Chronicles.—The other source of information mentioned above is *the Triads:* which are certain poetical triplets in the Welsh language, containing with various things much historical and genealogical information, composed by the bards for the purpose of being committed to memory, after the manner of the Druids, and probably continued from them in uninterrupted succession: many of them have been lately printed. From the sources abovementioned the following information relative to Bristol may be collected. We read in the Brut Tysilio, that *Dyfnwal Moelmyd*, earl of Cornwall, better known by Geoffry's latinized name *Dunwallo Molmucius*, having made himself master of all Britain, executed many great and useful works; and a respectable Welsh antiquary in a note adds that he built *Malmsbury* and *Caer-Oder* [*Bristol*]. The triads also make mention of *Caer-Oder*, which their antiquaries always interpret to be Bristol; but being ignorant of that language I can neither refer to the lines, nor ascertain their age. From these documents, as it seems, Humphrey

* Amm' Marc' 15, 9. † See more concerning this copy of Nennius in II, 89.

Llwyd writes, * that Bristol was called *Caer Oder yn nant Badon;* that is, *the city Oder, in the vale of Bath.* The passage is as follows. "Supra Damnonios ad Sabrinum æstum erat olim *Murotrigum* regio, nunc verò nobis *Guladyr haf*, Anglis verò *Somersetshyr* dicta; apud quos visum [*sic*] celeberrimi loci olim *Caermalet*, aliàs *Camalet* vestigia; ibi etiam est *Iscalis*, nunc *Ilcester;* etiam *Avalonia* insula; quorum civitas *Venta*, nunc *Brystowe*, olim autem Britannis *Caer oder yn nant Badon*, i', *civitas Odera in valle Badonicâ.*" Unquestionably this author is mistaken in supposing *Venta Belgarum* to be Bristol; but that does not affect his testimony with regard to the British name of Bristol. Leland † says the same: in copying H' Huntingdon he writes "Caer Oder nant Bathon i' e' Bristou;" and adds that "the Welsh so call it in their language." John Twine *de rebus Albionicis* 1590 says the same. "A coeli solive naturâ nomenclaturam mutuarunt *Caer Gwent, Wintonia: Caer Badon, Bathonia: Caer Odernant Badon, Bristollia;* Belgarum omnia." The latter words *in the vale of Bath* cannot be considered as a part of the ancient name; but only as a direction, where to find a place at that time of little consequence, by referring it to the neighbourhood of Bath, a city of great importance. The real name is *Caerodor*, which has probably never been wholly obsolete in the Welsh language: I have chanced to meet with it in a modern Welsh newspaper, where altho' the city is often named *Brysto*, yet the ancient name occurs also. It is printed at *Abertawe* [*Swansea*], *dydd Sadwrn, medi* 3, 1814. "Cadpen—o'r herw-long Americaidd, y Shark, sydd yn cyfarch y Boneddigion yn yr ystafelloedd masnachol, Caerodor, gam ddeisyf arnynt dderbyn ychydig o Bapurau newyddion yr Americ."

§ 50. It was mentioned above that Dyfnwal Moelmyd was the founder of Caerodor or Bristol. The name of this prince is variously written. Geoffry latinizes it *Dunwallo*, whence we may suppose that his Welsh copy had *Donewall:* in other MSS it is written *Dyfnfarth;* and

* *Commentarioli Britannicæ descriptionis fragmentum: Auctore Humfredo Lhuyd, Denbyghiense, Cambro-britanno,* 1572, a book little known, but which contains much information on Cambro-British affairs.

† Coll' 3, 290.

Robert Ricart, an account of whom is given in the prefaee, calls him *Doneband*. Neither do all these Records agree in making him the founder of Bristol. Robert Ricart, begins his Calendar with a history of Britain during the British and Saxon periods, the earlier part of which is eertainly taken from some of the Welsh Chronicles. He attributes the building of Malmesbury, Lacocke, and Tetbury to this prince; but the building of Bristol he gives to *Bran* or *Bryn*, son of Dyfnwal; who and his brother *Beli*, better known by their Latin names *Brennus* and *Belinus* succeeded their father in his kingdom. These are the same brothers, who are said in all the Chronicles to have crossed over to the Continent, and led an army of Britons and Gauls into Italy, and to have taken and burnt Rome in the year B' C' 391; which nearly ascertains the time, when according to these Chronicles Bristol was founded. Robert Ricart, after relating the foreign victories of the princes, has these words: "And after they had this doon, the saide two brethern retorned home into this lande of grete Bretaigne, with theire Bretonnes, and dwellid here togiders in grete joye. And then Brynne first founded and billed this worshipfull towne of *Bristut*, that nowe is *Bristowe*, and set it upon a litell hill: that is to say, betweene Seint Nicholas Yate, Seint Johnes Yate, Seint Leonardes Yate, and the Newe Yate. And no more was bilde not many yeres after. And then Brynne repaired home ovir see &c &c". Moreover it has always been the common tradition of Bristol, that it was built by Brennus and Belinus, the two kings, whose figures sit in state on the south front of St. John's tower. They are not *quite* so ancient as the kings whom they represent, being probably carved and set up, when the church was built about AD 1370; but they are too curious to be omitted, and I have therefore caused them to be engraven, as an ornament to the Title-page of these Memoirs. Their names *Brennus* and *Belinus* were written in Gothic characters under them; but the letters are now obliterated. One of our MS Calendars speaks of them thus. "The statues at St. John's gate and Lawford's gate, to which are affixed the names of Belinus and Brennus, are out of all question of a latter date than the story of those brethren (if ever any such were); as one hath well observed from the form of their scepters."

§ 51. That Bristol was built in the British period seems to have been the common opinion in the days of Robert the rhyming monk (about A' D' 1200). He wrote the following lines:

> "The first lords and masters that in this land were,
> and the chief towns first they let arear,
> London and Everwyk, Lyncolne and Leycestre,
> Colchestre and Canterbyre, Brystoe and Worcestre."

His meaning is plainly, that all these towns were built by the very first inhabitants of the land, i' e' by the Britons: we know to a certainty that all the rest were: and Bristow therefore was so likewise. Will' Worcester * writes thus; *Bristollia villa &c.* "The town of Bristol, otherwise called *Bristint* [a mistake for *Bristuit*], was founded by Brennus, that is Brenne, duke of the Britons, brother of Belin, king of Britain, as it is written in the book of the Chronicles of Alfred, king of England, which I saw, in the French language, which begins thus: *en la cite de graunt Troye estoit ung noble chevalier et puissant, de graunt power, qui out a non Eneas.*" Leland favors the same story: he says † "Brennus, conditor Bristolliæ". The same report is mentioned in John Rosse or Rowse's ‡ history, who died in 1491; and in Grafton's Chronicle, § no good authority it must be confessed, written in the latter part of the 16th century: he says, that in the first five years of the joint reigns of Brennus and Belinus, the former builded Bristow; for which he quotes Polychronicon; and in short most of our Chroniclers say the same, altho' it be not mentioned by Geoffry Monmouth.

§ 52. All these authorities for the British foundation of Bristol are derived from one source, that is, the Welsh Chronicles, and how far credit is to be given to them the literary world is much divided. The Brut Tysilio, or however the latter part of it, seems to have been written long after the times of which we are now speaking, viz, not till the Saxons had reduced all or most part of England; and the writers of them all appear to have been wonderfully ignorant of some of the most certain facts of British history, or at least to have omitted them;

* Itin' p' 158. † Itin' 4, p' 164. ‡ See Nicholson's Historical Library p' 57.
§ Chron' Grafton p' 42, edit' 1809.

such as the division of the Britons into tribes and their names, the arrival of the Belgæ, the conquest of Britain by the Romans, the adoption of the Roman money and laws &c: and the fabulous circumstances which they sometimes relate, gives cause of suspicion to the whole narrative; such as the adventures of Merlin, the building of Stonehenge, the magic power of the Coiranians &c. On the other hand they give a tolerably consistent account of the Roman invasions and military proceedings; yet so far differing from the Roman historians as to render it certain that they were not compiled from Roman authorities: and they differ much one from the other in a variety of circumstances, which gives a considerable degree of credibility to those circumstances in which they agree. It seems probable therefore that they were in some measure derived from national sources, which could be no other than the songs of bards, family genealogies, and some short and imperfect memoirs, to which probably every transcriber made additions and corrections. Confidence therefore cannot be placed in them, but every fact must be tried by it's own particular probability; and (setting aside the story of Brutus and his nearest descendants, as mere fable) no part appears to deserve more credit than the names of the kings; because the British nation has been at all times extremely careful of their genealogies. On these grounds, the British foundation of Bristol appears to be a fragment of real history, transmitted to us by registers and chronicles from the earliest age: and I consider it probable, that a British king of the Dumnonii or earl of Cornwall, Moelmydd or one of his sons, for the sake of strengthening his frontier, or it may be, for the defence of the neighbourhood, founded a town called Caer Odor, either at Bristol, or so near to it, that the Welsh antiquaries have interpreted one name by the other: and this happened between the years B' C' 390—350, about the time, when the Belgæ first arrived on the coast of Hampshire.

§ 53. The precise situation of this new town may easily be ascertained. The Britons, as the Greeks and Italians, almost universally planted their first settlements on fortified hills, where the acclivity of

the approach, natural and artificial, very materially contributed to their security. This principle evidently points out the camp at Clifton to be the original town, Caer-Odor, fortified and settled by one of those British princes mentioned above; and if the signification of the word be examined, the fact will be rendered certain. Mr. Jones of Gelli-Lyfdy, in a note inserted in the Brut Tysilio, says, that Bristol was called Caer-Odor, "because it stands on a small river called *Odor*." This can be considered only as an unfounded conjecture; we have no such river in this neighbourhood. Baxter * says, that *Godre* or *Odre* means a boundary; and that *Odera* or *Caer Oder* means *Civitas limitis*, i' e' the frontier town. Now altho' *Oder* be not the true spelling, yet this derivation might perhaps be admitted, were it not incomparably surpassed in probability by the following. *Godor* † in Welsh is *a chasm, a rupture*; in construction it drops the G according to the general rules of the language; and thus is formed *Caer-Odor, the city of the chasm*; translated by the Saxons into *Clifton*, that is, *the Cliff-town*: and more appropriate names for this fortress it is impossible to devise, standing as it does on the very edge of that prodigious chasm, thro' which the river Avon seems to force it's way.

§ 54. For this interpretation of the word I am indebted to that most ingenious antiquary, Mr. Edward Williams, whose knowledge of British antiquity and records is most extensive and valuable. His obliging answer to my enquiry is as follows. "You wish to know the Welsh name of Bristol: it is written differently, that is, of different lengths, by more or less curtailing the name. In common conversation it is called *Caerodor (city of the chasm)*: in most writings, especially those of some antiquity, it is generally written *Caerodornant* [*city of the vale of the chasm*]: in the most ancient MSS it is often written thus *Caerodor nant Baddon*, [*city of the chasm in the vale of Baths*]. The Welsh language abounds in compounds, which are formed in this language with greater facility and neatness than in any other modern European language. Hence it is that our technologies in all arts and".

* Vide Baxteri *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britan'*, voc' *Odira*.

† Godor, s. m. *a rupture; an interruption, discontinuance*. It's derivations follow. *Owen's Welsh Dict'*.

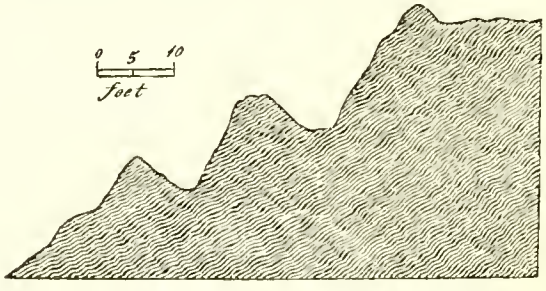
" sciences are of native etymology from our own roots and not borrowed from the Greek &c, as they are in all other languages of Europe. Hence also the immense copiousness of the language; under many a single letter of the alphabet, it contains a greater number of words than under all the letters in Dr. Johnson's English Dictionary: the greatest defect of the Welsh is perhaps, that it is superfluously and even cumbersomely copious, as the Arabic is said to be. In the above etymology of Caerodor, you will probably wonder, how it should be derived from *Caer* and *godor*. The inflexions of Welsh nouns are formed in general by mutations, or (in words where G is radical) by omissions of the initial consonants, or rather of nine of them, which are mutable. The following scheme of these mutations is from Dr. Davies's Latin-Welsh grammar 1621. *Literæ mutabiles sunt CPT, BDG, Ll M Rh. &c &c.* I thought it necessary to give this account and scheme of the mutations of letters in the Welsh language; for without it, you could not have considered *Caerodor* as rationally derived from *Caer* and *Godor*."

§ 55. Thus was founded a British town on Clifton-hill; the original settlement, from which Bristol was derived: and when this latter town began to flourish and the old hill-fortress to be neglected, it was easy and natural to call the new town adjoining by the old name, as happened at Salisbury, Winchester, Colchester and other places.— It is curious to observe, how Clifton, after having transferred it's inhabitants to Bristol and continued an unfrequented village for more than 1000 years, is now receiving back it's population and re-asserting it's claim to eminence. It's ancient history is so interesting, and it's modern appearance so beautiful, that the reader will be pleased to see an elegant representation of it, to accompany this section.

§ 56. The fortress on Clifton-hill was not however the whole of the British station on the Avon; it consisted of three separate camps; which may be thus described. That on Clifton-hill is placed on the highest point of St. Vincent's rock, which rises perpendicularly above

the river at high water 285 feet. Opposite to it on the Somersetshire side of the river is a very deep combe or glen; the mouth of which, where it opens to the river, is formed by two precipitous rocks, one on each side of the combe, almost as high as that on the Clifton side; on the tops of which are two other large camps, similar to that at Clifton. The plate annexed, which is confidently proposed as an accurate plan of the whole station, will give the best idea of it; and a slight consideration of it's form will, as I apprehend, be sufficient to convince such as have paid attention to the ancient fortifications of this island, that these camps are of British workmanship, and not formed by the Romans, altho' the Roman armies might afterwards have occupied them.

§ 57. The camp at Clifton consists of a plat of ground on the very highest top of the hill, now covered with turf, apparently containing between three and four acres, surrounded by two ditches, which form three aggeres or ramparts: the inner rampart is 293 yards in circuit from one precipice to the other; and from the gateway to the opposite cliff is 115 yards. The inner rampart in its present state rises not more than three, four or five feet above the level of the area; but probably there was once a wall upon it, for in most places, when the turf is



removed, a quantity of lime or soft loose mortar is seen in it among the stones, to the depth of two or three feet: and there is a slight layer of charcoal under this mortar in some places, as if the wall had been built on it. It appears from several examples related by Cæsar, that the Gauls in many places surrounded their towns with a stone wall: and we can scarcely suppose the Britons to have been ignorant of the practice. The ramparts are formed in most places by digging out the natural rock, and finished with earth or loose stones: their form and height with

the depth of the ditches will be best explained by the annexed section, which was taken at one of the places, where they are most perfect: in some places one or other of the ditches is filled up, and then again there is the appearance of three ditches; in other places the regularity of the intrenchments is much disturbed by the quarries ancient and modern, and even wholly destroyed by them: and these depredations are continually proceeding. Much of the area, particularly on the eastern part, is broken into small shallow pits; whether by quarry-men for stone and ore, or whether by the ancient inhabitants for the purposes of abode or other accommodation, cannot be determined.

§ 58. The entrance is on the north-eastern side, not in the middle, but where the hill is of easiest ascent; there the ditches and ramparts are broken off, leaving a kind of causeway on the natural hill, which at the entrance into the area is eight feet wide, some appearance of a stone gate-way being discernible. There are also two other entrances, one at the western, and the other at the southern point; but they are only narrow footways, close to the precipice. Along the greater part of the southern side of the area is raised a line of turf two or three feet high and four or five feet broad at the base, intended probably as a caution to prevent the tents or huts from being placed, or persons from straying too near to the precipice; and in the western corner is an inclosure, about forty yards square, formed by the same turf line as that which has been just described. In the same corner, on the outside of the rampart, the precipice ends, and the footway above-mentioned slopes down toward the river, and joins a very broad way now covered with turf and fern, which leads from the top of the hill near the turnpike down to the river, with a descent so regular, that nature has apparently been seconded by art. In this place at low water during spring tides, the river may be easily passed on foot; boys are wet scarcely above the knees. The water ripples over a strong bar of a breadth still sufficient for a carriage, which appears to be the remains of an artificial ford, founded on a natural ledge of rock, and intended to form a communication between the camps on each side of the river; which ford might have been raised high enough to allow the passage of

men and horses for an hour or two on every tide. Even in * 1480 it was a dangerous reef, and boats and ships who touched it were liable to fall over into the deep below. By the side of the broad way above-mentioned, about 20 feet above high-water mark is a small spring of water, which never fails, marked in the plan. W' Worcester A' D' 1480, describes this fortress as "a † Camp [castellum] founded before the time of William the Conqueror by the Saracens or Jews by means of one Ghyst, formerly a Giant in this country. There remain to this day heaps of scattered stones, large and small, lying in order in a large circuit: so that there seems to have been there a very strong castle, which was overthrown and levelled to the ground many centuries ago. And because it is an honor to my country Bristol, and to the county of Glocester, to possess the foundations of noble fortresses and camps, for that reason I write this as a memorial of that castle or fortress."

§ 59. Such was the British station at Clifton. The two fortresses on the Somersetshire side will be most easily described by beginning at the river-side opposite to Clifton camp; on account of the precipice on either hand, the ascent must be thro' the combe, called *Stokeleigh slade*. On quitting the river there may be seen a piece of hard road about 18 feet wide, and raised almost three feet high, leading up the combe: it continues about 50 feet, and is then lost; but on the top of the combe, near the turnpike road to Leigh it appears again. As you ascend the combe, the two camps situate on the very summit of the precipices, one on the right hand and the other on the left, overhang at a vast height. The easternmost of them, which is the nearest to Rownham ferry and to Bristol is called *Bower-walls*, and may be thus described. The eastern side of it, which looks toward Clifton, is bounded by a precipice of moderate height, which renders all artificial defence unnecessary; at the foot of which is a wood, inclining steeply to the river: a strait line drawn along this side would measure about 270 yards. In this side, not far from the northern corner is a projecting point of the cliff opposite to the old windmill in the camp of Clifton: at this point is a small circular mound, marked in the plan, just rising above

* Will' Worc' p' 187. † W' W' p' 180.

the level surface, which probably was once higher, and seems to have been intended as a signal station. The northern point appears to be not less than a quarter of a mile from the nearest point of Clifton camp, in a strait line across the river; and about the same distance from the nearest point of Stokeleigh camp across the combe. On the NW side the camp is bounded by another precipice of immense height, overhanging the combe: a strait line, drawn along this side from the north-eastern point to the rampart, would be 155 yards long. These two precipices are connected by three ramparts drawn between them nearly in a quarter-circle, whose length, measured on the top of the innermost, is 455 yards; from whence it may be calculated that the area, which is now wholly overgrown with forest trees, contains about seven acres.

§ 60. As far as the precipices reach, no further defence was wanted: but on the level of Leigh-down, the place is defended by the three ramparts above mentioned with their ditches, of which the innermost is the most elevated; being where highest 18 feet perpendicular above the area inside, and 22 feet above the bottom of the ditch outside, very steep on both sides; and probably it's height was the same throughout. It is composed of loose stones, which are in most places overgrown with the turf; and was certainly finished with a wall built of stone and mortar, which wall has now almost but not wholly disappeared; the stones being for the most part fallen from the top, and the mortar in great abundance forming the crown of the rampart, which is very pointed. At the western extremity of this rampart, several feet of it's height, if ever raised, have been thrown down, and the ground of the area beneath is formed into a platform about three feet high, for the space of fourteen yards long and five yards wide; apparently the ruins of a building of that dimension adjoining the rampart, and close to the western entrance. The second rampart is not so considerable, as either the inner, or the outer, lying low between them: it has on it a dry wall two feet thick and in many places still two or three feet high, and easily to be traced nearly along the whole line. About thirty and in some places forty yards distant from the top of the inner rampart the top of the third

and outermost is drawn ; it is not so high as the inner, and is not brought to a point, but has a broad flat top : the ditch on the outside of it is trifling ; so that the inhabitants rested their defence on the other two ramparts, chiefly on the inner.

§ 61. The principal entrance to this camp at Bower-walls is on the SW through the ramparts, above 50 feet wide : within, and in front of it, the ground rises as if the foundation of a gatehouse or some such building were beneath. There is another narrower entrance in the western corner ; that is, the ramparts do not extend to the edge of the precipice, but leave sufficient room for a road. Some few yards distant from the main entrance nearer to the river is a very narrow gap in the inner rampart, apparently a footway or small gate. Still lower down seems to have been another gateway ten or twelve feet wide, from which a road or path turning to the left passed under the rampart, and was inclosed or secured by another rampart on the right hand, so that this road passed for some distance in a lane or ditch between two ramparts : a construction not easy to be accounted for. The lowest entrance is about ten or twelve feet wide, adjoining to which and connected with the rampart is a mound, probably the site of a round tower, a defence of the gate. From this gate the ditches and ramparts gradually decrease in size, till they are lost in the declivity which extends to Rownham ferry. The area, which is an entire wood, is crossed in various places by stony ridges which have the appearance of being the foundation of long walls or ranks of houses. The whole appearance of the place may induce the spectator to suspect that it was destroyed by violence. It lies in the parish of Ashton : it's name *Bower-walls* synonymous with *Borough-walls*, and derived from the Saxon *Burgh*, *burgus*, proves that at least the memory of it's being once a fortified town had reached the Saxon age.

§ 62. The western is called *Stokeleigh camp*, divided from the former by that combe of immense depth mentioned above, which is throughout a thick wood, almost impassable. The side next to the combe was sufficiently secure by the declivity which is very steep, and

as it approaches the river, precipitous; this side in a straight line measures 280 yards. The northern side is precipitous, at the rampart least so, but increasing in depth as it approaches the river, where the point which overhangs is frightful. This side likewise required no fortification; it's straight length is 220 yards. Between these two sides a single rampart is drawn in a curved line, the length of which is 225 yards; from whence the area may be calculated to contain about 8 acres. The top of the rampart is from 10 to 14 feet high above the area; and on the other side it is as much as 25 and in some places 30 feet above the bottom of the ditch, being a work of vast appearance. It has a stone wall built on the top of it four feet thick, but without mortar: the ruins are evident all along; in some places only the foundations are visible, in others it is still two or three feet high. This rampart is quite overgrown with forest and other trees. Beyond the ditch at the distance of 42 feet is another ditch 12 feet deep and 36 feet wide, having a very small rampart, and in some places none at all: and in one place an intermediate ditch seems to have been begun, but is not continued. These ramparts and ditches gradually sink into the declivities on each side. There are two entrances, one at each end of the rampart: close to the south-western are the foundations of a long narrow building, a gatehouse or the like: at the other end of the rampart adjoining the precipice and overlooking the road of entrance, was a building of greater size, the ruins of which are considerable, having perhaps a square base with a circular foundation in the middle; but the whole is so overgrown with shrubs and brambles, that nothing certain can be discovered without a regular search. At the point which projects over the river is a mound, once doubtless of greater size than at present, which was certainly the station for signals: Blaze-castle is in sight; and so was Brandon-hill until some new houses at Clifton intercepted the view; a fire kindled at either of those places would be seen at the other two, and intelligence of any hostile movement might thus be communicated immediately through an extensive region. Within the area, near the north-western entrance is a circular subsidence of the ground like a bason, about three yards diameter, perhaps the mouth of a well or

of some other pit. 'Somewhere * in this camp was once found a stone with a hole in the middle, probably a hand-mill with which they ground their corn: it is still preserved, the author says, but he does not inform us where it is. The hilt of an old sword was also found at the same place.'

§ 63. The area of this camp is free from trees or shrubs; and it is observable, that the mole-hills almost all consist of black earth, altho' the natural soil be red: a circumstance which Sir R' Hoare considers to be in Wiltshire a sign of ancient British habitation. Close to the north-western entrance outside the camp in the ditch is a small pool usually full of water; once, in a season uncommonly dry, I found it only moist. It is no doubt a spring or a well. Adjoining to the outward ditch, and on the outside of it, is a small space, inclosed by a shallow ditch and rampart, the ditch being within, and therefore not intended for defence; it seems to have been in shape of a parallelogram, and might have been an edifice for some civil or religious purpose. Beyond the outward ditch at a distance of about 38 yards is another shallow ditch, which seems to have been intended by the inhabitants for the purpose of taking in more ground for themselves or their cattle, but never to have been finished. I have been thus minute in describing these camps, because they are evidently the original settlement, from whence the population of Bristol was derived, and therefore cannot but be interesting to the inhabitants of this city. Of the three, Clifton-camp is unquestionably the immediate parent of Bristol, the *Caerodor:* because it lies on the same side of the river, and because from it we can still trace the regular progress of population; first, down the hill, by means of Roman coins there dug up, and then by the old houses on the river side: till the expansion of the valley brought the settlers to the site of modern Bristol. Whereas on the Somersetshire side there is no appearance of any connection by land between Bristol and Bower-walls; nay there is reason for supposing that in the British age such communication was difficult on account of a lake or marsh, extending to the foot of Ashton-hill.

* Barr' p' 20.

§ 64. One observation will be necessary concerning the general use and intention of these British fortifications. They are frequently called *camps:* but it must not be supposed that they were constructed, according to the modern notion of a camp, for the occasional protection of marching armies. The military discipline of the Romans, with the regular payment and subsistence provided for their troops, enabled *them* to form camps for this purpose, wherever they moved; but the policy of the Britons had not yet assumed a form so regular; their warfare was tumultuary, their campaigns were of short duration, they had not yet learned to fortify the place where their army was to make a temporary stay; it was on an occasion which happened two years after his British expedition, that Cæsar * said, that "the Gauls then for the first time undertook to fortify a camp." The camps (as they are improperly stiled) of which we are now speaking, were certainly intended as fortified towns, where probably the Chief with his immediate dependents and some few others resided, and into which the inhabitants of the neighbourhood might retreat, when attacked by banditti or any of the bordering tribes, and defend themselves with advantage. Cæsar says this distinctly †; "the Britons call it a town, when they have fortified any woods difficult of access with a ditch and rampart; where it is their practice to take refuge, in order to avoid the assault of their enemies:" which description is perfectly suitable to one of our fortresses on the Avon. The whole country seems to have been full of them. When Cæsar attacked the Britons at his second landing ‡ "they retired into the woods, and took possession of a place excellently fortified by art and nature, which they had provided before, apparently for the purpose of domestic war." Into these hill-forts they also drove their flocks and herds, where they might find security, until the danger should be overpassed, or the strength of the country might come to their relief: when Cassivellaun's town was stormed by Cæsar, a number of cattle, as well as men were taken there. Their resident inhabitants were probably few; the main part of the population lived in wooden huts covered with straw, scattered through the country, for the purpose of attending to their flocks and herds, their

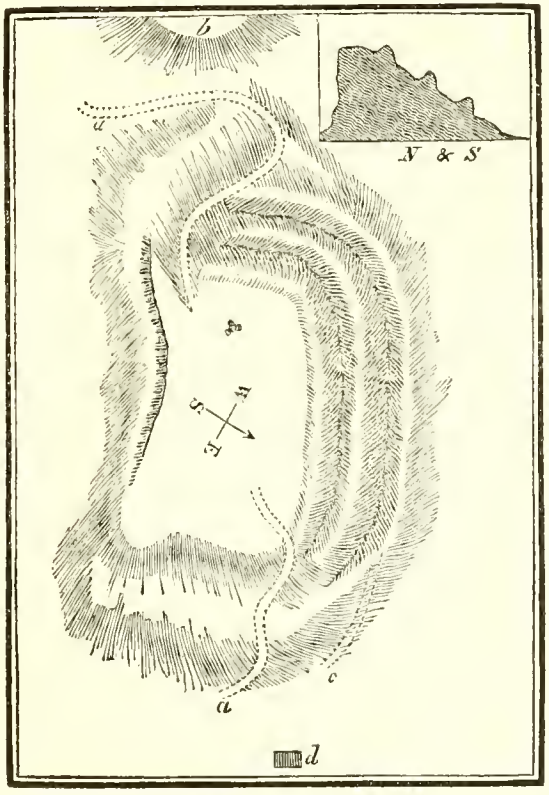
* B' Gall' 7, 30. † B' G' 5, 21. ‡ B' G' 5, 9.

only property, which were dispersed in the woods and uninclosed pastures.—Another kind of fortified towns the Britons had, described by Strabo, which was nothing more than a number of trees felled, and so piled and arranged as to inclose a sufficient space of ground; within which, they built their huts and folded their cattle. Such towns were in the woods, and being only temporary, no vestiges of them can remain.

§ 65. Altho' the fortresses on the Avon above described were large and strong, yet our neighbourhood abounds with others similar. Whether any of them were constructed in order to oppose the invasion of the Belgæ, or whether (as is more likely) for the protection of each petty chief from the attacks of his neighbour; for the Keltic nations were remarkably quarrelsome and pugnacious; we have no means of determining. Such as they now appear, I shall attempt to describe them; and also every other place in our vicinity, where any traces have been found of British habitation; referring the reader to the annexed map, which is intended to comprehend every place British and Roman for some few miles round Bristol.

§ 66. The principal British fortress in our neighbourhood next to those on the Avon is on Blaise-hill, near the village of Henbury, part of the estate of John Scandrett Harford, Esq. The entire hill is occupied by the camp; the area fills the whole summit, the ditches and ramparts the sides. The annexed plan and section cut in wood will give a sufficient idea of the place; wherein the light lines are the crowns of the ramparts, and the black lines denote the bottom of the ditches; which manner is used in other plans of the same sort.—*a* is the ancient entrance and path, called the fosse-way.—*d* is Mr. Harford's house, which ought to be at twice a greater distance from the foot of the hill.—*c* is the entrance to the present walks.—and *b* is Kingsweston hill; the tops of the two hills being more than a furlong apart. The area from the rampart on the SW to the rampart on the NE is (by pacing) about 324 yards long; the breadth is about 110 yards; and it contains probably about five or six acres. The hill is apparently about 60 feet high above

the field on the NW, but much more above the valley on the SE, where also it is precipitous. The sides of the hill are shaped into three ramparts and two ditches, as delineated in the section. The ditches and ramparts are not compleat all round; toward the precipice on each side they gradually sink into the general declivity of the hill; but whether they have been levelled or were never finished does not appear. There



are two entrances, one on the NE and the other on the SW, each winding thro' the ramparts and up the steep; the whole path is called by the neighbourhood *the fosse-way*. A very old man in the village remembered that the corpse of a person, who died in a house on the southern side of Kingsweston-hill, was carried to Henbury church along this way over Blaise-hill, altho' it must have been attended with great difficulty, rather than along the usual path: a fact which proves the great antiquity of this fosse-way. It is wide enough for one carriage, and in some parts still retains a covering of pitched stones.

§ 67. From the summit is a view of all the British and Roman stations in the neighbourhood; Knowle, Sea-mills, Clifton and the two opposite stations on the Avon, Maes-knowle on Dundry, Kelson beacon and North-Stoke near Bath, the New-passage, Caerwent and Lydney, and probably Caerleon. So extensive and beautiful a prospect induced Tho' Farr Esq' one of it's former possessors in 1768 to build a castellated summer-house there, known by the name of *Blaise-castle*, which has ever since been much frequented by the admirers of landscape. Great part of the ditches is now turned into gravelled walks, and the whole of the hill, except three or four acres on the very top, which were cleared in late times, is so closely overgrown with trees and shrubs, that it is no easy matter to trace the ramparts and paths; and certainly very few of the visitants suspect that the place was formerly a fortified abode of their ancestors. At present there is no water on the hill: but it would be a hasty judgement, if we were to conclude from thence, that fortresses of this kind had none in the age of their original inhabitants: when the places were destroyed or deserted, the wells which some of them might have had, were probably filled up with the rubbish of the houses and forgotten. In the present case water was in abundance near at hand, for in the valley below the precipice runs one branch of the little river Trim. From the preceding description and from the wooden plate annexed, and from the name of *Hên-bury*, signifying the ancient burgh, it may safely be concluded that Blaise-hill was a fortified town constructed by the Britons. The name is said to be derived from St Blaise. What connection he could have had with Henbury, either as a Bishop of Armenia, or as Patron of the wool-combers, or as guardian saint of a military order, which went by his name, is not hitherto discovered: meanwhile I shall believe that St Blaise, as well as St Brandon, have been by popular error presented with estates to which they have no reasonable title: *Blaze-hill* and *Brendon-hill* having probably received those names, because on them fires were usually lighted as beacons to alarm the country in case of invasion. This ludicrous connection between a blazing fire and St Blaze is known in other places beside Henbury. "The * anniversary of St Blasius is the third of February, when

* Percy's note on the Northumb' household-book, p' 435.

it is still the custom in many parts of England to light up fires on the hills on St Blayse night: a custom anciently taken up perhaps for no better reason than the jingling resemblance of his name to the word *Blaze*."

§ 68. It would have been satisfactory to have been enabled to point out any road British or Roman leading from this remarkable fortress; but no trace remains. There is however a road of great antiquity, which passes about a third of a mile from Blaise-hill, coming from under Kingsweston-hill in a strait direction, well known in Henbury by the name of the *old Gloucester road*. This narrow lane (as it is now) may be considered with great probability as part of a British way, leading from the river Avon at Shirehampton ferry directly toward Gloucester. The ferry between Shirehampton and Crockern Pill must have been in common use from the very first habitation of the country; it being the lowest place on the river, where a landing *can* be made, and the only *convenient* place for a mile above it. From this most ancient British ferry the track toward Gloucester must have been the same as the road now used, as far as the village of Shirehampton: from thence a strait line in the same direction would carry it thro' the Park, and near to Lord De Clifford's house, until it joined the present road to Henbury, below Kingsweston-hill, which road, was (it may be presumed) laid on the ancient track. It goes on under the same hill, until you come within half a mile of the first house in Henbury, where it leaves the present road; which bends a little to the right in order to go to the village. The old road goes on strait, and is first seen in a field, which has a deep old quarry. In this field it is merely visible: but at the end of it, it assumes it's proper form, a narrow lane eight or nine feet wide, between two hedges which almost conceal it. In some places the stones which covered it remain; for the greater part there is nothing but the natural soil, in which places it is passable only in extremely dry weather. Being now of very little use, and each adjoining proprietor taking a part of it into his field, as often as he has an opportunity, it will soon wholly disappear. About a quarter of a mile from the place, where it is first discernible, it passes below Mr. Harford's gardens and

cottages, near which place there was, (it may be supposed) a lateral track to Blaise-hill: then it crosses the road which leads to Allen: about a quarter of a mile further it makes a slight deviation to the right hand, and at the angle is what I suppose to be a small tumulus or the remains of one about six feet diameter; on each side of the angle the track is perfectly strait. About a quarter of a mile further it comes out into the road called *Gloucester lane* close to a farm-house called in Donne's map *Norton's farm;* which road it enters nearly at a right angle: further I have not attempted to trace it.

§ 69. Insignificant as the road just mentioned is in modern times, it was yet judged proper to make particular mention of it, because it seems to give a true representation of the roads or tracks which were formed by our rude ancestors before the arrival of the Romans, and it is the only one, so far as I know, in this neighbourhood. Antiquaries are of opinion, that beside the main roads which crossed our island, the Britons had also tracks which passed all round the coast and this road seems to be a remaining portion of one of them. Beyond Norton's farm abovementioned, it's course was probably in nearly a strait line to Over, to Knowle, to the top of Almondsbury-hill, and from thence towards Gloucester by the present road. The lateral road to Aust must have been nearly as at present, through Olveston and Elberton: the marshes prevented a more direct communication, as they still do.

§ 70. Kingsweston-hill is a steep and narrow ridge, the north-eastern end of which is distant from Blaise-hill apparently about a furlong, separated by a break or interruption of the hill of great depth. Near this end the ridge is intersected by a ditch and rampart from eight to ten feet deep, which proceeding from the north-western edge of the hill, where it is precipitous, crosses it, and then winds round the opposite side, till it is no longer necessary on account of the declivity. The space of ground inclosed is about 100 yards long, and from 70 to 100 yards across the ridge; forming a kind of suburb to Blaise-hill camp, or additional fortress for it's protection. At the distance of a quarter of a

mile from the above-mentioned rampart, is another of smaller size, which crosses the hill, and winds rounds it's declivity, in the same manner as the former. It was intended no doubt as an additional protection.— Some years ago a number of human bones were found in or near a quarry on Kingsweston-hill, and an iron spear-head with three prongs. It would be inexcusable even in this place to mention Kingsweston-hill, without noticing the uncommon beauty of it's prospect. This narrow ridge about a mile in length, covered with the finest turf, having on one side a view of the Severn and it's shore for twenty or thirty miles upward, bounded by the highlands of Monmouthshire and Wales; and on the other side a prospect of the whole vale of Gloucester, overlooked by the Cotswold hills: will scarcely yield on comparison with any situation in the kingdom.

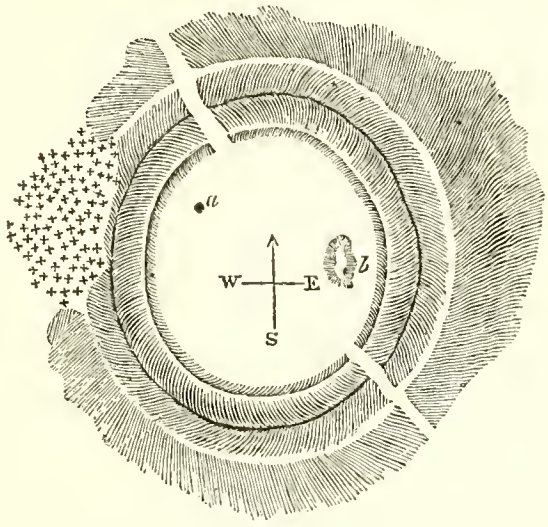
§ 71. Four or five miles north-east from Henbury stands Knowle, in the parish of Almondsbury, a projecting point in the first ridge of hills, which runs parallel to the Severn. This projecting point contains an area of about four acres, from the edge of which is a very steep declivity into the valley, which cannot be less than 60 feet below it. Near the middle of the area stands a mansion of an ancient and even baronial appearance, but in good repair; which with the offices and gardens occupies the whole site. The edge of the area had originally a low rampart of earth all round, visible enough in many places, and easy to be traced even in the garden. The natural declivity, shaped perhaps in some degree by art, is so extremely steep, that there was no occasion of any ditch: it may be however, that the walk, which now passes round the hill about midway between the top and the bottom was once a ditch: this walk is about 1000 yards in extent. The area is on the same level as the public road, and therefore the entrance into it had no natural defence, but was secured by a strong embankment made across, which must have been furnished with a gate. The bank still remains on the left hand, as you enter, 15 or 16 feet high, and carried onward to the left 40 or 50 yards, until the natural descent renders it no longer necessary: on the right hand of the entrance, the

bank has been removed and scattered, for the sake of opening a view of Almondsbury church from one of the windows. The house and an octogon tower, which rises above the rest of the building, are objects eminently conspicuous to all the camps of the neighbourhood.

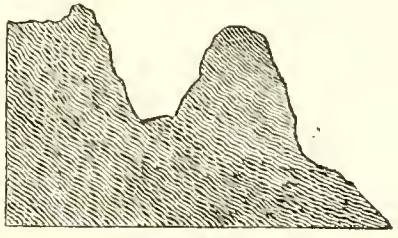
§ 72. Distant from Bristol six or seven miles on the Marshfield road is the hamlet of Wick in Abson, where a brook, called the Boyd, which runs into the Avon at Bitton, passes through a valley between rocks on each side, much in the same picturesque manner, as the Avon passes between the rocks of Leigh and St Vincent, only the latter are three times higher. On the top of the rocks at Wick, on the western edge of the valley, about half a mile from the turnpike road, is the remain of an ancient camp. A single rampart about ten feet high, partly natural and partly artificial, runs parallel to the top of the rocks, about 100 yards distant from them: part of it is now well cultivated; yet it still remains high and strongly marked for about 200 yards; at each end where it turns to join the rocks, it is nearly obliterated. This place is called *the Camp* by the neighbourhood, and it was one certainly; but whether British or Roman or Saxon there are no means of ascertaining. Sir Robert Atkyns says 'that there is another similar fortification on the opposite cliff, in the parish of Deynton, called *the Castles*; the two being contrived in the same manner, as the fortresses on the Avon described above.' That at Deynton I have not yet had an opportunity of examining.

§ 73. In the parish of Winterbourn or Mangotsfield, for the two parishes here touch, in the hamlet of Moor-end, on the top of a steep hill called *Berry-hill* which has the river Froom running at it's foot, about five miles from Bristol, is another of these fortresses. It is about 555 yards in circumference, measured by pacing on the top of the innermost rampart: its form is oval, the longer diameter being about 180 yards, and the shorter 140: the area may be nearly four acres; as represented in the plan annexed. Within it at *a* is a well not more than three feet deep, yet containing a never-failing spring of water; a singular

circumstance, since it is apparently not less than 50 feet above the level of the river. At *b* is a narrow elevation of the ground like a barrow, not more than two feet high and perhaps 20 feet long, surrounded by a slight ditch, the earth thrown out of which seems to have formed the



barrow. A part of the western side of the ramparts is destroyed by the quarries: in other places they are for the most part perfect; where most so, in the form represented in the section. From the bottom of the



ditch to the top of the inner rampart is from 15 to 20 feet. On the whole eastern side the ground outside the camp is nearly on the same level as the area: on the western side the hill is very steep. In the ditch on the north-western side of the camp stands a high mound, which bears the appearance of having been thrown up by an enemy in the assault of the camp. Cæsar * writes that his first exploit after landing in Britain was to assault a camp of this sort, which the soldiers took by ranging

* *At milites testudine factâ, & aggere ad munitiones adjecto locum ceperunt.* Bell' Gall' 5, 9.

their shields into a tortoise-back, and by casting up a mound against the fortifications. This camp is thus mentioned in Camden.* "At Mangotsfield near Bristol is *Bury-hill*, a small camp of observation with a deep foss and high bank, ascribed to Ostorius. Another similar near it is in Winterborne." This latter I have not seen.

§ 74. One mile beyond the Ship at Alveston on the Gloucester road is a mound or rampart of earth of a singular kind, inasmuch as it has no ditch on either side. It is in the shape of an obtuse ellipsis; and contains (or rather, would contain, if it were perfect) as many as 30 acres of ground apparently; the lower or northern part is compleatly obliterated by the cultivation of two fields and the neighbourhood of a large farm-house: that which remains, the larger half, is a considerable work, from eight to ten feet high, and from thirty to fifty feet wide, but much broken in various parts. The turnpike road passes through it from south to north, which is it's longest diameter: but not passing exactly through the centre it divides it unequally: the part on the left hand is called *Little Abbey*; that on the right is *Old Abbey*, 'so called (says Sir R' Atkyns) from a house adjoining to it,' which must be the farm-house abovementioned. It is not easy to give a plausible account of the motives for throwing up a work of this kind. If it be military, we may suppose that the greater part of the mound has been levelled and thrown back into the ditch: but it's size is too large for a British fortress, and it's situation is void of natural defence, which the Britons always chose. If any one should suppose it to be a work of the Romans, it's oval form is a considerable objection, where the ground would have admitted a square equally well: and so large a station as this would probably have been found mentioned in some of the authors, who treat of these subjects, nor have any coins or other remains been found here. Yet if a choice must be made between two difficulties, I should rather suppose it to be a work of the Romans. The neighbourhood of a Roman villa † may be a slight additional reason for this supposition. The area perhaps is not sufficiently level for an Amphitheatre, for it slopes considerably to the north.

* Camden, Edit' Gough 1789. † Mentioned below. Chapt' II, 97.

§ 75. Oldbury is a hamlet of Thornbury, distant from thence nearly three miles. The church stands on a round insulated hill, not very high nor very steep, but there being no other between it and the Severn, from which it is distant about three quarters of a mile, it commands an uninterrupted prospect of that river and it's immediate neighbourhood. The top of the hill is occupied by the churchyard, which is circular, and about 240 yards in circumference, as nearly as can be ascertained by pacing round close by the churchyard wall, which is built where the wall of the camp must have been. It was originally without doubt a British fortress, the edge of the hill being regularly cut down to a sufficient depth, and the remains of an outward ditch being visible in many places. To the east or north-east of the church about a quarter of a mile distant, on the flat ground, is a bank which has much the appearance of the remains of an old camp. The bank is ten or twelve feet high, and it's breadth at the base very great, probably not less than 60 feet. Beginning at the end nearest to the church, it runs strait for about 100 yards, having the remains of a ditch outside on the right hand; and then it turns to the left, but whether at a right angle or not, is difficult to ascertain. The second side is of about the same length as the first, and is then lost, and nothing more of any bank is certainly to be seen: whether the camp was never finished, or whether the banks were levelled by the cultivation of the fields, I could not discover. Very near the angle whence we set out stood an old elm, called *the battle elm:* it perished within the remembrance of my guide, a young man, but the villagers have given the same name to one which stands at a little distance.

§ 76. Such was the appearance of Oldbury when I visited it in A' D' 1813. The following is the account given of it by a writer about thirty years ago.* He says, "the *campus minor* [by which he means *the smaller camp*] is on the east side of the hill near the church: many Roman coins have been found there. A little eastward from thence, about a quarter of a mile on the plain, was the *campus major;* two"

* See Rudder's Hist' of Glocestershire, *Oldbury.*

"sides of a square still remain. Just by, in a piece of rough ground, many old foundations have been dug up." The preceding account of the *campus minor* does not at all agree with what I noticed at the church: it may perhaps relate to something on the outside of the churchyard, which escaped my observation.

§ 77. These stations at Oldbury are interesting because some writers (as will be mentioned in the next Chapter) have been of opinion that here was the Roman ferry across the Severn. I presume that a mere view of the place will confute that opinion: for the distance from the Severn is near a mile in a strait line, across a flat and wet country, such as could be no other than a marsh in the Roman and British periods. It is true, a creek, or *pill*, as we call it in this neighbourhood, comes up within 100 yards of the foot of the hill; and at spring tides a vessel brings coal thither: but the banks of this little pill are deep impassable mud, and so is the whole shore of the Severn hereabout: it seems impossible that a common ferry could have existed here. My guide however at Oldbury told me that this was an ancient ferry across the Severn; and when I contended, that it could not be so on account of the mud, he told me that the ferry which he meant was at *Shipwarden* or *Shipparden*, two miles above Oldbury, where the shore is hard sand and gravel; and that the boat passes the river obliquely down to a place called *pig-hole*, at Beachly, before you reach the mouth of the Wye, a mile below Tidenham church, where also is sand and gravel. He had often heard old men say, that this was the oldest ferry across the Severn, still older than Aust. He added, that it was still in use; that there was scarcely a week in which a boat did not pass, and that he himself had often crossed that way. Being asked why it should be called Oldbury passage, if it were two miles distant, he replied that he believed it was in Oldbury parish. There is a farm-house at Shipparden by the river side, now called the passage-house, formerly the Chapel-house. It appears therefore that the passage from this place to Beachly is of the remotest antiquity; but still it may be confidently asserted that Aust was the ordinary passage; as will more fully appear in the next Chapter.

§ 77*. A point of the Lansdown-hill projects into the vale near the village of Dirham; which being cut off by a deep ditch, and a high steep bank forms *Burril* camp [perhaps *Borough-hill.*] The brow of the hill is too steep to need any defence. It was probably a British fortress, perhaps the residence of one of those three British princes defeated by Ceaulin A' D' 577. Rudder † speaks of it thus: "On Henton-hill is a large camp of a single intrenchment, but imperfect on the south-west side, inclosing near twenty acres of ground."

§ 78. About three quarters of a mile eastward from Newport in Gloucestershire, in a field called *Ryamfield*, a number of bones and other tokens of sepulture were found about 1793. Smythe, the historian of Berkeley, says that the same thing had happened before his time. In 1815 a compleat skeleton was found, not extended, but bent up, which is considered the most ancient and barbarian mode. In the year 1816, in the gravel pit there, the workmen found two holes about four feet wide and deep in the form of basons, filled with good black mold; and in it many broken remains of pottery, burnt bones of men and animals, and charcoal. The writer of this assisted in finding the remains of ten or twelve urns, some fine and ornamented, and some coarse, and two of them glazed. There was doubtless a British village in that field; to this day the young people of the neighbourhood assemble there on May-day morning with much merriment, and some curious ceremonies.

§ 79. In Micklewood chace, three or four miles east from Berkeley, about two miles from the bottom of Stinchcomb-hill, is an irregular camp, apparently British, containing about two acres. It is placed on high ground, somewhat in the form of a kidney, the hollow side is on the edge of a steep hill, sloping down to the brook which runs to Newport and Berkeley, overlooking Woodford. On that side no trench was necessary: in other places there is a slight ditch four or five feet deep. In two places of the ditch, human bones have been found.— About three miles south or south-west from Berkeley is a hamlet called *Bevington*, vulgò *Beinton*, where is a high knoll, called *Blizbury-hill*,

† History of Glocestershire.

overlooking the Severn and it's valley; the circuit seems artificially wrought into a rampart or steep slope, but there is very little appearance of a ditch. The name bespeaks a fortified place, and the ditch may have been levelled. About a mile from this place nearer to Berkeley, close within the park-wall near a farm-house, an urn perfect and well-shaped was found under ground about A' D' 1810, capable of holding about three quarts. It is now in the possession of W' Shrapnell, Esq' of Berkeley. At this same place the ground is artificially dug into several hollow ways: either there was a British village here; or these trenches were made in searching for iron ore: scoriæ are common, scattered about in all the neighbourhood. Thus much concerning the British stations on the Gloucestershire side of Bristol: we come now to those on the Somersetshire side.

§ 80. About one mile southward from the camps in Leigh-wood is Ashton Court, the seat of Sir Hugh Smyth, Bart', situate nearly on the level of the vale. On the hill immediately above the house is a large camp, inclosed by a single ditch and rampart: in that part of it which adjoins the house, where the ditch and rampart begin to descend the hill, they are gradually levelled or were never compleated, affording uninterrupted access to the house; and suggesting a notion, that the Chieftain who inhabited the intrenched fort above, did afterwards, when the state of society became more safe and peaceable, quit the inconvenient abode on the hill, and take up his residence below, still preserving a communication with the fort. How large the area may be, is not very easy to ascertain, it being wholly overgrown with trees and underwood: it seems to be not less than that at Clifton.

§ 81. *Cadbury* or *Cadbury* camp in the parish of Tickenham in Somersetshire, about seven miles distant from Bristol, stands on the same ridge of hill, as the camps in Leigh-wood, distant from them about seven miles westward, immediately above the village of Tickenham, in a commanding situation on the narrowest part of the ridge, overlooking the vale of Portbury on one side, and that of Nailsea on the other.

It is an area consisting of about four acres, in form somewhat like a square, the diameter of which is about 190 yards, having the corners rounded off, and the sides curved. It is defended by two ditches and three ramparts, the perpendicular height of the latter above the lowest part of the ditch is about ten feet. The tops of the ramparts are distant from each other 45 feet. It has one main entrance near the north-east corner, and two or three others of smaller size. The main entrance has an additional defence of a singular kind; the interior rampart is prolonged about twenty feet and curved, so as to flank the immediate entrance into the area. It has a view of most of the military stations in the neighbourhood.

§ 82. On Leigh-down about a quarter of a mile below Fayland's Inn, close to the horse-way, which leads to that place from Rownham-ferry, is a small intrenchment, containing about two thirds of an acre. It's form on the whole seems to be approaching to round, but it has angles and is otherwise irregular. The top of the rampart is in different places from five to nine feet of perpendicular height above the bottom of the ditch. Since the late inclosure in 1818, the area has been cultivated, and probably few years more will leave only a small irregularity of ground. It seems too small for any military purpose, and useless on account of the proximity of the greater stations, Cadbury and those on the Avon, from which it is nearly equidistant.—About half a mile from hence is another of the same sort, lying toward the edge of the hill which overlooks the vale of Ashton, apparently about half a mile distant from Ashton water. It is circular, only sixteen yards in diameter, having no manifest entrance: the rampart is only about five feet high from the bottom of the ditch, formed partly of loose stones, and partly overgrown with turf: it has been called by the neighbourhood from time immemorial *the Old fort*.—On the same hill about 200 yards distant from hence in the direction toward Ashton church is another of these forts, in form of a parallelogram, except that one corner is rounded. The rampart and ditch are nearly as in that last mentioned; the length is

35 yards, the breadth 25. Other similar inclosures there may be on the same hill, which have escaped my notice. But at the same time it may be necessary to caution any one who goes to view them, not to be deceived by the many stony ridges which occur on Leigh and Durdham downs. Many of them are the edges of the strata of stone, where they rise to sight; and others seem to be only loose stones raked together by the early inhabitants, in order to clear the face of the country for the pasture of their cattle.—What might have been the purpose of those small rural intrenchments described above is not easy to determine. For the regular warfare even of the Britons they are quite insignificant; still less can it be supposed that they were formed by the Romans, although the many Roman coins which have been found hereabout (which will be mentioned in Chapter II) sufficiently shew that they were frequented by that nation, or by the romanized Britons. Perhaps they were constructed by the earliest inhabitants as fortified pens for cattle, which by help of a wooden fence on the top of the rampart might have been a protection against wild beasts or robbers during the night, or otherwise occasionally.

§ 83. At Portbury, about two miles from the river Avon on the edge of the hill which overhangs the village, is a small rude intrenchment, apparently constructed by our British ancestors. The hill is insulated, and the whole summit is occupied by the fortress, the area of which is about one acre and a quarter. A small rampart about three feet high appears to have surrounded the area, and is still seen in most places: from which the natural declivity of the hill is so shaped artificially, as to make a sufficient defence. This and other such small forts were perhaps formed by the earliest inhabitants of the country for the purpose of a temporary retreat during an invasion from a neighbouring tribe: or, this camp, of which we are now speaking, might have been the residence of a petty chieftain or baron of the Hædui, whose tenants and dependents lived below. Small as it is, it probably gave the name *Portbury* to the neighbouring village.

§ 83. *b.* There is a small imperfect intrenchment scarcely worth mention on the left bank of the river Avon, about half a mile below Keynsham, overlooking Hanham-ferry. It is a slight rampart cast up on the brow of the hill above the river, and appears to have been begun for the purpose of forming a protection to the ferry, but never finished.

§ 84. Worle-hill is an insulated ridge about three miles long, the top of which in general is not a furlong broad. The western end projects into the Bristol Channel, and is formed into one of the most remarkable fortifications in England. The length of the space inclosed from the inner rampart on the east to the point of the hill on the west, is about a quarter of a mile, and the medium breadth is about 80 yards, making an area, as I suppose, of 15 or 20 acres. As you approach the camp walking westward, about a quarter of a mile before you arrive at it is a barrow of loose stones five feet high and five yards in diameter, which appears never to have been in any way disturbed. Before you arrive at the outward rampart you cross seven ditches formed across the ridge of the hill, out of which ditches it seems that the stones were drawn which formed the ramparts; beside which the whole ground for a long way before you reach the camp is still covered with loose stones. There are two ramparts, about fifteen feet high or more from the bottom of the ditch, composed intirely of loose stones without a single blade of grass or plant of any kind throughout; these ramparts with their attendant ditches cross the hill where it is about 100 yards broad, and then turning westward are continued as far as they are necessary; those on the northern side a short distance only, for they are soon rendered unnecessary by the rock, which is precipitous along that side; those on the southern side are gradually blended into the natural declivity of the hill, which is nearly as steep as the rampart itself, and like it composed of loose stones. There is no appearance of any building in the area, except a square excavation about five feet deep and seven feet square, the sides of which are built with loose stones without mortar: it has somewhat the appearance of the mouth of a large square well, which might have been filled up, when the place was abandoned.

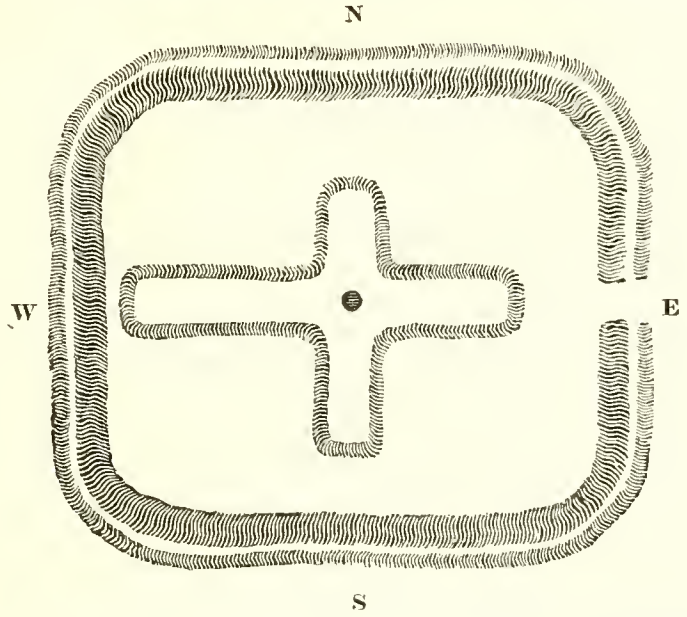
§ 85. This fortress is certainly of an extraordinary kind; and if the Danes ever constructed such places, it might well be supposed that this was a Danish camp; for the Danes much harassed the shores of the Bristol Channel in the 9th and 10th centuries; but I much doubt whether that roving desultory banditti, who were called by the general name of Danes, made any of those fortresses which are so common on the hills of England and Wales. That they occupied this of which we are now speaking, and others in this same neighbourhood, at the period abovementioned there can be little reason * to doubt; but the original formation belongs to the Britons. Some Chieftain of the Hædui seems to have employed the whole strength of his Clan in making this inaccessible retreat for himself and his subjects, and their cattle, against the invasion of enemies by sea or land; and here he might have dwelt occasionally with some of the principal of his dependent neighbours.

§ 86. Another of these fortresses is to be seen about six miles east from the preceding on Banwell-hill, a ridge of Mendip adjoining to that village. The fortress lies half a mile from the village eastward, and occupies the entire summit of a high knowl, containing apparently twenty acres of ground or more, of an irregular form, wide towards the west and narrower to the east. The rampart is, as usual, formed out of the declivity of the hill, and rises two or three feet above the level of the inside; it's height from the bottom of the ditch is about ten feet at the deepest place. On the highest part of the area is a small barrow of earth four or five feet high, which appears to have been opened.

§ 87. Returning toward Banwell along the top of the ridge, about a quarter of a mile distant from the preceding fortress, is a remnant of antiquity, not easily to be classed. It is a small plot of ground nearly square, surrounded with a rampart of earth only three feet high and a slight ditch; it is about 55 yards long from west to east, and 45 yards broad from north to south: the entrance is on the east. In the area is a raised ridge about two feet high and four or five feet wide, formed in shape of a cross; edged on all sides by a slight ditch or trench,

* Vide Chap' III, 34 &c.

scarcely half a foot deep. In the middle of the cross is an excavation, apparently the mouth of an old well. It may be supposed that this inclosure was somehow connected with the last-mentioned fortress; but



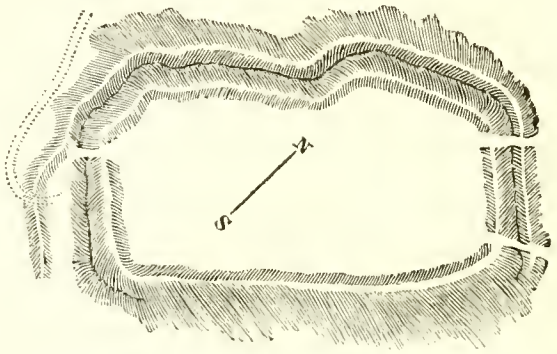
what it was I cannot even conjecture. The annexed wooden plate will give a sufficient representation of it.

§ 88. About three miles eastward from the last-mentioned fortress is another, called *Dolberry camp*, situate on a very high point of the same ridge of hills, above the village of Churchill. The form of it is represented accurately enough by the following ground-plan cut in wood. It is about 540 yards in length, and at a medium 220 in breadth, containing apparently above 20 acres. On the south-east side there is no ditch nor lower rampart, the steepness of the hill rendered it unnecessary: on the other sides the ditch is in different places 16, 20 and even 30 feet deep, formed for the most part of loose stones: the whole is a fortress of great strength, and must have been a place of much importance. In Leland's time * the people had a suspicion that much treasure was here concealed.

"If Dolbyri digged were
Of gold should be the share.'

* Itin' 7, 88 [68]

An ancient path leads up obliquely to the south-west entrance. The neighbourhood attributes the formation of this camp to *the Redshanks*, i' e' to the Danes, so called probably from the red skins with which they



bound their legs. It is however manifest, that it is a fortress of the same description as the others, formed by the Britons for the same purposes: and that it was afterward occupied by the Romans or romanized Britons, the coins found here by Mr. Swymmer * sufficiently testify. We are also informed by the same authority, that Roman coins have been dug up at Worle-hill and East Brent; and that coins of Severus and Trajan have been found in an urn on Brent-knoll.

§ 89. The ridge of hills which separates the vale of Ashton from the vale of Wrington terminates between Congresbury and Yatton, in a pointed hill, on the top of which is an ancient fortress, called by the same name as another already mentioned, *Cadbury camp*. It occupies the whole top of the hill, and is about 400 yards from east to west, and from north to south being of very irregular breadth may be about 150 yards broad at a medium, growing much narrower toward the west. The area may be about twelve or thirteen acres. The fortification is very rude and irregular, being in many places little more than the rocks and natural declivity of the hill, with a slight ditch wrought out of the rocky soil. Toward the eastern side is an oblique entrance, and further on toward the south is another, strait: the south side is precipitous and rocky; and near this side toward the west is a circular subsidence of earth, having the appearance of a well, anciently filled up.

* Barrett p' 10.

§ 89. *b.* A very extensive fortress of this kind occupies the eastern extremity of Dundry-hill, overlooking the village of Whitchurch, distant from Bristol six miles south. The following description, and the plate which belongs to it, will give a sufficient idea of this station. The northern side, which is the nearest to Bristol, is defended by the natural acclivity of the hill, on the top of which is a dry wall about two feet wide, and in some places still two feet high; and possibly it was continued all round the station. At the western extremity, the hill closes on both sides, making a narrow isthmus, which is crossed by an immense *tumulus*, marked A, called *Maes-knoll*, or more usually in the neighbourhood *Miss-knoll-tump*, visible to the whole country, and an object of much curiosity to the neighbourhood. It is 390 feet long, 84 feet broad, and about 45 feet high above the level of the camp on the inside: but on the outward or western side of the knoll, there is moreover a deep ditch; from the bottom of which the top of the knoll by one continued acclivity cannot be much less than 60 feet of perpendicular height: the ground is so wrought as to admit an entrance into the camp, at each end of the knoll. The letters *b b b* shew the principal part of the station, bounded on the west by the knoll, on the north and south by the natural fall of the hill, aided probably by art: the declivities are marked *c c c*.— On the east, where the ascent is more easy, the place is defended by one of the ditches marked *d*, about ten feet deep and very perfect; and about forty or fifty yards lower down the hill eastward, is another similar ditch, not so well preserved, constructed as an outwork, and for the purpose of taking in an additional space. On the south likewise another additional space was taken in: for Dundry-hill in this place throws out a kind of ridge or root, the lower part of which the occupiers secured by two ditches, the natural declivity on the east and west sides forming a tolerable defence. Near the place marked *e* is a small spring of water.

§ 89. *c.* Maes-knoll is the most interesting part of this station: it is usually considered to be a mere military agger or rampart, but is in my opinion a sepulchral barrow, of an oblong shape, of the same kind as Silbury-hill, Fairy's Toot, and others; it's mere appearance, especially

as you approach from the east, is sufficient to prove it so. Beside, what reason could there be for raising so enormous a rampart, and that in one place only, leaving far the greater part of the line with a very moderate protection. For these reasons I have no doubt, that Maes-knoll was raised in the ordinary way as a barrow for some deceased chieftain; having perhaps some reference to Stanton-Drew, which it overlooks at the direct distance of about a mile to the south. It seems likely, that the barrow was formed first with the earth, which was taken out of the ditch; and when that was expended, then with the earth which was dug away from the line, in order to render it more difficult of ascent.

§ 90. The village of North Stoke is about four miles from Bath, situate on the declivity of Lansdown. Above the church the ground rises very steeply for a quarter of a mile to the top of the hill, which is a projecting point, where is a large and strong intrenchment, apparently British, formed by digging away the edge of the hill so as to make a very steep declivity of 30, 40 and 50 feet in depth, computed perpendicularly. This projecting point is cut off from the main part of the hill by a curved trench drawn across the narrow part, which is in some places ten feet deep, and probably was so all along. It incloses an area of about twelve or fifteen acres: the entrance from the vale is on the point nearest to the church. A raised path made of stone passes through the middle of the camp; one way it points directly to North-Stoke church; the other way it extends far beyond the limit of the camp, and at the distance of 200 or 300 yards it passes close to a small camp in the form of a parallelogram, inclosed by a rampart about four feet high, and a slight ditch: the area contains about two acres. The place is worth visiting on account of the extent and beauty of the prospect. A British road led to it from Bath, which will be described in Chapter II.— Such were the camps or fortresses of our British ancestors in the neighbourhood of Bristol.

§ 91. All nations not absolutely savage, and most even of them, have some notion of a God, and some outward form of religion. Cæsar

describes the Britons and their neighbours the Gauls, as idolaters, having deities and religious ceremonies and opinions similar to those of most other idolatrous nations of antiquity. They had their Jupiter, Minerva, Mars, Apollo &c: that is, as we must suppose, the deities, whom they worshipped under local names, had the same characters and attributes as the correspondent deities of the Greeks and Romans; and of these, Mercury was holden in greatest estimation; and his statues were more common than of the rest. Almost all ancient nations during the age of their barbarism practiced abominable superstitions, even that of sacrificing human victims; and we have every reason to believe, that this also was common among the Britons. Among the Gauls it was an ordinary practice to offer up a man on the altar, as a sacrifice for the preservation of the life of some chief personage, either in sickness or in battle or any other great danger: and as the Druids were the priests on this occasion, the Britons without doubt had the same custom. The Gauls had public sacrifices of this kind, and of horrible extent: for they sometimes made a large frame of wicker-work and straw in the shape of a man; and filling it with living men burned them as a sacrifice. Criminals were usually kept for this purpose and burned once in five years: but if there were none, innocent persons supplied their place. That the Gauls were actually guilty of human sacrifice does not depend on the authority of Cæsar only; the same thing is said by Lucan 1, 444; by Minucius Felix; by Tertullian; by Acron in Horat' Od' 3, 4, 34; by Servius in Virgil'; by Justin 26; by Cicero pro Fonteio; by Strabo 4; by Diodorus Sic' 5; by Plin' N' H' 30, 1 [4]; by Suetonius in Claudio 25; by Mela 3, 2; by Tacitus 14; by Lactantius 1, 21, which latter author gives much information concerning human sacrifices. All this authority is surely sufficient to prove the fact. It seems therefore to be but national vanity, which has induced some * modern writers to advance arguments against it, and to represent the religion of the Gauls and Britons as a pure patriarchal theology and worship.

§ 92. This religion of theirs was under the superintendence of an order of men called the Druids; who, as priests, practiced all religious

* Cooke's Enquiry into the Patriarchal Religion, 1754, and others.

ceremonies, whether public or private, and instructed in their mysteries and doctrines those young men, who were desirous of entering into the order. They taught the history of the nation, what they knew of Geography, Astronomy, Natural History, and Medicine; the power and attributes of their Gods, the art of divination, and the immortality of the soul: the belief of which last doctrine was so strong, that they burned or buried with the dead those things which were most useful or agreeable to them when alive, supposing that they would be equally so in another life; such as cups, weapons, necklaces, animals and the like, as appears from innumerable specimens of such things or the remains of them, found in barrows, the graves of our British ancestors. "One of their doctrines, says Pomponius Mela [3, 2], has made it's way into public and is no longer secret: in order to make them more fit for war, they teach that souls are immortal, and that there is another life in the shades. Therefore they burn and bury with the dead those things which were useful to them, when alive. The settling of accounts also, and the demand of debts due to them are put off to another life: and there have been some, who voluntarily threw themselves into the funeral-piles of their friends or relations, as for the purpose of living with them." Cæsar says that they held the transmigration of souls into other bodies; and Lucan 1, says the same, perhaps copying from Cæsar. They instructed the youth by teaching them to commit to memory a prodigious number of verses, in which their doctrines were contained, wrapped up in a dark and mysterious style: and this they did, either thinking it unlawful to commit them to writing, or lest they should become known to the vulgar: altho' in ordinary matters they wrote their language in Greek letters, which they had originally received from the Greek colony at Marseilles. This discipline was frequently continued for twenty years, before the pupil was perfected in their mysteries.

§ 93. The Druids were also the lawgivers and judges of the nation; all causes were tried by them; all persons submitted to their decisions, and obedience was enforced by the fear of being expelled from the participation of religious rites, which was the greatest of punish-

ments. For beside that part of the punishment, which was purely religious, those who were so punished were esteemed impious, and universally shunned, as contagious; no one spoke to them nor approached them; they were incapable of any rank or office, nor was justice administered to them in any litigation. The authority therefore of the Druids and the honour paid to them was little less than their kings and chiefs received: nay these latter were so much under their controul, that they ventured to do little without consulting them: so that in fact they had the government of the country in their hands. Neither did they pay taxes, nor were they liable to the same burthens with the rest of the people: they were not obliged to go out to war, but neither were they forbidden; nor did their Order debar them from the kingly authority; Divitiacus, king of the Ædui of Gaul in Cæsar's time was a Druid. For the purpose of civilizing a wild, rude, unlettered nation, a wiser and a more effectual method could not be invented than the institution of Druidism, whereby a large number of persons, from their youth exclusively instructed in all the knowledge of the country, were invested with a character sacred and inviolable, and placed in a situation, where they were enabled to controul the 'madness of the people' and assist the chiefs in the offices of legitimate government. If they failed to teach good morals, if they were unable or uninclined to abolish human sacrifices, and other abominations with which the Keltic nations* are charged; let it be considered, that 'the Sun of righteousness was not then risen on the earth'; that the Druids could not teach what they themselves had not received: that the Celts, altho' inferior to the Italians of that age in civility and arts, were yet superior to most other nations in those respects, particularly to their neighbours the Germans; and that probably this superiority was owing to the institution of Druidism.

§ 94. That system flourished in Britain especially, and was said to have been invented here; insomuch that those young men among the Gauls, who wished to be more accurately instructed in it's mysteries resorted to Britain for that purpose. It is argued with the greatest

* Cæsar B' Gall' 5, 14.

probability by Rowland in his *Mona Antiqua*, that the metropolis or principal seat of Druidism was in the isle of Mona, that is *Anglesea*, where the Arch-druid resided, and where numberless vestiges of the order still remain. It is almost universally believed, that those circles and lines of vast upright stones such as Stone-henge, Abury and the like were constructed under their direction, and for their use. The parish of *Stanton Drew* in our neighbourhood contains a structure of this sort, which has always been esteemed by Antiquaries, as one of those usually called *Druidical temples*. It has been described in the following books or plans. Musgrave in his *Belgium Britannicum*. Wood's *Description of Bath*, 2 voll' 8vo' 1765. An anonymous writer in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol' LV, p' 762. Donne's Map of the country eleven miles round Bristol, in the corner; the anonymous author of a Dissertation on *Stonage* *; and particularly by Dr. Stukeley, in his *Itinerarium curiosum*. There appears notwithstanding to be still room for an exact description and plan of this interesting place.

§ 95. Stanton Drew lies in Somersetshire, about seven miles from Bristol on the south, and on the further side of Dundry-hill. It's name sufficiently shews, that it was the *Stone-town of the Druids*. It contains three circles of stones, (beside some other stones contiguous to them), which are commonly called *the Wedding*, and a silly story is told, that the whole company were suddenly turned into stones: *here* stood the bride and bridegroom, *here* the fiddler, *here* a set of dancers &c. The largest and the smallest circles are both situate in a field, called Stone-Close, adjoining to the dwelling house of Mr. Coates. The annexed plan represents the whole structure under the following rule: if the stone projects largely above the ground, it is represented by a black mark: if merely visible or tangible, by an outline: if quite underground, and only suspicious, by dots. The whole plan is made with great care, and is (as I believe) the first accurate one ever published. I have added two plates, giving a view of some of the most remarkable stones: the lithographic manner, in which they are represented, suits well with the rude appearance of the originals. The great circle

* Published in Langtoft's Chron', Hearne's Works, vol' 4, p' 506.

according to my measurement is 342 feet diameter: Mr. Wood makes it 378, and Dr. Stukeley 300: the outward circle of stones at Stonehenge has only about 100 feet diameter, and that of Abury 1215 feet at the mean. The measurements in the Gent' Mag' are not worth attention. In the great circle at Stanton Drew only five stones are actually standing in their places; so that the first appearance is not particularly striking. How many there were originally it is impossible to ascertain, for the distances of those which remain are very irregular, and must have been so from the beginning, if the fallen stones still lie where they fell, which is probably the case. I have set down 27 in the plan, which (as I think) may be depended on; there were more without doubt: Dr. Musgrave, who wrote in 1718, supposes that there were once 32; probably there were many more. They were not perfect in his time: it is said in the village, that about 100 years ago, great depredations were made on them, and many were broken for the purpose of mending the road Dr. Stukeley says that about ten years before his time (he visited it in 1723) they suffered great dilapidation: until which time, he says, they were perfect. The greater part of them are magnesian limestone: but some are red sandstone, and some breccia.

§ 96. In describing the large circle, I begin on the eastern side, where two stones No. 1 and 2 lie only 18 feet asunder from center to center, as they are all reckoned: they are now but small, being almost buried or broken off near the ground. They seem to have formed a gateway or entrance. The northernmost is No. 1, and appears to have been advanced about five feet out of the circumference toward the center.—No. 3 is underground, but certainly there.—No. 4 lies prostrate almost wholly aboveground, eleven feet long, and three feet thick.—No. 5 is probably underground, because in a dry season the grass was burnt up.—No. 6 is underground, but certain.—No. 7, the same.—No. 8 is prostrate, almost buried, nine feet long.—No. 9, the same.—No. 10 suspicious, as No. 5.—No. 11 stands upright, six feet high, four wide, $1\frac{1}{2}$ thick.—No. 12 lies prostrate, eleven feet long, four wide, and three thick.—No. 13 is probable as No. 5.—No. 14 is prostrate, ten feet high,

six wide, and three thick.—No. 15 is nearly certain.—No. 16 almost buried.—No. 17 stands upright, 7½ feet high, about six feet thick, like a column, but strangely ragged and uncouth.—No. 18 is certainly there, but underground.—No. 19 is suspicious as No. 5.—No. 20 underground, but visible.—No. 21 is a very massy stone, lying prostrate, eight feet square, and three thick.—No. 22 is underground, but certain.—No. 23 stands upright, seven feet high, seven feet wide and three thick.—No. 24 is underground, but certain.—No. 25 is prostrate, of great dimensions, eleven feet high, nine wide, and 2½ thick: it appears like a large platform.—No. 26 is fallen flat and nearly buried: it is ten feet high, pointed on the top, and 4½ wide.—No. 27 is suspicious, as No. 5.—Connected with this *great circle* are five stones on the eastern side: it seems probable, that originally there were four or five more, and that they formed an *avenue* to the great circle. No. 28 is lying on the ground, almost oval, ten feet high, seven wide and four thick.—No. 29 is upright, six feet high and pointed, six wide, and three thick.—No. 30 is upright, eight feet high, seven feet wide, and four thick.—No. 31 is lying down, about four feet square, and 1½ thick.—No. 32 is six feet high, three feet wide and three thick. The writer in the Gent' Mag' by help of some of these stones 28, 29 &c endeavours to form *two* circles, not concentric, but intersecting each other. Even by this contrivance all the stones cannot be introduced; and in my judgement the scheme is wholly without foundation.

§ 97. Eastward from the great circle is *the circle of eight*, the circumference of which is about 150 feet distant from that of the other. The diameter is about 94 or 96 feet: it consists of eight very large stones, half of them erect, and the others high above the ground, and the workmanship of them is far superior to that of the other circles, so that their appearance cannot fail to surprize. If Musgrave's view of them be correct, they were in his time all erect except one: their present state may be known by the following description. No. 1 consists of several pieces: there are two large stones lying prostrate, 11½ feet long; and four smaller pieces, perhaps fragments of a third large

stone; one of which pieces is more than five feet high.—No. 2 is 12½ feet high perpendicularly: it bows to the north, being so placed originally, as I suppose.—No. 3 is square and massive, about eight feet high, erect. This stone and it's opposite, No. 7, are a little retired out of the circumference, further from the center.—No. 4 is upright and perfect, ten feet high and 7½ square.—No. 5 is upright and perfect, nine feet high, 5½ thick, nearly square.—No. 6 is prostrate, ten feet high, six wide and one thick.—No. 7 is prostrate, 13 feet long, six feet wide and three thick.—No. 8 is the largest of all: it lies prostrate 15½ high, and five feet square.—Eastward from hence are seven stones, adjoining to the last-mentioned circle: I suppose that there were three or four more originally, and that they formed an avenue to it. Musgrave supposes that these seven extrinsic stones and the five mentioned above, formed originally another circle, going round the circle of eight.—Stukeley goes further: he supposes that the circle of eight, by the help of these extrinsic stones, was at first five concentric circles: and Wood is still more extravagant. The notion of intersecting circles has been already mentioned. These conjectures appear to me very improbable, and without the least foundation: the number of stones required to fill up such circles would be very great, and there are no traces of them. It is a mere dream of these Antiquaries.—No. 9 is broken off even with the ground; it was about seven feet high, and four wide.—No. 10 is upright, and six feet high.—No. 11 is lying along, eight feet high, and four feet wide.—No. 12 lies prostrate, nine feet high, pointed on top, thick and square.—No. 13 is five feet high, and four feet thick, almost square.—No. 14 is only four feet high, 2½ wide, and one thick.—No. 15 is five feet high, and two feet thick.

§ 98. We come now to the south-west circle, called by Stukeley *the Lunar Temple*, the centre of which is distant from the center of the great circle 714 feet, according to Wood's measurement; which distance could not be expressed in the subjoined plan. The diameter he reckons to be 140 feet; Stukeley only 120. It is situate partly in a field, and partly in an orchard, and consists of eleven or twelve stones, as follows.

No. 1 might have been about six feet high; and tolerably thick: it lies on the ground, broken into three pieces.—No. 2 is 13 feet long, lying almost buried in the ground: it appears to be not very wide.—No. 3 is seven feet high, and about 1½ foot square: it lies on the ground in the wall. There is close to it another of the same kind five feet high, built also in the wall, brought probably from some other part of the same circle.—No. 4 is not more than four feet high, and is almost buried.—No. 5 the same.—No. 6 the same.—No. 7 lies on the ground, four feet long, and 3½ wide.—No. 8 is underground, but certain.—No. 9 lies prostrate, five feet high, and three square.—No. 10 lies prostrate, eight feet long, three wide, and two thick.—No. 11 is prostrate, somewhat of an oval shape, ten feet long, five feet wide, and two feet thick.—All in this circle are rude and irregular, and probably some have disappeared.

§ 99. North-west from the last circle, little more than 100 yards distant, is a *Cove*, ten feet wide and about eight feet deep, formed of three large flat stones 18 inches thick: they are reckoned by Wood to be 992 feet from the centre of the great circle. The stone which formed the back is thrown down, and apparently two corners are broken out: it is 13 feet long, perhaps two feet of it were underground. The south-western stone is standing in it's place, eleven feet high. The north-eastern is standing, only five feet high; whether it was once higher, which is probable, cannot be ascertained. Such coves are supposed to have been erected for judicial purposes, where the Druids sat and administered justice to the neighbouring tribe. This cove is within a stone's throw from the Church of Stanton Drew.

§ 100. North or north-westward from this cove are two large stones lying flat in a field, called *Lower Tyning:* they are said by Wood to be 3250 feet (i' e' two-thirds of a mile) from the center of the great circle.—Lastly, north-east from the great circle beyond the brook by the side of the road, as you approach Stanton Drew from the east, is a very large stone, called *Hackell's Quoit*: others call it *Hackham's*, and *Ackam's*, and *Hakim's Quoit;* but I am informed that

the first is the proper orthography, derived from *Hawkwell*, a former possessor of land on the spot; but Stukeley calls him "*Hautvill*, a famous champion, of whom Legends are printed under the name of *Sir John Hawkwell*, as vulgarly pronounced."—If the preceding account be compared with that given by Stukeley, it will be found, that this interesting monument of our ancestors, has suffered no discernible damage, since the time when that learned Antiquary visited it about A' D' 1723. A reprint of his and Musgrave's Views would be essentially useful for a History of the Britons. Stukeley supposes the original number of stones to have been about 160, the hypothesis of concentric circles inducing him to set down the number beyond all bounds of probability. My conjecture would be, not more than 60. Beside which some others, as it is said by the neighbours, lie on the ground unnoticed in unfrequented parts of the parish.

§ 101. When or for what purpose this and other such monuments were erected can only be conjecture. That they were built by the Romans or under their direction, as Inigo Jones supposed, is too absurd to be argued. Equally strange is the notion, that they were erected by the Phœnicians, as Sammes and others assert. The Phœnicians for the purpose of their traffic might perhaps have formed some temporary settlements in Cornwall: but how they could erect so many and so prodigious buildings in Gaul, in Britain, and generally through the whole north-west of Europe, and often in inland places, situations to which they could not have penetrated, is quite inexplicable. That they were *all* erected by the Saxons, is impossible; for they are found in Cornwall, Wales, Cumberland, Ireland, and Scotland, where the Saxons never prevailed: that they were *any* of them built by the Saxons (particularly Stonehenge) is incredible. While they and the Britons were engaged in a relentless warfare, how could the labor of a whole nation be spared for the purpose of erecting Stonehenge or Abury? Beside, we have the Saxon history of England so well told, that we should certainly know the time of their erection, if they were built by the Saxons. Concerning Stonehenge there is a fable, that it was built in

memory of the massacre of the British chiefs by Hengist, and hence the name *Stonehenge*. To the many observations which have been made on this notion, I add the two following. The word itself is perhaps a corruption of *Stoneage*, that is, *a place of stones*; so it is written in the margin of the old edition of Camden; and never otherwise by the author quoted above § 94: and by the same name a hill in Tickenham near Bristol is called, as being covered with stones. But secondly, if Stonehenge were built by the Saxons under Hengist, it must however have been their *first* building of that sort: but Abury and Stanton Drew were certainly built long before it, consisting of stones rough and shapeless; whereas Stonehenge was an elegant structure, having the stones hewn into a regular form, apparently the consummation of that style of architecture. If then such stone buildings were formed neither by the Romans nor the Saxons, they must be the work of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, before the arrival of the Romans; ours at Stanton Drew probably many hundred years before that event: Dr. Stukeley considers it to be far more ancient than Abury itself.

§ 102. For what purpose they were made is a question of much uncertainty. Musgrave supposes them to be sepulchral monuments, and this of ours to be similar to two near Rosehild described by Olaus Wormius: he supposes that each circle consisted of a wall, of which the large upright stones were the main strength, and that the intervals were filled up with a common stone wall, and that the corpse or corpses were buried in the center. But it is utterly improbable that a building of such elegance as Stonehenge should be erected with an intention of afterward defacing and hiding it with a common wall, which would have been as strong and as effectual without such large stones. With regard to the opinion, that they were places of sepulture, there is tolerably good evidence, that they were sometimes used as such. Edw' Lluyd says * the Druids sacrificed and buried their dead in a circle of stones, which had a Cromlech, or Kist-vaen, or both in the midst; as we find at Kerrig y Drudion in Denbighshire and elsewhere': and several of the British kings and princes are said in the Welsh Chronicles

* Apud Baxteri Gloss'.

to have been buried in the circle at Stonehenge. The author of the Dissertation on Stoneage mentioned above, considers the whole fabric to be a monument of some British victory, and "the smaller stones to be monuments of the conqueror's friends there slain; one of which being lately fallen [about A' D' 1700], in the pit in which it stood were found the crumbs of a man's bones, and a round bell like a large horse-bell with a screw at the stem of it; whence I conjecture that as the circle of large stones was the trophy of victory, so those smaller were monuments of friends slain in winning the victory (for victors would not honour their enemies with such monuments): and the bell was part of an old Briton's weapon, there buried with it's owner; and I suppose the like bones and bells may be found under the other small stones, confirming the premises. For Mr. Speed in his chronicle pictureth an old Briton naked, lions, bears, serpents painted on him to terrify enemies, with a lance in his hand, on the butt end whereof is such a bell screwed fast, which served instead of a trumpet to alarm, and a club to dash out the enemies brains: and this bell was (I suppose) the permanent part of that old Briton's weapon there buried with his owner, according to the old custom." Nevertheless as national cemeteries they were too small and too few; and beside, the Britons, as most other ancient nations did, buried their great men under barrows. However, since it appears, that some persons were interred in such places, it is probable that the case was with them, as it is with our churches; they were not built for sepulture, but when built they were used for it.

§ 103. Others have supposed that they were built for astronomical purposes, that they contained a delineation of the Solar System, and are a proof that that system was known to the Druids: our fellow-citizen, the Author of the *Treatise on the Deluge*, was so persuaded of this, that he diligently searched for the planets Mars and Venus, which were missing from the circles of Stanton Drew, and found them in the neighbouring ditches. And another person within remembrance, because the aspect of the cove at Stonehenge varied a little from one of the cardinal points, conceived that the Druids were acquainted not only

with the magnetic needle, but with it's variation also, which they learned from the Tyrian Hercules, the founder of Stonehenge, who sailed round the world in a magnetic box. The writer in the Gent' Mag' supposes this structure to be a *Beth-el*, or temple erected in the patriarchal manner of unhewn stones, to the Supreme Being worshipped in the Sun, as the visible emblem of that which is invisible—the *Shekinah* of the first incomprehensible cause; a mode of worship prior to the grosser and more idolatrous worship of fire. These stones (he says) were set in their places for religious and astronomical purposes: and he makes the ellipsis (as he calls it) to consist of twelve stones, having some reference to the signs of the Zodiac. There would be no end of repeating these dreams.

§ 104. Still the question recurs, for what purpose were they built? The answer is in short, for the united purposes of religion, law, and government. They were not raised without a prodigious expence of labor, perhaps the personal exertions of the whole tribe; and therefore it must have been for some purpose interesting to the whole nation; and such religion, law and government will always be. That they were built for temples we have good authority for believing. "The temples of the * Hyperboreans, says an eminent Greek Author, according to "some national religious system are kept not under a roof but in the open air:" the Greeks called all the nations of the north by the name of *Hyperboreans*. There is also abundant evidence that sacred rites were performed in these circles; and that their civil assemblies and proceedings were accompanied and sanctioned by religious ceremonies. That these places were the residence of the Druids, the name of Stanton Drew and others is sufficient proof; and we know that they were the priests, the legislators and the judges of the nation, and controuled even the kings. It is therefore almost certain, that the village of Stanton Drew was in some sense the metropolis, or seat of government, of the Hædui; and that it, and perhaps others in it's immediate neighbourhood, were inhabited exclusively by Druids, some of whom went every day and sat

* Τὰ γὰρ Ὑπερβορέων ἱερὰ κατά τινα πάτριον ἁγιστείαν, οὐχ ὑπὸ στέγην, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αἴθριον διαφυλάττεται. Hesy' voc' αἴθρια.

in the cove or within the circles, to decide the suits and complaints brought before them; others instructed the youth; and others offered up the daily sacrifices. On stated days probably there was an assmbly within the circles of all the men of property belonging to the tribe [the Hædui], where peace and war, taxation, succession to the lands and to the throne, and other national affairs were settled, still under the superintendence of the Druids: and the circles being placed on an easy and pleasant knoll in a valley surrounded by hills, whatever was done might be seen by the whole assembled tribe.

§ 105. It is a common error to suppose, that these temples of stone are peculiar to the Keltic nations; they are found in Germany and Scandinavia; and lest it might be supposed, that they were erected there by the Kelts, who might afterwards have been expelled by Teutonic tribes, one has been found in Iceland, where the Kelts never penetrated. "There is a temple in Kialarness in Iceland, says Rowland, * not much unlike ours at Bryn Gwyn" in Anglesea. When therefore we speak of those fabrics in Gaul and Britain we rightly denominate them *Druidical:* but the term would be improperly applied to those of Germany and Scandinavia, because in those countries there † were no Druids; that is, their priests were not of the Druidical order.

§ 106. There are other monuments of our British ancestors in this neighbourhood, of the same kind as that at Stanton Drew: smaller but not undeserving of mention. In the parish of Wick and Abson, in Gloucestershire, seven miles from Bristol, are some stones set upright, on a low mound of earth twelve feet diameter, the top of which is not more than two feet above the level of the field. The plate annexed gives a view and ground plan of this small construction; the dimensions of the stones are as follows. No. 1 is $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, $1\frac{1}{4}$ thick, and $4\frac{1}{4}$ wide.—No. 2 is $4\frac{1}{2}$ high, 2 feet thick, and $3\frac{3}{4}$ wide, these two are still standing.—No. 3 was standing about the year 1760, it's fragments still remain; as do the fragments of No. 4. They are in the middle of a large ploughed field called *the Chissels*, which is about a mile from the

* Mona antiqa p' 112. † Cæsar B' G' 6, 20

foot of Lansdown, and about a quarter of a mile from the house of Richard Haynes Esq' ; and they were evidently brought from the cliffs of Wick, distant about half a mile. Roman coins used to be picked up in the field ; some of Constantine and other Emperors of that age were formerly in Mr. Haynes's possession ; and skulls and other bones and pieces of armour have been turned up; and in another large ploughed field, which lies two fields distant toward Lansdown, coins are still found by the ploughmen. Sir Rob' Atkyns adds, "in a near adjacent field great quantities of Roman or British brick have been dug up, where appear also the extended ruins of considerable buildings." The existence of this small Druidical monument, unmutilated, as it seems to have been until lately, in a place situate close to the habitations of the Romans, proves that that nation did not abolish the Druidical superstition, notwithstanding the orders of their Emperors to that effect. Augustus Cæsar * forbid the Roman citizens in Gaul from practising that religion on account of it's horrid cruelty; and Claudius for the same reason is † said to have abolished it entirely ; and before him Tiberius to have extirpated † the Druids in Gaul. Nevertheless we have here sufficient proof, that these accounts were not strictly correct, or that the imperial orders were not executed ; and from other sources we know that Druidism flourished in Britain in the ‡ reign of Nero, and subsisted in those § of Aurelian and of Alexander || Severus, and probably long after the establishment of Christianity.

§ 106. *b*. Another single stone of this kind stands upright in a garden adjoining to the Armoury, on the left hand as you go from Bristol to Stapleton. It appears to have been much mutilated ; at present it is of a very irregular shape : about four feet high ending in a point, and four or five feet wide; it is likely that it was once very much taller, and still it is under the ground as deep as it is high above ground. Some years ago there was another stone of this kind not far from it, on the right hand of the same road : but this after one removal, was broken up and destroyed within memory.

* Sueton' Claud' 25. † Plin' Nat' Hist' 30, 1 [4].
‡ Tac' Ann' 14, 30. § Vopiscus Aurelian 44. || Lampridius in Severo cap' 60.

§ 107. Another Druidical remnant of antiquity is to be seen at Stoke-bishop, in the parish of Westbury, about three miles from Bristol on the road to Shirehampton, on the top of the hill after you have passed the watering-place, in a field close to the road-side on the left hand. It consists of one large stone and three small. The ground plan in the plate shews the place of the large stone, when it stood upright, and the dotted line it's present situation, as it lies prostrate. It is $10\frac{1}{2}$ in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ thick, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ broad at the broadest. It has been thrown down, and having fallen on one of the smaller stones, which stood beneath, it partly rests on it, and is prevented from lying flat on the ground, so that at first sight it appears a cromlech, or altar-stone. The plate gives a good representation of it's present appearance, as seen edgeways by a person sitting on the ground at the distance of a few yards. Of the three smaller stones, the first has been already mentioned, as supporting the great stone; it is about three feet above the ground. Another lies close to it westward, and the third a few feet distant north-westward: the two last are broken off close to the ground, or they may be fragments separated when the great stone fell down. That which was it's northern or north-eastern face when it stood upright, which now lies nearest to the ground, is tolerably smooth, and of the natural color of the stone; all other parts are eaten into deep holes by the action of the weather for more than 1000 years, and are slightly covered with moss, and the colour is dark and dirty. This stone is a mill-stone grit, or breccia, and was probably brought from the foot of Kingsweston-hill, about a mile distant, where numbers of the same sort, although not of equal size, still lie scattered on the ground, and many more were formerly to be seen, until Mr. F' collected them for the foundation of his house.

§ 108. Considering the number of such fabrics, as those mentioned above, and the probability that others of small size and many single stones have wholly disappeared, we may reasonably suppose that this neighbourhood at least, if not the whole country, was well furnished with them. But for what purpose they were erected in unfrequented

places, as many of these must have been, probably in the midst of woods, is a difficulty in our history not yet resolved.

§ 109. All these monuments of ours sink into insignificance, when compared with the enormous structures which are to be seen in Britany, particularly that on the coast at Carnac near Auray. The number of the stones there amounts to 4000, standing in a desert sandy country, far from any habitation, ranged in eleven strait lines. The tallest and largest of them are 21 or 22 feet (French measure) above the ground, twelve feet wide and six feet thick, rough and unhewn. The distance from one stone to another in the same line varies from 12 to 15 feet; the lines are distant from each other from 30 to 33 feet. They stand east and west: those which still remain, extend to the length of 670 toises, ($\frac{3}{4}$ mile English); but great numbers are destroyed: it is said, that their remains may be traced for 1490 toises ($1\frac{3}{4}$ miles English), and that they originally extended nearly three leagues.*

§ 110. Connected with religion are the rites of sepulture. Our British ancestors buried their chief men under tumuli or barrows. We have very few in our neighbourhood. In a field at Bitton is a very handsome one, which will be more particularly described † hereafter. There is another at Westbury, about a quarter of a mile beyond the village, as you ascend the hill in going to the Passages. Where the road makes a sudden turn to the left, a footway to Filton goes strait onward, and in a very short space passes close to this barrow, which is thickly set with trees. This also, as it seems, was never opened. In making a ditch in the same field by the side of Mr. Ll's shrubbery some few years ago, many Roman coins were found, and a skeleton, having the knees gathered up to the ‡ head. There is another much larger than either of the former at ‖ Butcombe [*Bout de cwm*] in Somersetshire, about ten miles from Bristol. As you go down the hill toward the church, it is on the left hand close to the road, well known in the village by the name of *Fairy's Toot;* which last word is a local term for a

* This account is extracted from *les Monumens Celtiques, par Cambry. Paris* 1805.

† See Chap' II. 39. ‡ See above § 78. ‖ See the Plate above I, 89. *b.*

pointed hill. It was opened A' D' 1788, and I extract the following account of it from the description given by the Rev' Tho' Bere, * rector of the parish, who also communicated a view and ground plan.

§ 110. *b.* Fairies Toot is from north to south 150 feet, and from east to west 75: it's shape is oval: it's greatest elevation is about 40 feet: it is composed of small whitish stones, of which the neighbourhood affords plenty, and it is covered with a stratum of earth and grass five or six inches deep. In this singularly sequestered situation, far removed from any public road ancient or modern, fifteen miles distant from the sea, in the ancient forest of Selwood, this barrow remained for 2000 years, unknown to any but the immediate neighbours, who regarded it with awe and reverence, as a place frequented by ghosts and fairies. Some time in 1788, the proprietor of the land having occasion for stones to mend the road, and supposing that Fairies Toot might contain what he wanted, began to open it at the southern extremity. Here an entrance stone was soon found, square, but very rough; which being removed, an introductory avenue appeared 13 feet long, formed by a wall on the right and on the left, 14 inches thick, and somewhat more than four feet high, built of selected small flat stones, of a thin irregular base freestone, less in length and breadth, than common Dutch chimney tile, but in general thicker. The stones are laid very true, and every joint locked with great exactness; but neither earth, clay, lime or any other cement is used. At the end of this avenue was another large flat stone, which formed the immediate door-way of the sepulchre. From what was discovered in this part of it, and by another aperture cut across the barrow near the northern end of it, the following description of the interior cannot be far from correct; although it is still much to be wished, that it might be compleatly examined, for the structure of the middle is only conjectured from what was seen at the two ends. An avenue or passage goes all through the middle, four feet high, constructed of very large rock fragments, and consisting of triplets of stones, two perpendicular

* Gent' Mag' May and July 1789, Vol' LIX pp' 392 and 606; and Dec' and App' 1792, Vol' LXII pp' 1082 and 1181.

and one horizontal: the width of this avenue is not mentioned. On each side of the avenue are cells four feet high, two feet and three inches broad, and nine feet long, where the bodies were deposited, north and south, and there being many skulls in each cell, they were perhaps family repositories. The stones of which the cells are composed are many of them two or three tons each, in the very state in which nature formed them. The number of these cells can be only matter of conjecture: supposing the avenue to be 110 feet long, and about two feet thickness of wall or stone between every two cells, there will then be room for ten or eleven cells on each side of the avenue.

§ 110. *c.* That this was a place of sepulture, and built for that purpose, there can be no doubt. In the southernmost cell on the eastern side of the avenue was found a perfect human skull, the teeth entire, all sound and of the most delicate white; it lay against the great stone of entrance, the body having been deposited in the cell north and south. Several other pieces of skulls, human spinal joints, arm bones &c were found herein, and particularly the thigh bone of a very large quadruped, apparently an ox. In this cell was also found the tooth of some large beast; but no one who saw it, could determine of what genus it was: Mr. Bere conjectured, that it was the tooth of a large red deer. "At the termination of the first sepulchre *(he says)* the horizontal stones in the top of the avenue had fallen down: with some difficulty and no little danger, I obtruded far enough to see by the light of a candle two other similar catacombs, one on the right, the other on the left side of the avenue, containing several human skulls and other bones: but which, from the imminent hazard of being buried in the ruins of the surrounding masses, have not yet been entered."

§ 110. *d.* This sepulchre must have been constructed before the Roman conquest. The extraordinary rudeness of the stones, as mentioned above, is a proof of it. "They have in several places massy acute angles, which are not wanted in their station, and might have been broken off by a few strokes, if the use of the sledge had been known to the builder; and as such detachments would have greatly facilitated"

"their carriage, (and the larger must have been brought from a considerable distance) and would have rendered the work also more uniform, no reason but the want of that or some such instrument can be given, why these irregular ponderous masses were suffered to remain, as they are. But the use of iron was known here centuries before the invasion of Cæsar; it was therefore built before the Julian æra." Another reason for supposing, that this sepulchre was constructed before the invasion of the Romans, is the want of mortar in it's construction. We know that the Britons after the Roman conquest always used mortar, taught probably by their conquerors: the absence of it shews an antiquity of 1800 years at least.—Another proof of the antiquity of this barrow is the position of the bodies, which lay north and south; whereas since the introduction of Christianity bodies are interred with their heads to the west. This however affords little proof of high antiquity; because as late as A' D' 1000 there were Pagans in England; and the builders of Fairies Toot might have been such.—Had this sepulchre been built by Romans or under their dominion, the bones would have been burnt, and ashes or the like would have been found. "But here nothing was found, neither urn, ashes, coin, inscription, nay not the trace or mark of the workman's tool." Nevertheless some part of this latter argument must not be insisted on; for it seems probable from one or two circumstances mentioned by Mr. Bere, that this tumulus had been partially opened and inspected before the year 1788. Proof however more than enough has been adduced, that this sepulchre was built before the Roman invasion, and consequently by the aboriginal Britons. Whether it was a burial place belonging to the great Druidical settlement at Stanton Drew four miles distant, as Mr. Bere supposes, we are not likely to be certainly informed. The description given of it above, shews it to be one of the most interesting monuments in the kingdom; and as a place of burial so commodious, that it might be taken as a model for a family sepulchre even in the present day.

§ 110. *e.* There is another sepulchral barrow in our neighbourhood, so nearly resembling Fairy's Toot in every particular, that the

same description would be sufficient for both. It is situate at Stoney Littleton, in the parish of Wellow, near Bath: for which reason I decline saying any thing more concerning it; particularly because this and the other remains of antiquity almost innumerable, found there and at Camerton and Wellow and thereabout, are in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Skinner of Camerton, who gives his friends hope of seeing a full account of them in print, early in the next year.

§ 110. *f.* In the cavern at Burrington, in Somersetshire, at the foot of Mendip, twelve miles from Bristol, an ancient catacomb was * discovered in 1795, consisting of near fifty perfect skeletons lying parallel to each other, some of whose bones were petrified. Within half a mile of this was discovered † another catacomb, which contained near 100 of these skeletons, not petrified.

§ 111. Next to the religion of our ancestors, their government and manners are worthy of our attention. The whole country was divided into tribes, some of which were aristocratical republics, and some were governed each by it's king, and sometimes several kings or chiefs ruled in one tribe; as in Kent alone at Cæsar's arrival there were four of them. These tribes and kings were sometimes independent and sometimes in subjection one to another; changes, which necessarily produced internal wars, which, as Cæsar ‡ informs us, happened every year. The authority of the kings was by no means absolute; they were forced to govern according to popular opinion. Ambiorix, king of the Eburones in Gaul, describes without doubt the state of government through all Gaul and Britain, when he says || that "his government was of such a kind, that the multitude had no less authority over him, than he over the multitude." Nevertheless by this last word he must mean, not the whole body of men indiscriminately, but the *multitude* of those who were admitted to council at all, the men of property and rank, those who are afterwards described as

* Gent' Mag' Vol' 75, A' D' 1805, p' 409.

† For this fact the preceding writer quotes Gent' Mag' for 1789, Vol' 59, p' 303: but I have searched for the place in vain.

‡ Cæs' B' G' 6, 14. || Cæs' B' G' 5, 27.

knights, For in Gaul (and doubtless the case was similar in Britain) the common people were in no estimation, and of no authority: most of them when harassed by debts or heavy taxes or the oppressions of powerful men, entered into the service of some noble or chief, and became his vassals or tenants. These chiefs were an order of men whom Cæsar calls *the knights*, that is, the men of property and family: who took the field in arms, as often as any war broke out. They retained in their service a number of vassals, each according to his ability; who received his pay and protection, and in return formed a party for his defence both in peace and war, and it was deemed infamous for them to desert their patron under any circumstances however desperate; and the patron on his part was solicitous to protect his vassals, knowing that all his power and consequence depended on the number and attachment of his partizans. The government was administered in some places with tolerable order: for (among the Gauls at least) they paid regular taxes *, which were let to the best bidder, and taken to farm by rich and powerful men.

§ 112. Their military knowledge and practice were not contemptible. Their armies were composed not only of horse and foot, but of cars also, and these armed with hooks projecting from the axles,† with which they charged the enemy, nearly in the same manner as the heroes of the Trojan war are described by Homer; sometimes running forward on the pole of the car, and again retreating into the body of it: and if they broke the ranks of the enemy, then they alighted and fought on foot: meanwhile the charioteers drove the cars into the rear, and held them ready to secure their masters' retreat if it should be necessary. Cassivellaun, when he found himself unable to withstand Cæsar's legionaries, in the field, having dismissed the main part of his army, kept with him 4000 of this species of cavalry, ‡ for the purpose of hanging on the march of the Romans. Their arms were § spears, large swords without a point, and short bucklers. In the battle between Ostorius and Caractacus, ‖ the Silures had no helmets nor coats of mail: yet on a

* Cæs' B' G' 1, 18. † Mela 3, 6. ‡ Cæs' B' G' 5, 19.
§ Ric' Cor' 1, 3, 16. ‖ Tac' 12, 35.

coin, * which represents a trophy *de Britannis*, shields and helmets are suspended. Of their skill in fortifying towns enough has been aleady said.

§ 113. Their houses were, like those of the Gauls, of wood covered with thatch. They had copper money, or used blocks and rings of iron instead of it. In person the Gauls were for the most part stout, and taller than the Romans, and of a fair colour. "Our shortness, says Cæsar, † compared with the size of their own bodies, is holden in contempt by most of the Gauls." Diodorus ‡ says that the Gauls are tall, stout and fair: and Ammianus Marcell' § says that almost all the Gauls are of tall stature, and fair; and ruddy [rutili], and terrible for the sternness of their eyes. The stature of the Britons was the same or taller; so that Strabo ‖ says that he saw at Rome certain young men from Britain not yet full grown, who considerably exceeded the usual height of Gauls and Romans: and since we know that the Celtic nations even down to our own times have usually dark hair and eyes, it is probable that the ancient Britons had the same; differing herein from the Gothic or German nations, who have generally light hair and eyes.—The Britons had a peculiar custom of staining their bodies ¶ with a plant called *Woad*, whether for ornament or any other cause is uncertain, ** which produced a deep blue colour, and rendered them more frightful to their enemies in battle: but it would be unwarrantable to conclude from hence that they were usually naked: more probably they threw off their garments on particular occasions, as in battle. Even women, for the celebration of certain sacred rites, stained their bodies all over with this plant, so as to resemble negroes, and went naked during the ceremony.—They were cleanly in their person: the historian †† says, "they were all neat and clean; nor in all the parts of Gaul, particularly among the Aquitanians, can any one be seen, man or woman, however poor, who is ragged and dirty, as in other countries."—The men suffered the hair of the head and upper lip to grow long, but shaved the rest of the body.

* Mela 3, 6, Edit' Jac' Gronov'. † Cæs' B' G' 2, 30' ‡ Diodor' V, 28. § Amm' 15, 12.
‖ As quoted by Ric' Cor' 1, 3, 20. ¶ Cæs' B' G' 5, 14. ** Mela 3, 6.
†† Ammian' Marcell' 15, 12.

§ 114. There was much difference between the maritime states of Britain and those in the interior of the country, in respect of cultivation and knowledge. The latter in Cæsar's time were not advanced beyond the pastoral state of society; they practiced little tillage; they lived on their flocks and herds, on flesh, milk and cheese, and were clothed in skins. In the northern parts of the island, their manners were still more barbarous, long after Cæsar's time. Herodian * describing the campaign of Severus, writes that "the greater part of the country of the Britons [he means the *Caledonians*] being continually washed by the flux and reflux of the ocean, is full of marshes; through which the barbarians are accustomed to swim and wade up to their middle: for the greater part of their body being naked, they despise the mud. For they do not know the use of clothing, but they adorn their bellies and necks with iron, thinking it a great ornament and a token of wealth, as other barbarians esteem gold. And they stigmatise their bodies with various pictures, and figures of animals of all sorts; for which reason they are not clothed, lest they should cover the pictures on their bodies." But the maritime states of the south were in all respects far superior to those barbarians. They must have cultivated grain in abundance, for there seems no want of standing corn in any of Cæsar's campaigns, either in Gaul or Britain: their country therefore was exceedingly populous; *hominum est infinita multitudo*, says Cæsar: † in particular the people of Kent were the most civilized of them all, little differing from the Gauls. This superior civility of the maritime Britains may be attributed to their descent; for their ancestors were not wholly Celtic, but as was mentioned ‡ before, were partly Belgic invaders, and the incorporation of a more civilized race necessarily amended the original. This superiority once acquired the maritime states maintained by keeping up a commerce with the coasts of the continent from whence they came, particularly with the Veneti in Gaul, with whom they held a constant intercourse; ‖ which consequently introduced many of those useful and ingenious arts, which are the basis of civility and knowledge. This same cause had the same effect on the opposite coast of Gaul, where the Veneti were so far advanced in the arts of life, that they maintained

* Herod' Hist' 3, 14. † Cæs' B' G' 5, 12. ‡ See above § 43. ‖ Cæs' 3, 8.

a naval dominion over the neighbouring coasts of Britany and Normandy: and when Cæsar attacked them, they drew supplies from Britain, as well as from their allies in Gaul, and fought him * with a fleet of 220 stout ships made of oak, and built too strongly to be injured by the beaks of the Roman gallies. So great was the communication between the maritime states of Britain and Gaul, that Divitiacus, king of the Suessones, that is, of *Soissons*, a short time before Cæsar's arrival reigned not only over his own country, but over a considerable part of Britain also. †

* Cæs' 3, 13, 14.

† Cæs' B' G' 2, 4, and 2, 14.

End of Chapt' I.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROMAN PERIOD.

1, 2. *Julius Cæsar's Invasion.*—3. *Invasion by Claudius Cæsar.*—4, 5. *Conquests of Plautius and Vespasian.*—6, 7, 8. *Conquests of Ostorius.*—9 *River Antona.*—10. *Defeat of the Iceni: the Cangi.*—11. *A Colony settled, the Silures and Caractacus.*—12. *Insurrection under Bonduca.*—13. *Frontinus conquers the Silures.*—14. *Agricola conquers the remainder of Britain.*—15, 16, 17. *Sequel to the Roman history of Britain.*—18. *Roman Settlement on the Avon.*—19. *Itinerary of Antonine.*—20. *Itinerary of Rich' of Cirenc'.*—21, 22, 23. *Iter from Caerleon to Bath.*—24—29. *Description of Caerwent.*—30, 31. *Statio Trajectûs, Sudbrook.*—32. *Ferry at Aust,*—33. *and not at the New Passage.*—34. *Aust Passage.*—35. *No Bridge at Chepstow.*—36. *Roman Camp at Elberton.*—37. *Abona at Sea-mills.*—38. *Antonine's Iter from Caerwent to Abona.*—39. *Antonine's Trajectus perhaps at Bitton,*—40. *(uncertainty of the Numerals) not at Keynsham,*—41. *probably at Bristol.*—42, 43, 44. *Different opinions concerning Abona and Trajectus.*—45, 46. *Roman Roads in Britain.*—47, 48, 49, 50, 51. *Roman Road from Bath to Abona.*—52. *Description of Abona (Sea-mills).*—53, 54. *Roman policy in choosing and fortifying places.*—55, 56, 57. *Further description of Abona: Coins and other remnants of Antiquity.*—58. *Road from Sea-mills to Aust.*—59, 60, 61, 62. *Coins found at Henbury.*—63. *Roman Garrison on Blaise-hill.*—64. *Roman Coins &c at Clifton.*—65—69. *Roman Coins found on Leigh and Ashton Downs.*—70. *Observations on the preceding Coins.*—71. *Antiquities*

near Bath.—72. *Roman Government of Britain.*—73. *Roman Army.* —74. *Number of Roman Towns.*—75—83. *Some account of Gildas,* —84—89. *and of Nennius and Mark.*—90—93. *Catalogues of Nennius, and Mark and Henry of Huntingdon.*—94. *Alphabetic list of Roman Towns.*—95, 96. *Continued.*—97, 98, 99. *Prosperity of Britain.*—100. *Bristol, not Venta Belgarum.*—101. *Caer Brito, Bristol.*—102. *The four cross Streets.*—103. *Coins found at Bristol.* —104. *Trajectus, Caer-brito, Bristow.*—105. *Bristol founded by Christians.*—106, 107, 108. *Christianity first introduced into Britain.* —109, 110. *King Lucius, a Christian.*—111. *Conclusion.*

§ 1. JULIUS Cæsar, while he was engaged in the conquest of Gaul, finding that the Gauls received considerable asistance from Britain, determined to carry the war into that island; induced thereto not only by the hope of conquest, but also by the desire of exploring a country at that time so little known to the Romans, that it was esteemed a new world: and probably also by a report, that the island abounded in valuable mines, and precious stones, and particularly in pearls. He passed over in the latter part of the summer of the year of Rome 699, that is B' C' 55: he himself says, that it was in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus; which Dr. Halley,* from the calculation of a lunar eclipse, and from circumstances, determines to be the year above-mentioned, and that he landed here August 26. The same thing appears also undeniably from other data, as may be seen in Hale's Chronology.† Cæsar brought with him only two legions, each legion consisting probably of 3000 Italian soldiers, with an equal number of horse and auxiliaries added to it: so that his whole army might have amounted to about 12000 men. Having fought several battles against the natives with but indifferent success, he returned to the Continent before the equinox; having remained in Britain about four weeks only, and not venturing to remove his camp from it's first station on the coast of Kent.

* See Philosoph' Trans' No. 193. † Vol' 1, p' 249.

§ 2. Next year he again invaded Britain with a fleet of more than 800 vessels of all kinds, having on board five legions, that is probably, about 30,000 men, of whom 2000 were horse. He was opposed by the Britons under the command of *Cassivellaunus*, as Cæsar writes it, called by others *Cassibelinus*, but whose real name according to the Welsh Chronicles was *Caswallon*, who appears to have been king of the Cassii. Before Cæsar's arrival this prince had been at continual war with his maritime neighbours, particularly with the Trinobantes, whose king he had dethroned and put to death, and driven his son into exile in Gaul: but being probably a person of great military renown, he was chosen general in chief on this occasion. Cæsar having defeated the Britons in several engagements, advanced into the country, having the Thames on his right hand, and forded that river about 80 miles from the sea, at Battersea or Richmond, or thereabout, into the country of the Cassi, where he stormed and took the fortified town of Cassivellaun himself. After this, according to Cæsar's own account, many of the British tribes, the Cassi among them, sued for peace and gave hostages, and agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Romans, and finally Cassivellaun himself did the same: whereupon Cæsar withdrew his army to his ships, and finally quitted the island before the autumnal equinox, having continued here somewhat more than three months; apparently not daring to advance further, and judging the conquest of the country to be too hazardous an undertaking, as long as Gaul continued unsubdued; for by his own account he had suffered considerable loss, and his enemies were numerous and warlike. Moreover it has been questioned whether his own history of this campaign is to be implicitly admitted. The Welsh Chronicles say that he was actually driven out of the country at his second invasion, and returned within a very short time by the invitation of one of the British princes. From Lucan's* words, "territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis," *he shewed his affrighted back to the Britons whom he had invaded*, we may collect that his enemies at least said he had been repulsed. Richard of Cirenc' writes plainly that he was defeated by the Cassii and Silures in alliance, and

* Lucan 2, 572.

that Lucan alludes to this defeat in the line above-mentioned. Quintus Cicero, who accompanied Cæsar on this expedition writes * to his brother Marcus, that they had no reason either to be afraid or to rejoice at what was done: and Aaron Thompson in his preface to Geoffry of Monm', p' lxxxv, says that he composed his commentaries a long time after his leaving Britain, when his invention was to help him out, where his memory failed him; quoting Suetonius † as his authority, who says that Asinius Pollio considered the commentaries of Cæsar to have been written carelessly and with little regard to truth: inasmuch as he was too hasty in believing most things which were done by others; and most things which were done "by himself he related wrong either on purpose, or by defect of memory: and he thought that he would have written them again and corrected them" [if he had lived].

§ 3. After Cæsar's retreat Britain was unnoticed by the Romans for near a century; when the emperor Claudius A' D' 43, sent an army under the command of Aulus Plautius for the purpose of subduing it. During this year Plautius fought successfully against some of the British kings, and the Dobuni submitted; upon which he settled a garrison in their country. Again he defeated the Britons, and drove their army into the marshes near the mouth of the Thames, probably on the northern side; where instead of attacking them, he sent for the emperor, who was waiting for some safe military exploit. In the year 44 Claudius arrived time enough to finish their defeat: after which he took Camulodunum near Colchester, the capital of Cynobeline; and after a stay of only sixteen days in Britain he returned to Rome and triumphed, leaving Plautius governor of the province.

§ 4. In the same year ‡ in which Claudius came over and probably with him, the second legion arrived, commanded by it's legionary legate, Vespasian, the same who was afterward emperor. He seems to have been the general chiefly employed in the conquest of Britain, at least of these southern parts, during the government of Plautius. He § fought

* Cicero Epist' 3, 1. † Sueton' Jul' 56. ‡ Rich' Corin' 2, 1, 13
§ Sueton' Vesp' 4.

thirty battles, he took more than twenty towns, and made some of the British kings * his prisoners; and particularly it is recorded that he reduced the isle of Wight, and made Cirencester † a Roman town: and since tradition has called by the name of *Vespasian's camp* the large Roman entrenchment near Stonehenge, we may be certain that some of his military operations were carried on in that neighbourhood. Finally he reduced ‡ two very powerful tribes, which were doubtless, as Rich' Cirenc' § says, the Belgæ and the Dumnonii, and against them in alliance he fought the thirty, or thirty-two, battles mentioned above. That the Dumnonians were one of the two, is denied by ‖ Musgrave. But the subjugation of the Belgæ alone and their dependents, exclusively of the Dumnonians, could not have furnished thirty battles and twenty towns: and if the Dumnonians were not then subdued, at what other time shall we fix that event? for there is no account of any further warlike operations in the west of the south of England, after Vespasian's conquests. They are besides the only tribe in this part of Britain, except the Belgæ, who can be called *very powerful*. It is true that Devonshire and Cornwall furnish only few vestiges of the Roman power; since however they were certainly subdued, the time in which Plautius and Vespasian led the Roman army is the only period to which we can attribute their subjection.

§ 5. It would be especially interesting to us in this part of England, if we had a detailed account of the marches and proceedings of Vespasian, during the six or seven years, in which Plautius was governor of Britain: we only know that in the ¶ third year after his arrival the Romans took possession of Bath and Gloucester; and we may from the general course of his conquests mentioned above, conclude with very little hesitation, that Vespasian was the general who conquered and romanized the banks of our Avon, and founded the Roman station at Sea-mills. We may also collect from what has been already said, and from the state in which the island was at the beginning of the succeeding government, that the Romans during the administration of Plautius, had reduced all the tribes

* Tacitus Vit' Agric' 13. † Ric' Corin', 1, 6, 28. ‡ *Duas validissimas gentes.* Suet' ubi suprà.
§ Ric' Cor', 1, 6, 20. ‖ Belgium Brit', 1, 122. ¶ Ric' Corin', 2, 1.

to the south of the Thames, together with the Trinobantes and the Dobuni and the Cassi; the whole of which probably, but certainly all below the Thames, they governed as a province, at the same time controuling the neighbouring tribes under the name of allies.

§ 6. When Plautius quitted the government, the independent tribes thought this a favourable opportunity to attempt the expulsion of the Romans; so that when the proprætor Publius Ostorius Scapula arrived in Britain A'D' 50 as governor, he found that they had * already made inroads into the territory of the allies of Rome, with so much the more violent hostility, because they supposed that a new governor would scarcely venture on offensive warfare, before he had made himself acquainted with his army, and now when the winter was begun. Ostorius however proved an active officer: without drawing out the strength of the legions, he took the field with some light-armed troops, drove back the invaders and pursued them towards their own country. Then follows that passage of the historian, which has tortured every antiquary who has taken up the subject. "Ne rursus conglobarentur, infensaque & infida pax non duci, non militi requiem permitteret, detrahere arma suspectis, cinctosque castris Sabrinam, Antonamque fluvios cohibere parat." Which passage I would thus render into English: "lest the enemy should again collect themselves, and by a dangerous and faithless peace give no repose either to the general or his army, he began to disarm the inhabitants of those towns and districts whom he suspected, and to secure the banks of the Severn and the Antona, either by constructing new fortresses or by occupying the ancient fortresses of the natives."

§ 7. The history of the war much depends on the interpretation of this passage. First, the words *cinctos castris* are unfortunately ambiguous; for it is not possible to determine whether Ostorius constructed the fortresses, or found them already constructed: which uncertainty is therefore expressed in the preceding translation: Tacitus, as usual, has sacrificed precision of meaning to brevity and neatness of expression. Next, *Sabrina* is certainly the Haffren or Severn. It is clear, that the enemy (or

* Tac' Ann', 12, 30.

at least one enemy) whom Ostorius wished to check, lived on or near that river; and his garrisons there could have had no other object than to prevent that enemy from crossing it. There is no British tribe, to whom this part of the narration is applicable, except the Silures: they, with their allies the Ordovices were the only people on the other side of the Severn: they were unsubdued, of extraordinary animosity against the Romans, and had been engaged in actual hostilities with them for many * years. It may therefore be concluded with certainty, that Ostorius fortified or occupied at least the left bank, perhaps both banks of the Severn, in order to prevent the Silures from crossing and invading the Roman province: and we may be tolerably well assured, that beside Gloucester, which must have been already secure, the stations on the Gloucestershire side of the Severn above-mentioned, as Sodbury, Oldbury, Knowle &c, and particularly Elberton, must have been among his garrisons.

§ 8. But the principal difficulty lies in determining the situation of the Antona. There are two rivers so called by Richard, the Avon of Warwickshire, and some river of Hampshire. The latter is out of all probability, but it may be the former; in which case the word may be a variation of *Avona* or *Abona*, or it may be an error of Tacitus or his copyist. Camden instead of *Antonam* proposes to read it *Aufonas*, but meaning *Avonas;* by which he understands the Avon of Warwickshire and the Nen, which † Leland calls the Avon: and from thence Camden supposes, that Ostorius constructed a line of fortresses along the Avon and the Nen across the whole island; thereby attempting to build an important fact of history on the weak foundation of a conjectural and improbable emendation of the text. Whitaker ‡ also supposes the Antona to be the Nen, and adopts Camden's notion of a chain of forts across the island. Such licentious criticism as this cannot be admitted, nor any historical fact founded on it. The word in Tacitus *Antonam* signifies some *one* river, and the question is, what river is intended. I think it cannot be the Nen or the Welland; for if either one of them were fortified, still between it and the Severn there would be a wide interval for the incursion of a northern enemy. It remains, that the

* Tac' Ann' 12, 36. † Itin' 1, p' 11. ‡ Hist' Manch' 1, 453; b' 1, cap' 12.

Warwickshire Avon is the *Antona*, as it is in Richard's map. Beside, the narrative seems to require that the river, which is the object of our present enquiry, should be connected with the Severn. The passage quoted above out of Tacitus, in my judgement relates wholly to the Silures; against whom the Severn *principally* was to be fortified; and as an additional security, Ostorius might have thought fit to extend his fortification to the Avon also, perhaps as high as Warwick.

§ 9. But if *Antona* be, as Richard says, a name of the Warwickshire Avon, or if the word be a literal error for *Avona* or *Aurona*, which is very probable, then it may as well be the Avon of Bristol; and in that sense Mr. Barrett and others have understood it, and have supposed that the passage quoted above refers to the fortresses on our own river. To me this opinion does not seem so credible as the former; because all this part of the country was reduced to a quiet submission by Vespasian, and was part of the Roman province: if so, then the stations on our Avon were before this time securely settled, too strong for such an enemy to attempt, and we have no account of any further war or tumult hereabout during the whole Roman period. I therefore conclude that the *Antona* of Tacitus is either the Warwickshire Avon, or the Avon of Bristol; more probably the former.

§ 10. The Iceni, a powerful and independent tribe, and hitherto in alliance with the Romans, were offended at the military measures adopted by the governor and refused to submit. By their example the neighbouring tribes also took up arms and joined them; and having taken the field, they entrenched themselves in a favorable position, probably in the country of the Iceni, and waited the attack. Ostorius although still without his legionaries, with only the auxiliary troops and dismounted cavalry, forced the entrenchment, and killed many of the enemy; by which battle the Iceni and neighbouring tribes were reduced to submission. From thence he led his army against the Cangi, intending probably by that route to begin the conquest of the Ordovices and the Silures; and had advanced almost as far as the Irish sea, wasting

and plundering the country, when he was recalled by an insurrection of the Brigantes. The Cangi inhabited Carnarvonshire and the neighbouring parts, the authorities mentioned above * prove it undoubtedly; and the course of Ostorius's progress evidently leads him to that part of the country: it is therefore surprizing that any one should suppose that he marched against the Cangi of Somersetshire: that county is wholly out of the line of hostility described by Tacitus. Beside what authority have we for any Cangi in Somersetshire? little more than an etymology of Baxter, who says that the word Cangi is derived from the British word *cang* or *ceang*, which signifies *a branch*, and therefore may properly signify *a young man*. The Cangi therefore (he says) were not a separate tribe, but the young men of each tribe, detached from the main body, for the purpose of keeping their flocks and herds in distant pastures: and he proceeds to fix the situation of the Cangi of each tribe; among them the Cangi of the Dumnonii he settles in Somersetshire. This is a large superstructure on a very slight foundation, and it is no bad example of Baxter's etymological fancies; his *glossarium* is full of them, whoever reads it may well say, *margaritas quæro in sterquilinio Ennii*. Yet Whitaker † adopts this notion of the Cangi, improving it in some degree by asserting that the British word *Cheangon* signifies *servants* or *retainers*. Camden is inclined to place some Cangi in Somersetshire, for no other reason than because the syllable *Can* or the like occurs in many places thereabout, as in Cainsham, Wincanton, Cannington or Canningham marshes in the Saxon Chronicle, which were the marshes of Somersetshire, Congersbury, Cangfield, Canford, Caundell, Conquest, Quantock &c; whereas there is no town or parish in Gloucestershire, Devonshire &c, which has such a syllable in it; and Barrett ‡ is of the same opinion. Let it however be allowed that there were Cangi in Somersetshire, still it is plain from the preceding narrative, that the military operations of Ostorius at that time lay in a very different part of Britain.

§ 11. The insurrection of the Brigantes, by which Ostorius was recalled from the Cangi and the Irish sea, proved to be an affair of

* I, 30. † Hist' Manch' 1, 1, 2. ‡ P' 9.

little difficulty or delay, and he was again at liberty to attack the Silures, who had never ceased from hostilities, since the Romans first landed under Plautius. The conquest of this tribe appeared to be an affair of so much hazard, that he found it necessary to draw together a strong body of veteran soldiers from other parts, and settle them at Camalodunum [*Colchester*] as a colony, possessing as usual the conquered lands. This was the first Roman colony settled in Britain; and Ostorius was then enabled to withdraw the legionaries from thence, and employ them against the Silures. The celebrated Caractacus, for so the Romans latinized his British name *Caradoc*, was their king: it would be superfluous to repeat his history, which has been so often related without variation; that he was defeated, taken prisoner, carried to Rome, exhibited in triumph, and lastly set free by the emperor's clemency. But the Silures far from being subdued by their defeat, continued the war with redoubled vigour; while the efforts of Ostorius seemed to relax. They defeated the Romans in several engagements; they were with difficulty prevented from totally destroying an army of legionaries, who were left in their country for the purpose of establishing garrisons; and finally they so harrassed the Romans that Ostorius died in the middle of the war A' D' 53, worn out with chagrin and fatigue.

§ 12. When Nero succeeded to the empire in A' D' 54, he had some thoughts of * withdrawing the army altogether from Britain: however he appointed Veranius to be governor; who died within a year. He was succeeded by Suetonius Paulinus A' D' 55. For two years he carried on the war successfully; but while he was employed in the conquest of the isle of Mona [*Anglesey*] the eastern Britons provoked by the injuries and insults of the colonists at Colchester, revolted under the command of Bouduca, queen of the Iceni, whose territory the Romans had lately added to their province: and they were joined by their countrymen in the province itself. This event, elegantly related by the Roman † historian, is repeated in all our English histories. The Roman towns were destroyed, 70,000 soldiers, and others connected with the Romans, men, women and children, were tortured and

* Suet' Nero 18. † Tacit' Ann' 14, 31.—Vita Agric' 16.

slain, and their very name almost expelled from the country, when all was recovered by the successful issue of a single engagement, in which Paulinus utterly defeated the Britons, with the loss of 80,000 men. It is plain that this revolt was for the most part, if not exclusively, carried on by the eastern Britons; Camalodunum, Verulam and London are the only towns recorded to have been destroyed, and since we are particularly informed that the second legion, which was probably stationed somewhere in the west of England, did not march against the insurgents, it must have kept the western parts of the country free from the calamities of insurrection.

§ 13. In the year 69, Vespasian gained the empire, the army in Britain having previously declared in his favour, induced chiefly by the influence of the second legion, which Vespasian formerly commanded. He appointed Julius Frontinus as governor, a bold and fortunate general, who had courage to undertake the conquest of the Silures, in which his predecessor Ostorius had failed, and skill to bring it to a favourable issue. His campaigns, if any account of them had remained, would have been interesting to us in this neighbourhood, because it must have been from Gloucester and Cirencester, from Abona and Bath that the expedition for the conquest of South Wales set out, for these towns had been now for more than twenty years under the peaceable government of the Romans. Julius Frontinus was therefore undoubtedly the man who took their capital city, *Caerwent*, and modelled it and fortified it as a Roman city, by the name of *Venta Silurum*. He established the head-quarters of the second legion at Isca Silurum [*Caerleon*], and many other of the towns in this country were doubtless founded or romanized by him; and there can be very little hazard in believing that the *Via Julia*, which passed along the south coast of the Silures, was made by his order, and from him received it's name.

§ 14. The conquest of Britain was compleated by Julius Agricola, who was appointed governor by * Vespasian A' D' 79. He conquered

* It was in the year before the death of Vespasian, A' U' C' 832. Coss' Imp' Vespasiano IX, Tito VII. Tac' Agric' 18, and not' var'. See also Hale's Chron' 1, 266.

the Ordovices and the isle of Anglesey during the remainder of the first summer; and during the eight years of his government, he extended the Roman provinces as far as the Clyde and the Forth; and if Richard of Cirencester be correct, he conquered the eastern coast of Scotland, and formed a new province, called Vespasiana, bounded by a line from the Clyde to Inverness. Neither was military success the best part of his glory; he rectified abuses, abolished the oppressions of the Roman tax-gatherers and other officers, and encouraged the Britons to settle in towns and to live after the Roman manner: insomuch that the security and prosperity which the Roman provinces in Britain enjoyed during the remaining part of the Roman government may be chiefly ascribed to his wisdom and institutions.

§ 15. Nevertheless his northern conquests were by no means permanent, and it is probable that on his recall the Romans deserted them. Such seems to be the meaning of * Tacitus. "Britain was wholly subdued and immediately relinquished, [or neglected.]" The passage is concise to a provoking degree, but the general meaning is, that the Romans contented themselves with keeping the southern part of Britain, relinquishing the district lately conquered: and the whole island seems to have been neglected by them during the remainder of Domitian's reign, and by his successors Nerva and Trajan; so that from the recall of Agricola in A' D' 85, to the expedition of Hadrian in 120, it is said that no mention of Britain is made by any ancient author. During this time the Britons seem to have so far increased their power as to endanger the Roman authority: the historian says, that at the beginning of Hadrian's reign "those † nations revolting whom Trajan had subdued, ----the Britons could not be kept under the Roman power;" meaning probably the more barbarous tribes. To repress this spirit of disaffection, the emperor Hadrian crossed over into Britain, and here remained part of the years 120 and 121; and built an ‡ earthen wall or

* Perdomita Britannia & statim missa [*or perhaps,* amissa.] Tac' Hist' 1, 2. See the notes of Lipsius and Sir H' Saville in the Edit' var.'

† 'Deficientibus nationibus, quas Trajanus subegerat, ---Britanni teneri sub Romanâ ditione non poterant.' Spart' vita Hadr' in Hist' Aug' Script'.

‡ Bede 1, 5.

vallum between Carlisle and Newcastle, for the protection of the province against the barbarians of the north. Albinus was governor of Britain during the reign of Commodus. On the death of that monstrous tyrant, when Severus was fighting for the empire, he found it necessary to be on friendly terms with Albinus, who was master of a powerful army in Gaul and Britain: he therefore made a treaty of friendship with him, and himself claiming the title of Emperor Augustus, he consented that Albinus should take that of Cæsar; thereby acknowledging him to be a legitimate prince of the empire. This calm did not long continue: at the decisive battle of Lyons Feb' 19, A' D' 197, the fortune of Severus prevailed, and Albinus lost the empire and his life.

§ 16. In the year 208, the Emperor Severus, with his wife Julia Domna, and his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, accompanied by many persons of celebrity, arrived in Britain and kept his court at York. He remained here all the years 209 and 210; and during his stay carried on an unsuccessful war against the Caledonians, and built a stone wall for the protection of the province, nearly in the same line as that of Hadrian; and here he died on Feb' 4, 211. In the year 289, one Carausius, a Briton and a Cambrian by birth, having been intrusted with an extensive command by sea and land, on the eastern coast of Britain, assumed at length the government of the whole island; he took the title of Emperor on his coins and other public documents, and was acknowledged as such by the Sovereign-emperor at Rome; and he governed Britain for about seven years nearly as an independent prince. He was slain by Allectus, who succeeded him; and he in his turn was defeated and slain, and Britain was again united to the empire ten years after the usurpation of Carausius. In the year 304, Constantius Chlorus, one of the two Sovereign-emperors [*Augusti*], came over into Britain, resided here and died A' D' 306. He was succeeded by his son Constantine the Great, who was saluted Emperor by the troops in Britain, and afterwards became sole Sovereign-emperor of Rome. These two princes kept their court at York, as Emperors, for some years at the beginning of the fourth century; and to the latter Ireland * voluntarily submitted and became tributary.

* Ric' Corin' 2, 1.

§ 17. At that time the Roman dominion in Britain appears to have been at it's highest degree of prosperity, and continued so for many years, notwithstanding some occasional attacks, which were repulsed with vigour. But toward the latter end of this fourth century, the Roman government in Britain, which had been for nearly three hundred years in a progressive state of order and prosperity, began to feel the general weakness of the empire. It is said that the Emperor Honorius in A' D' 410, renounced the sovereignty of a country, which he was no longer able to protect; and this is probably the only authority which Musgrave * has for saying that the Romans quitted the island in that year. The legions might have begun to withdraw at that time; nevertheless the last of them did not quit the country until about A' D' 440; and then the government unavoidably devolved on the native princes. The above is a concise narration of the progress and termination of the Roman empire in Britain, particularly in the southern and western districts.

§ 18. When the Romans by their early conquests had forced the turbulent inhabitants of Britain to maintain peace not only toward the conquerors, but also toward each other, they began to settle themselves peaceably in the country, to administer the government in a regular manner, to appropriate and cultivate the lands, to occupy some of the old towns in conjunction with the Britons, and to build others in convenient situations. What they did, and how they were settled in our own neighbourhood is all which may be expected in the present work: for which purpose the reader is referred to the Map I, 7.—The river Avon possessing the same natural advantages as now, could not be overlooked by a people, who from military habits were particularly skilful in choosing situations. Bath, originally a British town, was occupied and fortified by them, and constituted † one of the nine Roman colonies in Britain; whereby the inhabitants enjoyed most of the privileges of Roman citizens. Nevertheless such a river would naturally attract another settlement nearer to it's mouth, not only for the purpose of occupying the lower part of a valley so fruitful, but for

* Annales rerum Brit' Belgicarum. † Ric' Corin' 1' 7.

the purpose of navigation also, the Avon being the only secure station for ships on the left shore of the Severn for many miles of dangerous and stormy coast. Accordingly we have sure evidence that there was on this river several miles below Bath, a Roman or romanized town, called *Abona;* the authority for which being the Itineraries of Antonine and Richard, it will be necessary to refer particularly to that part of them which relates to this neighbourhood; and it may not be useless previously to give some account of them in general, in addition to what has been already said I, 17—21.

§ 19. The Itinerary of Antonine is a book of roads throughout the whole Roman empire, arranged into a number of journeys, containing merely the names of the towns, through which the road passes, and their distances.* That part which relates to Britain, called *Iter Britanniarum*, is contained in fifteen journeys, and was prepared for publication by Dr' Gale, Dean of York, and after his death published in 1709. It was published again by the Rev' Tho' Reynolds in 4to, Cambridge 1799, with a copious commentary and an introduction explanatory of every thing relating to the subject. From a general view of the whole work it seems to have been a collection of the routs given by military officers to their soldiers to direct them on their march: which routs were probably remitted to some general military office in Rome, and from thence copied for the purpose of compiling the book for common use. Such military routs or itineraries were certainly used, as may be seen in the passages quoted in Mr. Reynolds's introduction, and in those quoted by † Gesner. But notwithstanding the military origin of the Itinerary, it is by no means necessary to consider all the towns mentioned in it to be military posts or stations, as some antiquaries have done: the places mentioned are of all sorts. Although it bears the name of Antonine, yet by whom or when it was written is wholly uncertain. Mr. Reynolds thinks it probable that it was written by Antoninus Pius himself, before he was emperor, when he might have been attending

* The best Edit' is Wesseling's, Amsterdam 1735, who in the notes has amended and explained, as far as he was able, what he is forced to call *vitiosissimo libro.*

† Thes' Ling' Lat' voc' *Itinerarium.*

the Emperor Hadrian in his travels; and that it might possibly contain the actual progress of that emperor. That a work of such labour should engage the pen of a person in the exalted station of Antonine is scarcely probable; nor more so, that Hadrian, traveller as he was, should visit the unfrequented roads and unimportant corners of so large an empire, and sometimes more than once. The preceding suppositions will be found more improbable, if you consider the extreme dullness of the work itself. To us it is curious on account of our great ignorance of the situation of Britain in that age, so that we eagerly catch at the slightest information, and can learn something from the dullest writer: but from Antonine or any person acting under his order, we might expect either the municipal state of the town, or whether fortified or not, or whether inhabited by Romans or Britons, or something of that kind, slight notices of which might have been collected in an hour. All that can be understood from the name of Antonine prefixed, seems to be, that it was compiled during the reign of one of the emperors, who bore that name.

§ 20. Richard of Cirencester, whose book *de situ Britanniæ* has been already mentioned, wrote also an itinerary of Britain, contained in eighteen journeys, which form a valuable part of that book, and which he says he compiled from certain fragments written by a Roman general, and from Ptolemy and from other authors. Mr. Reynolds gives very little credit or authority to this itinerary of Richard: he supposes that the Monk composed these eighteen journeys himself, for which he had little other authority than a copy of Antonine's Itinerary, which he arranged anew according to his own plan, and altered in many instances for the worse. Other Antiquaries give a very different representation of this itinerary; Stukeley is warm in it's praise; Whitaker prefers it far to that of Antonine; and the late editor of Richard has in his Preface shortly, but sufficiently, vindicated his credit; and to the opinion of the author last-mentioned I subscribe. It seems that Richard's copy of Antonine differed in many places from that which we now have, or that he had more than one copy of it; and that from thence, and from other

authors to us unknown, he compiled his itinerary, which contains journeys and stations, which our Antonine does not contain: but that he forged any part of it without authority or contrary to it, has never been proved, nor is it probable; and apparently he had not knowledge sufficient for the purpose. Whoever will compare the two itineraries, and consult the authors mentioned in this section, will, it is presumed, come to a conclusion favourable to Richard's character.

§ 21. I return after this digression to the place called *Abona*. The 14*th* Iter of Antonine is * literally as follows: "Item alio itinere ab Iscâ Callevam m' p' CIII.—Venta Silurum m' p' IX.—Abone m' p' IX.—Trajectus m' p' IX.—Aquis Solis m' p' VI." &c, the remainder is not within the present subject.——Richard's 11*th* iter is this: "Ab Aquis per Viam Juliam Menapiam usque sic. Ad Abonam m' p' VI.—Ad Sabrinam m' p' VI unde trajectu intras in Britanniam Secundam, & stationem Trajectum m' p' III.—Venta Silurum VIII—Isca colonia VIIII, unde fuit Aaron martyr" &c. The remainder to Menapia is unconnected with the present subject.

§ 22. From these two journeys combined, the road between Bath and Caerleon must be attempted; and in order to facilitate the enquiry, I have drawn them up in parallel columns; and because they go in contrary directions, I have made them correspond by reversing Richard's column, that they may both go in the same direction. I reckon the Roman mile to be (at least in Britain) the same as the modern English mile, 1760 yards. D' Anville † makes the Roman mile to be 755 toises, equal to 1593 English yards: i' e' one and one-sixth Roman mile is one English, or 14 and $\frac{1}{3}$ Roman are 13 English. The uncertainty of all such computations is well shewn in Mr. Reynolds's *Iter Britanniarum*. This author, judging merely from the distances of some places in Britain, as recorded in Antonine, which have never been questioned, concludes that the Roman and English mile are the same.

* In the editions of Gale and Wesseling.

† In Histoire de l' Academie, T' 88, p' 661, as quoted in Richard of Cirenc' p' 108.

§23. *Antonine.*	*Richard* reversed.
ISCA SILURUM ---------- *Caerleon.*	ISCA SILURUM ---------- *Caerleon.*
from whence are IX miles to	from whence are VIIII miles to
VENTA SILURUM ---------- *Caerwent.*	VENTA SILURUM ---------- *Caerwent.*
from whence are IX [*read* XV] miles to	from whence are VIII [*read* IIII] miles to
	STATIO TRAJECTUS -------- *Sudbrook.*
	[the border of Britannia Secunda]
	from whence are III miles to
	SABRINA ---------- *at Aust-cliff.*
	from whence are VI [*read* XI] miles to
ABONA ---------- *Sea-mills.*	ABONA ---------- *Sea-mills.*
from whence are IX [*read* IV] miles to	from whence are VI [*read* XVI] miles to
TRAJECTVS ---------- *Bristol.*	
from whence are VI [*read* XII] miles to	
AQVÆ ---------- *Bath.*	AQVÆ SOLIS ---------- *Bath.*

§24. There can be no doubt concerning the two first places, Caerleon and Caerwent; and the distance is made IX miles by both writers, which is correct. They are beyond my immediate subject; but concerning the latter place, the following observations, made in 1786, are offered to the reader, as an addition to Mr. Coxe's * account of that place. The Romans latinized the British name *Went* or *Gwent* by calling it *Venta*, and then added the name of the tribe in whose territory it lay, as they did in *Venta Belgarum* and *Venta Icenorum*. It was before the Roman conquest the capital of the Silures, and after that event was fortified by the Romans; for the walls are evidently of their construction. It is true that *Isca Silurum* or *Caerleon* is set down by all writers as the Roman capital of the province, and the British capital also, after the Romans had quitted it, and it's name Caer-leon, i' e' Caer-legion, confirms the common account; nevertheless if we were to judge only from appearances, Caerwent was at least equal to it's neighbour, and equally inhabited by the second legion: the residence of the commander in chief might have been the only circumstance of superiority. It lies four or five miles from the New Passage, and as many from Chepstow, on the

* In the History of Monmouthshire.

road leading to Newport and Caerleon; distant from the latter nine miles. The road enters it at the eastern gate and goes out at the western, passing probably on the main street of the ancient city. It is now an inconsiderable village, containing the parish-church, one large farm-house, three alehouses, three shops, about a dozen mean houses within the walls, and about half a dozen built against the walls without. Such is the state of a place that was once a scene of Roman splendor. The annexed ground plan will give a sufficient notion of it.—*a* is the parish church.—*b* the tesselated pavement.—*c* the pit.—*dd* ruins.—*eee* wells; probably there are, or were, many more.—*f* the wall of the Prætorium. The northern wall is about 550 yards in length, the western about 400, according to which measurement the area will be about 45 acres.

§ 25. The eastern gateway is not yet entirely obliterated; on the left hand as you enter, the quoin to which the gate was hung still remains; on the right hand the quoin has been taken down to widen the road. Proceeding toward the south, on the outside, the wall is visible all the way to the south-eastern angle, but the facing, which was of regular courses of hewn stone, is for the most part taken away, leaving the rough masonry exposed to view, except some few yards before you come to the angle, where the whole is entire to a great height. This part of the wall stands on the top of a bank or rampart, which seems to have been somewhat reduced from the original height as it appears in other places, and is now planted as a garden. The wall here on the outside is eight or ten feet above the rampart; but on the insde it is not higher than the level of the ground: such is uniformly the difference between the level of the inside and the outside, except on the south, where the ground on the outside is lower and of course the difference is greater. This superior height of the soil within the walls may be chiefly from nature: but it must be owing in a great degree to the gradual accumulation of soil in a large city, and from the ashes and final ruins of the buildings: from whence it happens that the fertility of the land within the walls is much greater than of that without. In the south-east angle in the inside, the earth is thrown up seven or eight feet higher than the

ordinary level, the wall still rising with it; which was intended probably for the station of a watchman looking toward the camp at Sudbrook: **primus ab adversâ conclamat mole Caïcus.*

§ 26. All along the southern side on the outside are the most perfect remains of the wall: for if there ever was any rampart of earth on this side, it has been removed, and the wall appears to the height of nearly thirty feet from the fields, with a facing of regular courses of hewn stone, for the most part remaining: in one or two gaps where it may be measured it is about three yards thick. Where the facing has been removed, the internal masonry appears of the kind called *herring-back*, very usual with the Romans. It is composed of flat stones set on edge obliquely on a bed of mortar, each stone about two inches apart from the other, without any mortar between them; then a fresh bed of mortar is spread, and on that is laid another rank of flat stones, sloping in a direction contrary to that of the rank below; and so on throughout the whole wall. There is a small rampart of earth on the inside of this south wall, perhaps only the top of the original rampart, the lower part being hid under the encreased soil. The wall in many places rises five or six feet above this rampart, which seems to be nearly, if not quite, it's original height. Camden mentions three bastions in this wall. There are no remains of the south gateway; there is merely a breach in the wall, through which a lane in the village leads into the fields. Under this wall a few yards distant from it, is a large pit, from whence lately many hundred loads of black rich soil have been taken away to manure the lands: I agree with the person who pointed it out, that into this place the drains of the city emptied themselves. All the western wall has been taken down to the level of the inside; on the outside the remainder is tolerably perfect, only the facing is removed. There are no traces of the western gateway; on the right, as you go out of the city, a house is now building from the spoils of the walls, and on the left a limekiln is kept at work, so that this part at least is likely soon to be obliterated, the whole of the walls being composed of limestone. The rampart is very perfect all along the western wall, and toward the

* Virg' Æn' 9. 35.

north-western angle the ditch is very plain. The north wall is nearly in the same situation, no part of it rises above the level of the inside: on the outside it is not discoverable whether the facing remain or not; so compleatly is the rampart, which is very perfect, overgrown with briars: it is broken through in one place that the road to Usk may pass. The remainder of the eastern wall and rampart is precisely in the same state as the northern. Such is the present appearance of the walls of Caerwent.

§ 27. Near the western gate are the remains of what I suppose to be the *Prætorium:* there is a wall about 90 yards long, and two yards and a half in thickness: but the lime-burner assured me that what I measured was only half it's breadth, that another wall of the same thickness had joined it, making the whole breadth five yards, and that the owner of the field on the western side had removed this latter wall about a week before. The freshness of the ground proved the truth of the information: but a question readily occurs, what sort of a building could that have been, for which a wall of the thickness of two yards and a half was not deemed sufficient, but another of equal dimension was built up against it. There are now no remains of a cross wall on the south, joining the wall just mentioned to the city wall, but the trace of the earthen rampart on which it stood is very evident: the stones have probably been carried away long ago, the field being in good cultivation; and without doubt the thick wall above described will soon be discoverable only in the same manner. The northern wall of the prætorium must have passed by the side of the main street, but the turnpike road has undoubtedly consumed it's remains. Near the south-eastern angle of the prætorium on the outside are considerable ruins, probably the remains of some building. Here in digging up the stones they had lately uncovered a wall, apparently the inner wall of a room, and had found with some other wrought stones, the lowest piece of a column, about a foot and a half high, having a square hole in the top, by which to fasten it with lead or iron to the next piece of the shaft.

§ 28. Camden says that three tesselated pavements have been found at Caerwent: of these at present there is no memorial; but within these few years another has been found, and the owner, Mr. Lewis of Chepstow, has built a roof over it to preserve it. It is three or four feet below the level of the orchard in which it stands. What remains of it is 24 feet each way, composed of pieces of brick and stone of near an inch square, of three or four colours, formed into a handsome pattern, having the appearance of a carpet: the red squares are made of brick, the rest of stone, all laid on a bed of mortar. The pieces having all square angles, necessarily leave many interstices in forming a complex pattern, as this is; how these interstices were originally filled up, does not appear: at present with dirt and lime. Near this pavement are large remains of some building, probably the house in which it formed a parlour floor. Perhaps the following may be a more particular description of the same pavement. "In the * year 1777, a tesselated pavement was discovered in an orchard at Caerwent, about 21 feet long by 18 broad; made by small square pieces of stone, about half an inch or more square, inlaid in an elegant form in waving lines and twisted chain-like shapes, with a very large rose in the centre of the floor, surrounded with a circle, charged with ten smaller roses, painted with four colours, red, yellow, white and blue. The side wall was plaistered smooth and painted red. It seems to have been the state room or tent of the Præfect of the *Legio Secunda Aug.* An inscription on a stone dug up here was *Julia Esseunda vixit annos XXXV.*" The Rev' Mr. Thomas, Minister of the parish, had drawn up an account of the town at considerable length, but he had mislaid it, after having given copies to the Bishop (Dr' Shute Barrington, now Bishop of Durham), to Mr. Hanbury of Pontypool, and others. Great quantities of Roman coins have been found here, and are found continually, when fresh earth is opened: all which I saw (near a hundred) were Imperial, but Consular are also found in abundance, as Mr. Thomas assured me. I bought two very perfect pieces of Trajan in middle brass; and among some smaller Roman a penny of William the Conqueror, and another of one of the Edwards.

* Barr' p' 28.

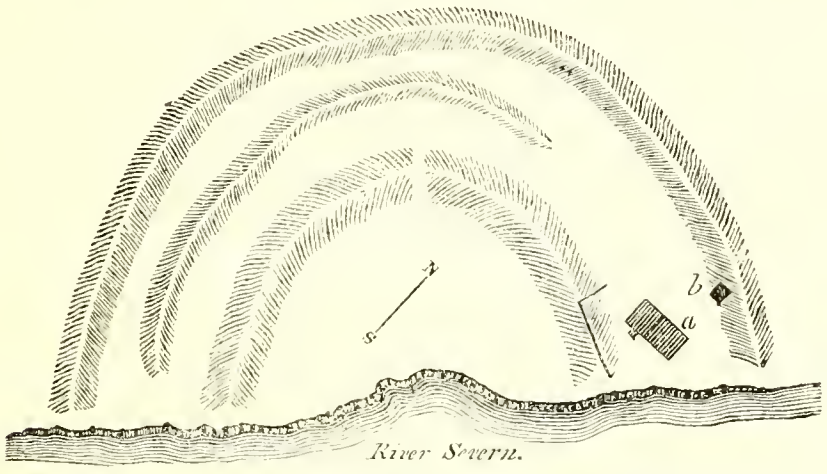
§ 29. The people of the village have a notion, that the tide formerly flowed up to the walls of their town; and some of them said that the rings, to which the vessels were fastened, might be seen in the walls. This latter circumstance is more than can be well believed; and the pit without the southern wall seems to prove that this part was never covered by sea-water: neither was it the custom of the Romans in building a port to bring the walls down to the water side; witness Chester, Gloucester &c. But it is not at all improbable that the tide did formerly flow up the little river which is now about half a mile distant from the south wall of Caerwent: the tradition of the inhabitants, and this circumstance, that they still call the south wall *the Port-wall*, give credibility to the supposition: and probably the river was once nearer to the town than at present. How or when it ceased to flow up, as formerly, does not appear. While the Romans used it as a port, they took care no doubt to keep the channel open: when they quitted it, the mud deposited by the tides and brought down by the floods, might gradually have raised the bed of the river above the reach of the tides: or, since the same thing has happened in other rivers which fall into the Severn, it is possible that the general rise of the tide in that river may be somewhat lower than formerly: from one or other of these causes, the tide does not at present reach Caerwent.—Venta Silurum was therefore not only a large and fortified town, but a port of some consequence, although inferior to Caerleon: that it was fully inhabited, the height of the soil within the walls, the quantity of money continually found, and the foundations of buildings every where discoverable, sufficiently determine; and that it was the residence of many wealthy persons, the tesselated pavements are a certain proof: yet we have no history of it's foundation, the building of it's walls, it's progress, or it's ruin. Mr. Thomas told me, that it was destroyed at various times by the intestine wars of the Welsh princes and chiefs.

§ 30 I now return to the Roman Iter between Caerleon and Bath. Richard calls the next place *Statio Trajectus*. The Trajectus itself must be the ferry across the Severn, because he says, that here you

enter [or quit, according to the direction of your journey] Britannia Secunda, i' e' Wales. The station of the ferry must therefore be one on the Welsh side of the Severn; and there is no one near Caerwent, which will at all answer that description, except Sudbrook, which must therefore be Richard's *Statio Trajectus*. The distance is not indeed eight miles from Caerwent: and therefore the numeral VIII must be altered to IIII or V.

§ 31. Sudbrook camp is situate close to the Severn, about a mile below the New Passage-house. The area is formed by a very high and steep rampart, intirely overgrown with thorns and briars: it was probably intended to be semicircular, but seems to converge to a point, like an obtuse Gothic arch. The area at present may be about two or three acres: the circumference close under the rampart on the inside is 300 yards, or more. The outward rampart is at a considerable distance from the inner, and is much inferior to it in height; between them is a smaller one, very low where highest, which is at the southern end; from whence, as it proceeds, it is gradually lost, having probably been removed for the sake of the church adjoining, which is built between the outer and inner ramparts. It was the parish church of Sudbrook, called in the maps *Trinity chapel;* but since Sudbrook contained only one farm-house and two or three cottages, the church has been deserted beyond memory, and the parish is annexed to that of Portskeweth, to which it adjoins. The walls of it were perfect in 1786, the roof only was intirely gone; there were tomb stones in it, of as late a date as 1729. Instead of a tower, a thick wall is built up over the arch which separates the chancel from the nave; which wall is continued above the roof, and ends somewhat pyramidically: through this wall are two small arches, in each of which hung a bell; a common form of ancient church architecture. The sea makes continual depredations on the cliff: Camden says that in his time half the churchyard was washed away; at present the church itself stands within four or five yards of the cliff, and in some few years will probably fall into the sea. The wall which stands on the inward rampart near the church is perhaps part of the churchyard wall.

In the plan, *a* is the church, and *b* an ancient cross in ruin. The entrances into the camp were one on each side close to the cliff: the rampart, particularly at the southern entrance, is sloped away for that purpose: the entrance at the head seems to have been made in later days, for the convenience of the country people. It may be questioned, whether this camp was always semicircular as at present; or whether being originally circular, it has suffered from the action of the sea the loss of half it's size. From the appearance of the shore at low tide, it may be seen that land enough has been washed away to admit of this supposition; and to this I incline. However since the time of Camden it cannot have suffered much, for he says that the cliff and



the sea were a sufficient defence to it on the southern side. That this camp was occupied by the Romans appears, not only from the probability that they would secure the ferry, but also from the coins mentioned by Camden to have been found there: I could not hear that any have been found there of late years. No foundations of buildings at present appear within or without the rampart; yet the singular situation of the parish church sufficiently intimates that it was built for the use of those who resided in the camp and it's immediate neighbourhood: probably it continued to be inhabited long after the dissolution of the Roman government.

§ 32. The next place mentioned by Richard is *Sabrina*, which must be some place on the Severn; and if you read Richard's own

words, as given in § 21, it will be evident that the place is on the English shore, and was the place of the ferry across into Wales. Without the slightest hesitation I fix it at Aust: and not at the New Passage, nor any where between that place and the mouth of the Avon; where the deep and loose mud of the Severn shore, with it's rocks and shallows, render a ferry impracticable. As for the New Passage, it is at present the most usual place of crossing, and it has been supposed by some that it was also the same in the Roman age, and that the itineraries pass the river there. That situation would certainly have been as convenient for a ferry to the Romans, as to ourselves, had it been practicable to place it there: for it avoids the river Wye, and it saves several miles in a journey to the west; it is situate at the mouth of a creek called *Chissel pill*, on a long bank of *chissels*, that is *pebbles*, which extends irregularly above and below the passage-house for the space of a mile or more, formed by the stones washed out of Aust-cliff and Sherstone rock, brought down by the current and there thrown up to an elevation sufficient to secure the houses from the highest tide.

§ 33. But there is notwithstanding an insuperable reason against placing any ferry here in the Roman period. The marsh country, through which it is necessary to travel for two miles before you arrive there, could not be regularly passable during that age: it would still be overflowed almost every spring-tide, were it not protected by a vast sea-wall; and it is not to be supposed, that that wall existed at so early a period: the low banks, which used, until of late years, to surround fields and estates separately, plainly declare, that when they were made, there was no general wall on the shore. That wall was probably first made by some of the ancient Lords of Berkeley, who possessed the whole shore of the Severn from the neighbourhood of Gloucester to Portishead: although there is no record of it in the possession of the present Commissioners earlier than temp' Henry VIII. Some banks, but of what kind we know not, existed in 11 Hen' IV; for in that year "Commissioners * were appointed to view and cause to be repaired all those banks &c between Gloucester and Bristol, which were broken"

* Dugdale on Embankments, p' 114.

"by the violence of the tides." Even with the benefit of the sea-wall, the country was in a miserable state within memory: the turnpike road is not more than 60 or 70 years old, till which time the old causeway was scarcely passable for carts; what it was without that sea-wall may easily be supposed: even in the present age a breach in it sometimes interrupts the communication for a time. This state of the marsh was certainly the reason why there was no ferry over the Severn at the New Passage until lately. Aust is frequently mentioned in the ancient histories of England and Wales, as the usual place of crossing; but no mention of any other place near it. In the 26 Henry VIII the following is the list of passages over the Severn. "Auste, Fremelande [Framiload], Pyrton, Arlingham, Nowenham, Portsedes, Poynte [*read* Portshede's point], Feryes and passages over Severne ynto Southe-walys, and the foreste of * Dene." Even in 1712, Sir Rob' Atkyns, enumerating all the passages over the Severn, begins at Tewkesbury, and ends at Aust or Beachly: and again he calls † Aust the lowest passage over the Severn in Gloucestershire. In Owen's edition of Ogilby's Roads, 1720, the road to Aust is laid down, but no mention of a road to the New Passage.

§ 34. From these premises it may be concluded, as a certainty, that the usual ferry over the Severn in the Roman age, and for ages afterward, was at Aust. There are indeed no Roman remains at Aust; neither does Richard represent it as a station; he says merely *from Abona to the Severn*. Nevertheless, there might have been a station there, similar to that at Sudbrook, but washed away long ago by the crumbling of the cliff and the encroachment of the tide; a process which is still going on to an alarming extent. Between Aust and Sudbrook the passage was oblique: but it may be asked why the people of that age, going from Bath to Caerwent, did not cross the Severn, as we do, by a strait course from Aust to Beachly. If the traveller were going from Aust to Blestium [*Monmouth*] he would have done so then, as he would do now; but if he were going to Caerwent, he certainly would not, because it was an object of great consequence to avoid the river Wye:

* Leland Coll' 2, 453, probably from the Statute. † Gloucestershire, p' 250.

and had he landed any where on the eastern side of that river, the crossing of it in order to reach Caerwent, if practicable at all, would have been liable to frequent dangers and interruptions.

§35. There is one writer, who says that there was a bridge at Chepstow in that age. Leland * quotes the following annotation on the poet Necham: "*Strata Julia;* cujus pontem construxit Julius, quod vulgò *Strigolium* dicitur." By which the Annotator (whoever he was) means, that Julius Frontinus, or Julius Agricola, built a bridge at Chepstow. This account is scarcely credible; had there been a bridge at that place, that alone would have caused a town there; whereas Chepstow was not built until after the Roman period. Without a doubt there were many wooden bridges in Britain at that time: but this is a place, where the tides are higher than in any other part of our coast, and the land floods prodigiously violent, the Wye probably delivering more water than the Severn itself: so that even until time within memory the bridge was often rendered impassable. We may be sure therefore that in going from Aust to Caerwent, they would not land on the eastern side of the Wye at Beachly: and if the journey be reversed, that is, from Caerwent to Aust, they would not for the same reason go to Beachly, but would in both cases, by an oblique passage over the Severn, avoid the river Wye. The distance between Sabrina [*at Aust*] and Statio Trajectus [*Sudbrook*] the printed text of Richard makes III miles; at present it must be more than four miles, for the sea has carried away much land from both places. Perhaps only half of Sudbrook camp is left: the state of Aust cliff has been already mentioned, the fragments apparent at low water shew how much further it once extended: the tradition is, that in ages past the haymakers on one side could be heard by those on the opposite. At present the river at Aust is a mile in breadth at high tide.

§36. It was said above, that there is nothing at Aust to prove, whether there was or was not a Roman station there. However that may have been, there is a station decidedly Roman within three miles

* Lel' Itin' 9, p' 101.

of Aust, placed there without doubt for the protection of the ferry. It is situate on the brow of the hill overlooking the church and village of Elberton, about a quarter of a mile distant; and is a regular parallelogram having the angles neatly rounded, and containing two acres of ground, the greatest length being from north to south. The eastern side, which is the side furthest from the village, is the most perfect, the ditch being in some places full 15 feet deep from the top of the rampart. The southern side is tolerably perfect: the western side is on a steep declivity descending to the village, wholly overgrown with wood, and not easy to be examined; and the ditch is made by raising a small rampart on the declivity, as at Blaise-hill. The northern side is a wood, and almost precipitous, so that a very slight artificial defence was there sufficient. It's form and construction are sufficient proof that it was a work of the Romans.

§ 37. The next place in the journey is *Abona*. This word must mean either the river Avon itself, or some place on it's bank: for the Latin name of the river is spelt *Abona* and *Abbona*, more frequently than *Avona* in original deeds of all dates. That it means the river in this place is not likely, because all the journey from this place to Bath is equally by the side of the river. That the Romans had a sea-port-town between Bath and the sea may be reasonably inferred from the size and covenient situation of the river; and Abona (placed in these two journeys between Bath and the Severn) is certainly the place. Now there are only three situations where this Roman sea-port can with any probability be supposed to have stood, which are Bristol; and next, the camps at Clifton and Leigh, and lastly Sea-mills. At Clifton it cannot be; the situation so elevated above the river is unfit for a port. At Bristol we have few Roman remains; in that respect we are incomparably surpassed by Sea-mills. This latter place is conveniently situate in all respects, and has abundant traces of Roman residence. There I place the station Abona with perfect confidence; and then the figure VI which in Richard marks the distance between Sabrina and Abona ought to be XI. And lest the reader should think this too great a liberty of emendation,

I request him to consider, that *one* of these two numbers VI in Richard is *demonstrably* wrong, because no part of the Severn is within twelve miles of Bath. And if those are right who place Abona at Sea-mills, which appears to me unquestionable, then the *second* number VI is also wrong; for it is XVI miles from Sea-mills to Bath.

§ 38. It is now time to compare Antonine's representation of the same distance. From Caerwent to Abone he makes IX miles, which, according to the foregoing computation, ought to be XVIII or XIX; nor is there any mention of the Severn, nor of any intermediate stage. Possibly one stage, or more than one, may have been omitted by a copyist. Nevertheless it appears to me far more probable, that there is no omission; but that at the time when this itinerary was compiled, a common route between Caerwent and Abona was by a passage-boat direct; in which case the numeral XI would require to be altered to XV, or thereabout; the distance from Pill to Chepstow being computed by the Pilots to be 18 miles.

§ 39. Between Abone and Bath, Antonine has an intermediate station, *Trajectus*, distant VI miles from Bath; and there is a difficulty in placing it. It must have been on the northern side of the Avon: for it is very unlikely that any part of the road from Bath to Abona lay on the southern side of the Avon, so as to make a ferry over that river necessary. This objection however may easily be removed; a traveller might arrive at the ferry, and continue his journey on the same side of the river without crossing it, and this must be supposed, wherever the Trajectus shall be placed. Possibly there might have been a ferry at Bitton, where the river is nearest to the church, and distant from it about 250 yards, and from Bath five miles and a half. There is in that place a barrow * standing in a large field, about 200 yards westward from the church, between the turnpike road and the river. It is about 17 or 18 yards in diameter, 10 or 12 feet high, and very handsomely shaped. Nevertheless this is but slight proof of ancient residence; nor is there any other nearer to the river than the present church village:

* See I, 110.

which is too far from it, to be called *Trajectus*, and moreover would be a quarter of a mile or more out of the direct road. If however it be determined at all events to preserve the two numerals in Antonine, which follow *Trajectus* and *Aquis Solis*, then somewhere near Bitton must be the place called *Trajectus*.

§ 40. Nevertheless the numerals in Antonine and Richard are not of such a kind as to preclude further enquiry. However vexatious or suspicious it may be, yet every one who is acquainted with these itineraries knows, that an alteration of the numerals is in many instances unavoidable. It is the general complaint of all who are conversant with ancient MSS, that no part is so uncertain as their figures, and no where is the complaint more just than in these itineraries. Even Mr. Reynolds, whose very principle it is to preserve them as much as possible, and who is displeased with others for taking liberties in this case, is yet forced to correct more than one third of all Antonine's numerals. Having no such bias, I have found reason to think, that more than half of Antonine's numbers are corrupt. Nor are Richard's at all better, of which I gave an example * above. What dependence can be placed on a set of figures, one half of which are known to be wrong? Under these circumstances it is perfectly allowable to question the accuracy of the numerals between Abona and Aquæ Solis, and to endeavour, without any reference to them to find some other place, beside Bitton, between Bath and Sea-mills, having a ferry across the river. Keynsham, or the bank of the Avon opposite to it, is the first probable situation, and the road to it on the Gloucestershire side must always have been in the valley, nearly as it is at present, turning out of the turnpike road at Willsbridge; and then the numeral, instead of VI from Bath, must be VIII. But to Keynsham it may be objected, that it lies above a mile out of the direct road to Abona, and it is therefore necessary to retrace that mile in order to regain the road; and there seems no reason why a place in such a situation should be mentioned at all. Neither is there any appearance of remains on either bank of the river at Keynsham. In the large field behind the houses, on the left hand as you enter the town from Bris-

* See § 37 fin'.

lington, there is a slight and imperfect intrenchment, and human bones have been found in that field: but the intrenchment (such as it is) is probably of a much later age; and is too far from the river, to be the station of a ferry. There were probably in that age as many ferries and fords across the river as at present, and one at Keynsham no doubt: but in the present case something like a station is required, a small town at least; otherwise the itinerary would not direct the soldier or traveller to go thither, more than a mile out of his way and back again.

§ 41. For these reasons Keynsham is inadmissible: and Bristol is then the only probable place, beside Bitton, where we can fix the Trajectus of Antonine: at Bristol Mr. Reynolds has fixed it, and I incline to the same opinion, as having the greater probability in it's favour. The small peninsula on which the ancient town of Bristow stands, being raised about twenty feet above the level of the plain, having a good soil, and surrounded by the natural inclosure of the rivers, except where it touched the edge of an extensive forest, must always have been a dry, secure and healthy situation; and therefore from the earliest date of population in this neighbourhood, it could not be without some houses and huts for the abode of those, who attended the flocks thereabout; and afterward, when Caer-odor was founded at Clifton, the security which it's neighbourhood afforded, must have been an additional reason for occupying the spot. Under these circumstances, the existence of a ferry at or near the place where Bristol bridge now stands, is a certainty: and nothing is more probable, than that the houses were so far multiplied, when Antonine's itinerary was made, that this *Trajectus* was a small town by the river-side, containing only High street, with the narrow streets on each side of it, but of sufficient note to obtain a place in a military route. In this case Antonine's numerals must be corrected: VI which marks the distance between Bath and Trajectus must be XII; and the IX between Trajectus and Abone must be IV.

§ 42. This Iter of Antonine has however been differently represented by other writers, and their opinions ought to be noticed in this

place. Camden places Abona at Avington, a parish on the forest side of the Severn, induced to it by a fancied similarity of sound to *Avon:* but in this he was deceived, the more ancient orthography being *Alvington.* Dr' Gale, although he disapproves of making Avona to be Avington, yet carries the road nearly as Camden does, and places the ferry at Oldbury. Sir Rob' Atkyns is of the same * opinion, fixing the ferry over the Severn at Oldbury on one side, and Avington on the other. Abel Wantner, copying no doubt from Camden, † places Avona at Avington. Baxter places the ferry at Newnham, which is so far out of the direct road, that it is not worth notice. To these hypotheses there are the following objections. The first is, that the passage at Oldbury or Shiparden would make the journey from Caerleon to Bath longer than passing at Aust. The second is that, which has been already mentioned, the danger and interruptions of crossing the Wye, which must have been by ferry at Chepstow, or by ford at Tyntern or thereabout. Lastly, Richard's iter places the Severn between Caerwent and Abona: this latter therefore could not be near Alvington, but must be on the eastern side of the Severn; and I think it has been proved decisively to be at Sea-mills.

§ 43. Dr' Gale, ‡ in this place, takes a great liberty with the text of Antonine, by proposing to transpose Abone and Trajectus, placing the stations in this order; Venta Silurum, *Caerwent;* Trajectus, *Oldbury;* Abone, *Hanham:* whereby the Trajectus, which Antonine intended to be on the Avon, is transferred to the Severn. But this transposition, although adopted by Dr. Stukeley and several other writers, is a violence offered to the text, unjustifiable but by extreme necessity, which in this case there is not; Antonine's Trajectus is plainly on the Avon, and Richard's on the Severn; and therefore it deserves no further consideration.—Dr' Gale moreover places Abona at or near Hanham, which he thinks may be *Avonham*, that is, an abode on the Avon; or from *Henham*, that is, an old abode. This proposal wholly depends on the preceding conjectural transposition; and falls to the ground with it.

* In three places, viz, Alvington, Bitton, and Oldbury. † See the passage below, § 55.

‡ Iter Brit' p' 131.

§ 44. Horsley * proposes Almondsbury as the station Abona. He spells it *Aunsbury*, which gives it some resemblance to the name of the river [quasi *Avonsbury*]: a proof how hazardous it is to meddle with local antiquities without local knowledge. *Almondsbury* is *Alkmond's bury*, the estate of Alkmund, father of king Egbert. Nor is there the least probability, that a town six miles distant from the Avon should be called by that name.—Mr. Reynolds in the *Iter Britanniarum* supposes that the town Abona lay in the marsh, on the road to the New Passage. By actual inspection he would have seen, that he could not have fixed on a more unpromising situation; no remains of a town will ever there be found.—Dr' Stukeley † places the Abone of Antonine at Henbury camp. But that place is a mile and a half from the river Avon, and can have no pretence to such a name. And it is plain, that Stukeley had no certain opinion on the subject; for commenting on Richard's iter, he ‡ proposes to change Abona into Alona, and places it at Olland [*Oldland*] in Bitton parish.—Richard's station *ad Sabrinam*, Dr' Stukeley † sets at Aust; correctly, as I think: but the *Statio trajectûs* on the other side he would have to be Tidenham or Chepstow. For reasons already given, Tidenham cannot be the place; and Chepstow is out of the way, and two tides would be necessary to reach it.—Mr. Barrett seems to have fluctuated in his opinion; he makes Abona sometimes to be Clifton, and sometimes Sea-mills, and sometimes all the stations in general along the Avon: and the trajectus across the Severn he places from the Avon to Portishead point, III miles, and from thence to Caerwent; which is a course altogether devious.—These are, as I suppose, all the opinions which have been holden concerning the stations on the Roman road in our immediate neighbourhood: the preceding examination of them, however erroneous they may be, will render the actual situation of the places more apparent.

§ 45. Having thus laid down the general plan of the journey, I proceed to particulars. The road is said by Richard to be along the *via Julia*. The only old writer beside, who mentions this road, is the

* B' 3, Ch' 2, Iter 14. † Cent' 1, p' 144.

‡ Cent' 2, p' 133.

poet Necham, who was * Abbat of Cirencester in 1215—25. He is quoted by Leland, as describing the Via Julia to cross the river Usk at Newport. In his book, † *de Sapientiâ divinâ*, he has these lines: "Intrat et auget aquas Sabrini fluminis Osca præceps: testis erit *Julia Strata* mihi." By *Osca* he certainly means the Usk; and all that can be collected from this passage is, that the Julian Street crossed the Usk; but whether at Newport or, which is more probable, at Caerleon, we know not: neither do we know, whether the name was given to that part of the road only, which lies between Bath and St David's, or that part which lies between the Severn and St David's, or whether the name was communicated to the whole line from St David's to Calleva and still further. Camden conjectures well that it received it's name from Julius Frontinus, by whose order or during whose government it might have been constructed, and if so, the name *Via Julia* must be restricted to the road between the Severn and St David's, which is my opinion.

§ 46. A copious account of the Roman roads will be found in the introduction to Reynolds's *Iter Britanniarum*, and the books which he quotes, particularly *Gale's Essay on the four roads*, printed in Vol' VI of *Leland's Itinerary*. It is said that there were six roads, which passed through Britain in different directions. I. *The Watling-street*, which went from the coast of Kent to Caernarvon. II. *The Ermin-street*, from the south coast to Northumberland, passing near the eastern coast. III. *The Fosse-road*, from the sea near Exeter through Bath and Cirencester, to Lincoln and the coast beyond it. IV. *The Icknild-street*, from Winchester, through Oxfordshire, to Yarmouth. V. *The Ricknild-street*, from Chichester through Cirencester, up the middle of the island into Yorkshire. And VI, *The Julian-way*, from St David's towards Bath. But modern writers on this subject are far from being unanimous either in the direction or the number of these roads: and our oldest writers mention only four. The Icknild-street they might have overlooked, as not crossing the whole kingdom; but more probably it

* Leland de Script' Britan' capp' 218, 476

† As quoted by Leland, Itin' 9, 101, and by Camden twice in Monmouthshire.

is the same as the Ricknild-street: and the Julian way was more probably confined to Wales. Each of these roads may be allowed to communicate it's name to some deviations: but to account all the Roman roads in England as branches of one or other of these four or six principal, as Mr. Reynolds has done, seems a fanciful and untenable hypothesis.

§ 47. To return to the Roman road on the Avon. Setting out from Bath to Sea-mills, it certainly lay on the northern side of the Avon: the road on the southern side was not opened or not in use until modern times: many examples will occur in the following part of this history, where our kings and other great personages came from Bath to Bristol by the upper road through Kingswood: the Judges who came to try the rioters in 1714, appear to be the first persons of consequence on record, who came by the southern road, and entered by Temple gate: and for many years afterwards that road was scarcely passable in wet weather. It is moreover one mile longer than the other, and they must have crossed the river Avon twice, perhaps without bridges. The Roman road was therefore unquestionably on the northern side of the river; but neither myself, nor any friends whom I have consulted, have been able to discover any trace of it, although we have examined the ground attentively. It is probably lost under the present turnpike road, which runs in a tolerably strait course from Bath about ten miles, as far as St George's church, and is not capable of much variation, being confined by the Lansdown hills on the right hand for some miles after it leaves Bath; and and on the left hand by the steep which immediately skirts the river during the greater part of the way. Seventy or eighty years ago there was a causeway all through the parish of Hanham, which was seen sometimes on one side of the road and sometimes on the other, and which the old inhabitants then called *the Roman road*, and certainly they called it right. The formation of the turnpike road compleated it's destruction. "Near * this road, not a mile and a half from Bristol" [which must be near St George's church] "an urn of Coins was lately found."

§ 48. Mr. Coxe, in his history of Monmouthshire, supposes that

* Barr', p' 10.

the road, of which we are speaking, quitted the river on leaving Bath, passed through the village of Weston, then ascended to North-Stoke, and from thence by a circuit descended into the vale again at Bitton. No motive is assigned why the Romans, wishing to go from Bath to Sea-mills, should leave an easy and level route near the river, and pass through a very hilly country by a track in some places almost impracticable. It cannot be supposed. The ancient way described by Mr. Coxe, certainly went from Bath up to North-Stoke, near the great British camp there, already mentioned I, 90, but could have no connexion with the road to Abona. It is first discoverable to the westward of Weston, and after continuing for some distance in the lower ground, it enters a hilly country, a very narrow, rough, and in some places almost imperceptible track; it leaves on the left the hill called Kelston Beacon, the name of which sufficiently shews it's use, and passes for a long way under that ridge of Lansdown where the British camp above-mentioned is placed. In the village of North-Stoke, by the certain testimony of old persons, it is known by the name of the Fosse-road, and by that name passes *through* the village; and from thence to Upton, near which place it is tolerably broad and very plain to be seen for many yards. This road might very probably have been used by the Romans; but it is without doubt the old British road from Bath to the fortress at North-Stoke, and from thence probably to Aust, which must at all times have been a ferry of considerable importance. If so, it must have passed through the present parish of Wick, probably near the Druidical stones, and then to the camp on the cliffs there, to Mangotsfield, to Berry-hill in Winterborn, to Almondsbury-hill, and so to Aust. I have the undoubted authority of a very intelligent old man, who when young received his information from another of the same description, that about the year 1690, a horseman well acquainted with the country could travel almost in a direct line, through bye-ways and lanes, from Bath to Aust, and there is little doubt, that the same might be done at present. I return to the Roman road on the Avon.

§ 49. From St George's church the road, if it went by the nearest way to Sea-mills, would pass near Baptist-mills, and leaving St Paul's

church about a quarter of a mile on the left hand, would cross the present turnpike road to Gloucester at Catharine-place, at the distance of about 200 yards from the turnpike-gate, which stands at the city bounds, and would then ascend the steep field toward Cotham and Redland. This is the shortest way which the hills will permit, and it is in fact nearly direct; but if there ever was a Roman road in that line, it is now wholly obliterated; it is more probable that it never existed. From the lower lane of Redland, proceeds a narrow lane not more than 100 yards long, at the back of Mr. Daubeny's house, which ascends to Durdham Down, and is supposed by Mr. Coxe to be a part of the Roman road. It leads due west, which is the proper bearing of a road to Sea-mills, and this is the reason for supposing it to be a part of the road, for which we are now enquiring. Beyond this lane, to the distance of 200 yards and more, some old quarries, and lately a modern house and garden made on them, occupy the direct line.

§ 50. Some few yards from the house last-mentioned, and on the edge of the Down, the road from Bristol to Westbury passes, and here is the first certain appearance of an ancient road. It is a stony track on the open down, ("where a coin of Constantine was * lately dug up") having much the appearance of an old causeway, ten or twelve yards wide. It quits the turnpike road obliquely, and passes in a strait line across the Down due west, which is the direction of Sea-mills. At the distance of about a furlong it crosses very obliquely the road from Bristol to Shirehampton, and is then very visible, as a raised way covered with turf, but stony, about the same breadth as before. It points directly to the towered house on the edge of the Down, now inhabited by Mr. George, which must have been built on it. From this description it is unquestionably an ancient road leading to some place no longer frequented; and that place can be no other than Abona or Sea-mills. In the fields behind Mr. George's house, there is no trace of it whatever: but below the house called *Pitch-and-Pay*, as soon as you enter the first field on the foot-way to Sea-mills, you stand on a ridge which appears to be the continuation of the road above-mentioned. The wall,

* Barr', p' 10.

which divides the fields, is built on it, and probably of the stones which composed it; and the path, called *Mariner's Path*, is on it, extending to the bottom of the hill immediately below the station. Such might have been the Roman road from Bath to Abona.

§ 51. Nevertheless I think it more probable, that it passed by another route. So far as St George's church it cannot well be questioned;* the great bend of the river there must in every age have forced the road to that spot; but that afterwards, for two or three miles, no trace whatever should be found of it, is somewhat suspicious: a number of houses and gardens have been made in that district it is true, but still some vestige or tradition might be expected. I rather suppose, that the Roman road never went in that direction, but that it still continued from St George's church on the present turnpike road toward Bristol, and passed in a strait line through Castle-street, St Peter-street, and St Mary-port-street, into the middle of the station in High-street. From thence I suppose that it went down Broad-street, and having ascended through Host-street, up St Michael's hill, (the only way to Durdham Down until lately) passed by the Gallows and went down Redland-lane, (all along which there was within these few years a stone causeway) until it came to the short lane leading up to Durdham Down, already described. If it could be *proved* that Bristol (and not Bitton) was the Trajectus of Antonine, this latter route would *certainly* be that of the Roman road: the distance between Abona and Bath would indeed be increased half a mile or more; but that loss would be compensated by the advantage of passing through a town. However, the uncertainty of this part of the Roman road is so great, that no one can venture a decided opinion.—There is another stone causeway in a lane, leading from Durdham Down, by the side of Pitch-and-Pay house, directly to Sea-mills; but this could not be a part of the road just mentioned: it was more probably a diverging road, leading from Sea-mills to Clifton camp.

§ 52. You will seldom find a spot more Roman in form and situation, than Sea-mills, where I fix Abona with perfect confidence.

* See above, § 47 ad fin'.

From the representation given of it in the annexed plan, it will be found a plat of ground nearly square, the northern side of which is about 510 yards long, containing exactly fifty acres, counted on the map of the estate belonging to the Right Hon' Lord De Clifford; which is more than double the size of the town within the first walls of Bristol. It is surrounded on three sides with a natural rampart: toward the north-east corner, where the entrance from Bath must have been, the ascent is regular and easy, of about 18 feet perpendicular height: but as you go toward the south-east corner, both the height and steepness gradually increase to double; and at that corner are two circular projecting bastions, which, although of late construction, have the appearance of being built on an ancient foundation. The top of this eastern rampart is the highest part of the area; from thence the ground declines gently to the west, on which side it is protected by the Trim and it's marsh: but was also probably fortified by a ditch and rampart. On the northern side the town was well defended by a valley, which is about sixty feet below the highest part of the area, with a very steep descent, through which valley runs a brook. The southern side, which is that next to the river Avon, is defended in the same manner by the natural fall of the ground; the whole with so much regularity, that it might be almost mistaken for a work of art. The rivulet, called *the Trim*, having passed through Westbury, falls into the Avon at this place; it passes at the bottom of the hill in front of the area, and was a defence to it, and was doubtless the port of the town, where the small vessels of that age lay on the mud; apparently it was formerly wider and deeper than at present, notwithstanding the modern excavation near it's mouth. By it's junction with the Avon, it forms that very site on a tongue of land, which the Romans were fond of choosing for their settlements.

§ 53. In establishing towns, such as that of which we are now speaking, the Romans were guided by maxims very different from those of the Britons. The towns of the latter were situate on steep hills, and deep ditches and high ramparts were added to the natural defences: the fear of an enemy was the prevailing idea, and to it every advantage and

convenience gave way. But the Romans placed their towns in accessible situations, generally by the side of rivers, for the sake of water, transportation of goods, convenience of travellers, neighbourhood of fruitful fields and the like: and how good judges they were of these things is manifest from hence; that most of those, which are now the principal towns of England, are of Roman foundation: and it is probable that the greater, or at least the better, part of the British inhabitants of the fortified hills gradually quitted them and settled in the Roman towns below, as more convenient and better governed. And this difference between the adjoining towns of Britons and Romans is very general; you will seldom see a Roman town in the low-lands, but you may find it's British original within few miles on a hill. Bath, Winchester, Usk, Ilchester, Colchester and others, as well as Abona, are examples of this.

§ 54. Neither were the Romans particularly cautious in the fortification of their towns in Britain; a single ditch and rampart, of no great height or depth, were frequently thought sufficient; and in some towns even these were thought superfluous, as at Camalodunum, where * the want of them occasioned the loss of the colony. They depended rather on the bravery of the Roman inhabitants and garrisons; and much on the military outposts with which the towns were surrounded: these we are † informed were strongly fortified, and the holding of them gave intire security to the principal town. These were the summer camps, which the Roman armies always used, when stationed in any country, for the sake of health, as of convenience: and it is probable, that for this purpose they used the old British stations, with which the country abounded, and therefore that the camps at Blaise-hill, at Clifton and Leigh-downs, at Knowle, Berry-hill, Cadbury, &c, all or some of them were used as the outposts of Abona, particularly in the summer: the legions took up their winter quarters for the most part in the cities.

§ 55. That Sea-mills was a Roman station is no new opinion. Abel Wantner, in his ‡ *Natural History of Gloucestershire*, thus writes.

* Tac' Ann' 14, 31. † Tac' Ann' 14, 33. ‡ MS Bodl' Libr'.

"At *Pollbury*, where Trim goeth into Avon, much coin has been found, conjectured to be the ancient station of the Romans, and possibly that between Bath and Aveington, mentioned by Antoninus the Emperor in his journal-book." The fields within the area are at present called *the Portburies;* there are the upper and lower Portburies, West-Portbury, Four-acres-Portbury, &c &c. Of Wantner's manner of spelling it, *Pollbury*, no other example occurs; yet I would not hastily reject that word, because there is a remarkable hill about a mile north-westward, overlooking the Channel, named *Pen-poll.* Leland * calls the place *Portchester*, from all which denominations, *Portchester*, *Portbury* and *Abona*, it may reasonably be conjectured that it's name was *Abonæ portus:* if so, *Abone*, which is Antonine's orthography, may be intended for *Abonæ*, a single *e* being always used in MSS of the middle age instead of *æ* diphthong.

§ 56. The name *Portchester* or *Portbury* is of itself sufficient to awaken attention, but the number of Roman coins found here is decisive. In the year 1712, when the mouth of the river Trim was formed into docks, and large excavations of earth made for that purpose, many coins were found. I copy the following † list.

"IMP. CÆS. VESPASIANUS P. F. AUG.—*Rev'* CONCORDIA MILITUM.
The same.—*Rev'*. A temple: in the Exergue PROVIDENTIA.
IMP. DIOCLESIANUS P. F. AUG.—*Rev'*. A sitting figure.
IMP. CAES. DOMITIANUS AUG.—*Rev'*. A figure holding a flower in her hand.
IMP. CAES. ANTONINUS P. F. AUG.—*Rev'*. A figure holding a cornucopia.
D. N. CONSTANTINUS P. F. AUG. P. P.—*Rev'*. A man transfixing a suppliant captive with a dart."

"There ‡ have been found a Vespasian of a large size; also coins of Constantine, Constans, Galienus: one of Nero thus inscribed:

"NERO CLAUD. CAESAR. AUG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. A fine head with a radiated crown.—*Rev'*. S. C. a *Victoria Gradiva*, with a shield in the right hand, inscribed with S. P. Q. R."

"this was picked up by me in the garden adjoining to the dock, in 1768; and in a field called *the Three Acres* I found one of Constans in 1775." The same Author says also, "that § coins have lately been found in making the new road in Lord De Clifford's Park, as you go down to Shirehampton, many of which are in my possession." The spot is

* Itin' 7, p' 91. † Barr' p' 14. ‡ Barr' p' 12. § Barr' p' 10.

half a mile distant from Sea-mills. It was about the year 1785, that I conversed with an old man, who had worked in these fields from his youth: he said that he had never turned up the ground without finding them. Many were found about A' D' 1800, in digging up an old apple tree in the orchard. Some I possess, and many others have been shewn to me; but I never saw any of more than ordinary value, such as Constantine, Constans, Gallienus and the like.

§ 57. Other remains also, beside coins, have been found. "They * also met with a fine arched gateway under ground, in digging out the dock at it's upper part, which seems to have led to some principal part: and the *rudera* of buildings destroyed and remains of old foundations have been traced up the adjoining hilly ground next the river-side, and were remarked by the ingenious mechanic, Mr. Padmore, who conducted the undertaking. Many thick flat tiles are often found here in the walls and foundations, having grooves on one side; apparently intended as bricks for building; some have been in my own possession. These are certainly Roman, such being found in other Roman stations.—Another argument to prove, that there was an ancient town in this neighbourhood, called Abona, † is to be found in the rental of Sir Ralph Sadlier, dated 36 Hen' VIII, wherein is mention of one acre *in campo Abone town*, which Mr. Barrett says was a common field under Kingsweston-hill, in Lawrence-weston, near the river." Add to this what was proved above from the itinerary, that there certainly was a Roman town on the Avon between Bath and the Severn; and it results beyond contradiction, that Sea-mills was the place, and many remains of antiquity would probably be found there, if a careful search were made. About half of the area has never been ploughed up, at least within memory, and there in particular they might be expected.

§ 58. From Sea-mills the road must have gone to the *Trajectus*, the ferry at Aust. The stony way on the western side of Trim, as you go from Sea-mills toward Shirehampton, is the commencement of it:

* Barr' p' 12. † Ibid.

from thence it must have gone to Kingsweston-hill, and crossing it nearly as at present, some few yards from the inn, it joined the old British track mentioned * above, which is the same as the present road to Henbury. But the Roman road approaching Henbury, quitted the British track, and went to the village on the present road, throwing out (as we may suppose) a lateral road to the fortress on Blaise-hill. From Henbury no vestige of a Roman road remains: it must therefore have been on the present road called *Gloucester-lane*, and have gone to Aust and Gloucester by the route mentioned † above.

§ 59. The fortress on Blaise-hill in the parish of Henbury has been already mentioned ‡ as a strong military post, formed and occupied by the Britons. It appears to have been well inhabited during the Roman period also: for when the foundations of Blaise-castle were dug in 1768, great quantities of coins were found there, out of which the following were presented to § Mr. Barrett by T' Farr Esq' the owner of the place.

"IMP. CAESAR DOMITI. AVG. GERM. COS. XIII. CENS. PERP. P.P. within a laurel crown.—*Rev'.* VIRTVTI AVGVSTI S. C. A soldier holding in his right hand a dart, in his left a parazonium.

IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XI. CENS. PERP. P. P.—*Rev'.* A winged female figure, or Victory holding in her right hand a shield. S. C.

IMP. CAES. NERVA TRAIAN. AVG. GERM. P. M. a radiated head.—*Rev'.* TR. POT. COS. III. P.P. S.C. A figure sitting with a staff between two cornucopias.

D. N. GRATIANVS P. F. AVG. bright silver.—*Rev'.* VIRTVS ROMANORVM.

IMP. CAES. CARAVSIVS P. M.—*Rev'.* PAX AVG. A female figure with an olive branch.

CRISPINA AVGUSTA.—*Rev'.* A sitting figure: in her right hand she holds a patera to a serpent ascending from an altar.

IMP. CAES. ALECTVS P. F. AVG. A radiated head.—*Rev'.* VIRTVS AVGVST. Q. C. *Navis.*

D. N. MAGNENTIVS P. F. AVG. A naked head.—*Rev'.* SALVS D. N. AVG. ET CAES. A monogram of the name of Christ, I. M. B. in a cross, with Alpha and Omega.

IMP. C. M. POSTVMVS P. F. AVG.—*Rev'.* VICTOR. AVG.

IMP. CAES. POSTVMVS P. F. AVG.—*Rev.'* A figure of Esculapius, with a serpent.

IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. COS. VIII. P. P.—*Rev'.* S. C. an eagle with his wings expanded, sitting on a globe.

IMP. ANTONIN. AVG. PIVS P.P. TR. P.P. COS. IIII. head crowned with laurel —*Rev'.* A standing figure holds out a patera to a serpent rising from an altar.

MAGNENTIVS NOB. CAES. A naked head.—*Rev'.* VICTOR DD. NN. AVG. ET CAES. Two Victories sustaining a globe, on which is VOT. V. MVLT. X.

CONSTANTIVS. CARAVSIVS. *Several of them with their inscriptions worn out.*

VALENTINIANVS. Several of them.—*Rev'.* SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE.

IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. P. P.—*Rev'.* FORTVNA AVGVSTI.

IMP. CLAVD. AVGVST."

* I, 68. † Vide I, 68. ‡ See I, 66. § Barr' pp' 13, 14.

"VRBS ROMA. A head with a helmet. *Several of them.*—*Rev'*. A wolf suckling two infants.

MARCVS AVREL. ANTONIN. AVG.

ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. POT. COS. III. S. C.—*Rev'*. Mars marching.

CONSTANTINVS. GRATIANVS. CONSTANTIVS. *And many other coins of various sizes.*"

§ 60. And not the hill only, but also the village below furnishes proof of Roman habitation. The following coins were found by Sir Simon Harcourt, when he rebuilt or repaired the manor-house in 1708: it stood in the angle between Gloucester-lane and the turnpike road, on the eastern side, and is now wholly taken down. Mr. Barrett's list is as follows, * copied by him from an autograph.

"CONSTANTINVS MAGNVS.—*Rev'*. Romulus and Remus.

TRAJAN. *A very fair medal in copper, of a large size.*—*Rev'*. A female figure sitting: in her left hand a cornucopia, in the right the rudder of a ship; subscribed S. C.

MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS.—*Rev'*. A female figure sacrifizing on an altar. SALVT. AVG. S. C.

VESPASIAN. *Several in middle-sized copper.*—*Rev'*. A large altar; subscribed REVERENTIA.

CONSTANTIVS. Very fair in small copper.—*Rev'*. A Mars marching; circumscribed CONSERVATIO.

CONSTANTIVS. *Small copper.*—*Rev'*. FELIX TEMPORVM REPARATIO.

CONSTANTIVS.—*Rev'*. A castle: circumscribed PROVIDENT. AVG.

LICINIVS.—*Rev'*. GENIO POPVLI ROMANI.

GETA. *Small silver.*—*Rev'*. INVICTVS.

MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS.—*Rev'*. A funeral pile. S. C.

ADRIAN. *Large copper.*—*Rev'*. A ship, with several figures.

TRAJAN. FAVSTINA.

ANTONIVS PIVS.—*Rev'*. A female figure captive. BRITAN.

A British gold coin, coined at Maldon or Colchester, in Essex. An ear of corn on one side.—*Rev'*. A horse. C. A. M. O.

CALIGVLA. *Large copper.*

NERO. *The same.*

IVLIAN, the apostate.—*Rev'*. VOTIS X. MOLTIS XX.

DOMITIAN. *Middle-size copper.*

NERVA.—*Rev'*. Two heads joined. EXERCITVVM CONCORDIA.

NERVA.—*Rev'*. FORTVNA REDVX.

GALIENVS. A radiated crown.—*Rev'*. A deer. COS. AVG.

PROBVS.—*Rev'*. LAETITIA AVG.

D. N. CONSTANS P. F. AVG.—*Rev'*. Drawing a captive out of a den."

§ 61. The following coins were found on the top of Blaise-hill, near the castle, in planting some trees in the spring of 1819.

Copper: size 1 4-10 inch. A laurelled head. DOMITI.

AVG GERM COS XVII.—*Rev'*. A figure sitting, holds an image in his right hand. Illegible.

* Barr' p' 13.

Copper: size 8-10 inch. A laurelled head. CONSTANTINVS AVG.—*Rev'*. The front of an edifice, with a narrow and very high portal. Over the edifice a star. Two globes, perhaps as an ornament of the corners of the roof. PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. i' e' *Augustorum*.—Exergue. P LON. i' e' *percussus Londini*.

Copper: size 8-10 inch. The head of Magnentius; A, as usual, behind the head. Inscription illegible.—*Rev'*. Two Victories raise a shield, on which is inscribed VOT X, MVLT XX.

Copper: size 7-10 inch. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C.—*Rev'*. Two soldiers leaning on their shields, each holds an erect spear in his hand: two standards are set up between them. GLORIA EXERCITVS.—Exergue T R S O.

A radiated Head. IMP. Nothing else is distinguishable.—*Rev'*. Mars marching - - - RS VLT - - - i' e' *Mars ultor*.

Copper: size 7-10 inch. A helmed Head, perhaps of Constantine. CONSTANTINOPOLIS.—*Rev'*. A winged Victory: the letters are illegible.

Copper: size 6-10 inch. A Head bound with a fillet.—*Rev'*. A standard between two soldiers. GLORIA - - - -

A modern English coin of silver, value about a penny.—*Rev'*. MAG BR FRA ET HIB REX. James I probably.

A very thin modern coin of copper; Dutch as it seems.

§ 62. These three following were also found in the same place, several years agone.

Base silver: size 9-10 inch. A radiated Head. IMP C POSTVMVS P F AVG.—*Rev'*. A winged Victory is running. The inscription illegible.

Base silver: size 8-10 inch. As the former. POSTVMVS P F AVG.—*Rev'*. A female figure standing, holds a pair of scales in her right hand, and an olive branch in the left. MONETA AVG.

Brass: size 1 2-10 inch, and thick. - - - - - ANTONINVS - - - - - - . An old man's head, laurelled, curled, and bearded.

§ 63. Having these advantages of Roman occupation, Henbury must have been a place of some consequence, and it's security was certainly provided for by a Roman garrison. Detachments from the nearest legion occupied strong posts all through the country, particularly near places of importance; for when the Britons under Bouduca raised a sudden insurrection against the Romans, they first took the garrisons which were stationed in the neighbouring forts or castles, and then * assaulted the colony (Camulodunum) itself. In the same manner the second legion, whose head-quarters were at Caerleon, sent out it's detachments all around, who were quartered in the most convenient situations; and nothing is more probable, than that here and in all other parts of Britain they made use of the ancient forts of the Britons, which they found already constructed. The Roman coins and other remains found in and near most of them are a sufficient proof of this, some examples of which have been already † mentioned. Thus a detachment

* Et sumpsere universi bellum, ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis præsidiis ipsam coloniam invasere. Tac' V. Agr' 16.

† See above I, 88, et alibi.

of the second legion must have occupied Blaise-hill, not only as a security to Abona, but also because it was most convenient (by reason of it's commanding situation) for conveying an alarm, by means of a beacon, through a great extent of country, even to Caerleon itself. And when the country became peaceable and safe under the Roman government, some of the inhabitants, British and Roman, were likely enough to quit the cold and exposed situation on the hill, at least in winter, and to form the village below.

§ 64. The same thing seems to have happened at Clifton. Roman coins in abundance were found at the building of those houses next below the camp, which overlook the river: here, as at Henbury, the Romans appear to have stationed a detachment of the second legion, and here also the neighbourhood of such a station seems to have produced a village inhabited partly by the legionaries themselves, and partly by Britons under their protection. Mr. Barrett's * account is this. "The following coins were dug at Clifton, near the camp, in digging the foundation of the houses built there in the year 1784.

"DOM. NOSTER CONSTANTIVS AVG.—*Rev'.* FELICITAS REIPVBLICAE. A standing figure holding in her right hand a small figure of Victory; in the left a dart.

D. N. VALENTINIANVS AVG.

CONSTANTIVS AVG. *Small.*—*Rev'.* VICTORIA AVG. Two-winged figures.

CONSTANTIVS NOB CAESAR.—*Rev'.* GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers with spears and shields; in the middle two military standards with a type M. R. B. T.

DOM. NOSTER CONSTANTIVS AVG.—*Rev'.* An armed figure. FIDES EXERCITVS.

CONSTANTINVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'.* The Emperor in a chariot drawn with four horses, with inscription, SOLI INVICTO COMITI."

"Beside these a great many more were found by the workmen, and embezzled and sold to private gentlemen. A few Saxon coins, silver, were also discovered of Æthelred, with REX ANGL; and these with the others are now in my possession." In another place he says † 'Coins of Nero, Domitian, Trajan and other Roman Emperors were dug up there; also a curious Roman urn with two handles, tiles, bricks, and broken potsherds were found there, when Sir William Draper levelled the ground near the camp.'

* P' 15. † Barr', p' 10.

§ 65. Still stronger proof of Roman residence is to be found on the other side of the river. Between the camps and forts on Leigh Down, which have been already described, and which were probably occupied either constantly or occasionally by Roman soldiers, that Down must have been much frequented by them. It has been said, that 'a *prætentura* * or fence coming from these two camps proceeded over the Down toward Fayland; and that it may be traced westward by a strong bank, broad and high, skirting the hill for many miles toward the Severn.' And again the same Author says, p' 20, that "the old roads from the camps on Leigh-down may be still traced through an orchard at the village of Leigh, and through Leigh-wood down to the river Avon at Sea-mills." For my own part I have been wholly unsuccessful, when searching for these ancient roads. Nevertheless sufficient proofs still remain that the Romans much frequented this Down. Four discoveries of Roman coins have been made here within the last seven or eight years, and within the distance of four miles; three of them occasioned by the partition of the Common. A small round enclosure, called the *Old Fort*, was described above, I, 82: about 50 yards distant from it lower down, and nearer to Wraxall, was a tumulus of stones, four or five feet high and three or four yards in diameter. It lay conveniently for the workmen, who were then [1815] marking out a new inclosure and forming a road from the hill to Ashton-water; and they accordingly began to make use of the stones of which it was composed, being only about thirty feet from the new road. After two wheel-barrow-loads had been removed, an ancient coin was discovered; which occasioning a more cautious procedure, great numbers were found: I could trace as many as 150, and have no doubt that double that number were taken away, all Roman of the lower empire, as far as I could see or hear: and pieces of broken jars or urns were found, some well burnt and red; some apparently only hardened in the sun, and black. What coins I saw were copper, and for the most part illegible, but the faces and figures sufficiently plain. A farmer in the neighbourhood had two or three of gold, as he said: he described one of them as being

CRISPUS NOB. CAESAR; and on the reverse two angels [Victories] holding up a tablet, inscribed VOT XX.

* Barr', p' 19.

§ 66. The discovery of Roman coins so near to these small rural intrenchments shews that they were used by the Romans or romanized Britons; and the coin of Crispus shews that they were used as late as the reign of Constantine. In or near them some cottages might have been erected for the accommodation of small parties of Roman soldiers detached from the greater camps in the neighbourhood, and regularly relieved: whose office it was to protect the herds and flocks which fed by day in the valley, and were driven to the hill for security by night. An officer might have died while he was on this service, and might have been buried under the barrow of stones above-mentioned: for there is little doubt, that if the ground below the barrow were removed to a sufficient depth, the body would be found. These however are but conjectures.

§ 67. Another discovery of Roman coins was made on the same hill and in the same year. The place is above a mile westward from the spot last mentioned, on that prominent point of Wraxall-hill, which overlooks the Parsonage-house. A gentleman who lives in the neighbourhood, and who possesses the coins mentioned below, writes thus. "They were all found within a circle of 300 yards in diameter, scattered near the surface, and mostly in a patch of black earth. This elevated spot had probably been used as a beacon, as none of the adjoining mould has the dark appearance of this circle." How many coins in all were found at this place I am not informed; I examined the following, all copper or brass.

Middle brass, diam' 1 2-10 inch. Inscription illegible, but apparently a coin of *Antoninus Pius*, the head being very distinguishable. —*Rev'*. A winged Victory between S C: inscription illegible except COS. III.

Two small coins of Claudius Gothicus. C. CLAVDIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. AEQVITAS AVG: a female figure, having a balance in one hand, and a cornucopia in the other.

Another of Claudius, as the last.—*Rev'*. A female figure holding out a donation, and having a cornucopia in the other hand. LIBERALITAS.

Another of Claudius, as before.—*Rev.'* Jupiter standing and holding a thunderbolt. JOVI VICTORI.

Five small coins VRBS ROMA.—*Rev.* The wolf suckling the infants, with two stars above. Very common: belonging to one of the Constantines.

A small coin wholly illegible.—*Rev'*. A bird radiated standing on a globe; from whence and from the profile, I suppose it to be a coin of Constans.

One of Constantine the Great; size almost 8-10 of an inch. CONSTANTINVS AVG very perfect.—*Rev'*. Front of a gateway. - O- - - - EN - - AE - VE.

Eight small coins, all of CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C.—*Rev'*. Some have a standard flag between two captives sitting. VOT. XX. the inscript' VIRTVS EXERCITVS. The rest have two military standards between two soldiers: the inscr' GLORIA EXERCITVS.

A small coin of Constant' the Great, or his son; the helmet much ornamented. CONSTANTINVS AVG.—*Rev'*. An altar, with a globe lying on it, and VOT. XX. Inscr' BEATA TRANQVILLITAS.—*Exergue*. PTR°. [perhaps *percunia totius Romani orbis*.]

A small coin of Crispus. D. N. CRISPO NOB. CAES.—*Rev'*. As the last.—*Exergue*. Illegible.

A small coin of CONSTANTIVS; the rest illegible.

Two small coins of CONSTAN——. Illegible.

Two small coins illegible.—*Rev'*. A winged Victory resting on a shield.

Three small coins, almost (if not wholly) illegible.

§ 67. *b*. About a mile and a half further westward, under the same ridge of hill, another discovery of Roman coins was made, Feb' 1, 1821. They were found in a ditch by the side of a coppice belonging to James Gordon Esq' in the parish of Tickenham, near the lane called Lime brock: it is about half a mile from Cadbury-camp; and many old foundations of buildings at different times have been discovered on this spot. I saw two parcels, one of 96 coins, the other of 72, chiefly brass, some few were washed with silver, all of small size, and of the lower empire. I examined the following.

GALLIENVS.—*Rev'*. A Griffin. APOLLINI CONSERVATORI.

Another.—*Rev'*. An olive branch.

CARINVS.—*Rev'*. Eternity, holding the Globe and Phœnix. AETERNITAS AVGVSTA.

SALONINA, wife of Gallienus.—*Rev'*. VENVS VICTRIX. VENVS holding a helmet.

SEVERINA AVG.—*Rev.'* VENVS XXX. Venus holding a child.

VICTORINVS.

CLAVDIVS (Gothicus.)—*Rev'*. FIDES MILITVM.

MAXIMIANVS.—*Rev'*. FELICITAS PVBLICA.

C. C. VAL. DIOCLETIANVS.—*Rev'*. JOVI CONSERVATORI.

PROBVS.—*Rev'*. Mars holding an olive branch: MARTI PACIFERO.

Another.—*Rev'*. ABVNDANTIA AVG.—In Mr. Douce's Collection are 3000 coins of Probus, each differing from every other.

TACITVS.—*Rev'*. PROVIDENTIA DEORVM.

QVINTILLVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Fortune holding a helm. FORTVNA REDVX.

The spot where these were found is probably the same as that where a similar discovery was made about forty or fifty years ago. "Under * Cadbury-camp, near Tickenham, Roman coins have been dug, many of which were in the possession of the late Sir Abraham Elton, Bart', of"

* Barr', p' 19.

"Clevedon." They have been found also further on, in the marsh-land. "Three * urns of Roman coins, some of Constantine, and others of different ages, were dug up in Nailsea and Ken-moor, not far from the [Cadbury] camp, at a place called Nailsea-wall, which divides Ken-moor and Nailsea-moor. These coins are many of them now in the possession of Mrs. Hinkes, of Nailsea; and a far greater quantity, to the amount of several hundred, were given to the late Sir John Smyth, of Ashton-court, by Mr. Chatterton, the father of that Thomas Chatterton, who hath occasioned such disputes relative to some ancient poems published under the name of Thomas Rowley, said by him to be copied from some MS originals once in his father's possession. Sir John Hugh Smyth Bart' hath many of these coins at present, and has been so obliging as to communicate several to the Author of this History [Mr. Barrett], and is a living witness of Chatterton the father's speaking about them, and saying that they were found near Ken-moor; a proof that he had some taste for Antiquities."

§ 68. But the largest parcel of Roman coins was found nearer to Bristol. While workmen were digging up a part of Leigh-down, in Ashton parish, on Jan' 17, 1817, one of them drove a pick-ax through a heap of coins, which lay not more than six inches below the turf, not inclosed in any vessel. The spot may be thus described. When you have passed Sir Hugh Smyth's gate-house and ascend Clarton Combe along the turnpike road, after you have passed the limekiln, you come to the corner of the Park wall on your right hand. From thence continue on the road about 150 yards further, and then the spot is about 100 yards distant, on your right hand. It was till now a part of the open down, but Sir H' Smyth inclosed it a short time before, and the ground being stony it was dug with spade and pick-ax for a crop, and in digging the discovery was made. It is impossible to say exactly, how many there were; for the workmen seized them all, and they were soon dispersed; and the public curiosity being exceedingly raised, they were usually sold for more than double their value. I can account for about 500, and I have been told from credible authority, that there were double

* Barr' ibid'.

that number. They were all silver, excepting one copper, so far as I can hear, and all denarii or nearly of that size. Nine or ten feet distant from the place, was a circular spot of black earth, as if there had been a fire there; which is the only vestige of other times near the place. Of these coins the following, which were purchased by different persons, passed through my hands, and are here arranged chronologically.

§ 69. 1. 2. 3. 4. Quatuor nummi consulares, multum detriti.—*Obv'*. Triremis. - - - III VIR.—*Rev'*. Trium ommino detrita est & plana: in quarto sunt duæ dexteræ junctæ ante spicam inter duo militaria signa.

5. *Obv'*. Roma galeata: nihil inscriptum.—*Rev'*. Quadrigæ. II.—*In Exergo*. L. SATVRN.

6. *Obv'*. Duo capita Castoris & Polydeucis jugata, cum stellis. - - - III VIR.—*Rev'*. Dea Moneta tenet dextrâ bilancem, sinistrâ tenet transversè arundinem serratam; in humeris sedet Victoriola: nisi fortasse ipsa gerat alas parvas.—W (id est MV) CORDIV s. Pondus 55 gr.

7. Alius numnus consularis, in quo omnia sunt plana, præter Triremem.

8. 9. Item duo alii consulares, ex quibus omnia evanuerunt.

10. *Obv'*. Caput Neronis. NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS.—*Rev'*. Homo sedens protendit dextrâ nescioquid, sinistram tenens super pectus.

11. *Obv'*. Caput Neronis laureatum, imberbe. NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS.—*Rev'*. Homo sedens sellâ curuli protendit dextra nescioquid; sinistro cubito innititur sellæ.—*In Exergo*. SALVS.

12. *Obv'*. Caput Othonis nudum, imberbe, elegans, calamistratum. - - - OTHO CAESAR.—*Rev'*. Homo stans dextra tenet coronam dependentem, sinistra hastam. SECURITAS P. R.

13. *Obv'*. Caput Vespasiani tonsum, imberbe, laureatum. IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS.—*Rev'* Caducevs alatus cum serpentibus. PON. MAX. TR. P. COS. V.—Literæ in utraque facie sunt inscriptæ inverso modo, ut in nummis ejus frequenter apparet. Hic nummus est omnium, quos unquam vidi, pulcherrimus, et ex omni parte integer, ut si hodie ex moneta exisset. Pondus 52 gr.

14. *Obv'*. Caput imperatoris. *Vespa* SIANVS AVG. literis inversis.—*Rev'*. Omnino evanuit.

15. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum Vespasiani, ut à similitudine imaginis liquet. IMP. CAESAR V- - - - - -. literis inversis.—*Rev'*. Homo sedens; sed inscriptio evanuit.

16. *Obv'*. Caput imperatoris laureatum, imberbe. DIVVS AVGVSTVS VESPASIANVS. literis inversis.—*Rev'*. Globus vel scutum stans ante columnam cum basi & capitulo inter duas arbores. Literæ L X sunt hinc inde prope caput columnæ.

17. *Obv'*. Caput ut in priore. *c a e s* AR VESPASIANVS AVG. literis rectè positis.—*Rev'*. Captivus humi sedens: ponè stat tropæum.—In *exergo*. IVDAEA.

18. Caput imperatoris. CAESAR *v e s p a s* IANVS AVG. literis inversis.—*Rev'*. Scrofa cum porcis.—In *exergo*. IMP. XIX.

19. *Obv'* Caput imperatoris, benè notum. IMP. CAESAR *v e s p a s i a n v s* literis inversis.—*Rev'* Homo sedens sellâ protendit nescioquid dextrâ; sinistro cubito innititur sellæ. - - - - TR. P. COS. VI.

20. *Obv'*. Idem, literis rectis.—*Rev'*. - - - - - COS. - - -

21. *Obv'*. Idem. M - - - VESPAS *i a n v s* literis rectis.—*Rev'*. Quatuor instrumenta sacrificalia, lituus, aspergillum, simpulum, ampulla; supra quæ AVG VI, et infra TRI. POT.

22. *Obv'*. Idem. inscriptio evanuit.—*Rev'* Homo sedens. TRI. POT.

23. *Obv'*. Caput Vespasiani. - - - - VESPASIANVS - - - - -.—*Rev'*. Captivus sedens. IVDAEA.

24. *Obv'*. Idem. caput laureatum, imberbe. IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS - - - -.—*Rev'*. Homo sedet, sed non planè apparet, quid faciat. COS. ITER. - - - -

25. *Obv'*. Caput, ut suprâ. IMP. CAESAR VESPA *s i a n v s*. literis inversis.—*Rev'*. Homo sedet, protendens ramum, vel aliquid tale sinistrâ, dextra sustinet hastam erectam. PON. MAX. TR. P. - - -

26. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum, imberbe. TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVSTVS.—*Rev'*. Homo sedet tenens hastam dextrâ, & protendit ramum sinistra. PONTIF. MAXI *m v s.* literis in utraque facie inversis ut mos est in nummis Vespasiani & filiorum. In catalogo Meadianâ hic nummus Tiberio Cæsari adscribitur: mihi potiús videtur Titi Vespasiani esse. Pondus 56 gr' suadet nummum esse Tiberii Cæsaris; litteræ inversæ ad Titum pertinent; Judicet lector.

27. *Obv.'* Caput Domitiani laureatum, imberbe. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P M. TR. - - - - -*Rev'*. Homo galeatus, tenens dextrâ aliquod triplex, sinistrâ hastam erectam: clypeus est ad pedes. IMP.—XI COS. XVI. CENS. - - - - P P.

28. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum, imberbe. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P *m t* R. P. VII.—*Rev'*. Pallas galeata stat, dextrâ tenens fulmen, sinistra hastam: pone est clypeus. IMP. XIIII. COS. XIIII. CE *ns* P. PP.—Perforatus est hic nummus: sin integer esset, pondus esset 50 vel 51 gran'.

29. *Obv'*. Caput Domitiani laureatum, imberbe. - - - - - - DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P M. TR. P. VIII.—*Rev'*. Homo galeatus, habens scutum ad pedes, dextra tenet baculum sive aliquid simile, sinistra hastam erectam. Epigraphe evanuit.

30. *Obv'*. Caput Nervæ laureatum, imberbe. IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P M. TR. P. COS. IIII.—*Rev'*. Foemina stans tenet dextra pileum, sinistra baculum vel ensem. LIBERTAS PUBLICA.

31. *Obv'*. Caput Trajani imberbe, laureatum. IMP. TRAIANVS AVGVSTVS.—*Rev'*. Foemina velata graditur, tristi similis. COS. II.

32. *Obv'*. Caput Trajani laureatum, imberbe. CAES *a r* NERVA - - - *t r* AIAN. AVG. GERM.—*Rev'*. Homo sedet sella, dextra tenens hastam erectam, sinistra cornucopiam. PONT. MAX.

33. *Obv.* Caput, ut in priore. IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO - - - - - -.—*Rev'*. Dea sedet in elegante sedili tenens gubernaculum dextra, sustinens cornucopiam sinistra. PARTHICO PM. TR. P. COS. II. PP. S. P. Q. R.—In *exergo*. FORT. RED.

34. *Obv'*. Caput Trajani imberbe, elegans, laureatum. IMP. CAES. - - - - - - - OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC.—*Rev'* Fortuna sedens tenet dextrâ gubernaculum, sinistra cornucopiam, sub pedibus rotam. PM. TR. P. COS. VIII. *s. p.* Q. R.—In *exergo*. FORT. REI.

35. *Obv'*. Caput imperatoris tonsum, laureatum, imberbe. IMP. T *ra* IANO AVG. GER. DAC. PM. TR. P. COS. V (vel VI) P P.—*Rev'*. Homo eleganter vestitus sedet, tenens gubernaculum dextra, cornucopiam sinistra. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI.

36. *Obv'*. Caput ut in priore. TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. PM. TR. P.—*Rev'*. Dea stans tenet dextra bilancem, sinistra cornucopiam. COS. V. PP. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRIN.

37. 38. Ecce duos alios ejusdem anni & ejusdem descriptionis; sed et minuta quædam sunt, in quibus differunt.

39. *Obv'*. Caput Hadriani imberbe, tonsum, laureatum. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS.—*Rev'* Mulier benè stolata dextra tenet imaginem quandam, ut videtur. COS. III. Pondus 46½ gr'.

40. *Obv'*. Caput ut in priore. IMP. CÆSAR TRAIAN. HA *d r i a n u s.*—*Rev'*. Homo stans tenet dextra ramum, sinistra hastam. PM. TR. P. COS. III.

41. *Obv'*. Caput Hadriani laureatum, barba tonsa. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS.—*Rev'*. Foemina elegans stat protendens dextra corollam, sinistra sustinens hastam puram. CLEMENTIA AVG. COS. III. P. P.

42. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum imberbe Antonini Pii (Primi). ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS PP. TR. P. COS. III.—*Rev'*. Fulmen. PROVIDENTIA DEORVM.

43. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum, imberbe, senis (Antonini Pii). ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS PP. TR. P. XVIII.—*Rev'*. Homo stans tenet dextra gubernaculum erectum cum globo ad imam partem, sinistra cornucopiam. COS. IIII.

44. *Obv'*. Idem ac præced.—*Rev'*. Homo stans dextra spargit semina vel fructus ex patera, sinistram imponit columellæ sive aræ. COS. IIII.

45. *Obv'*. Idem ac 43.—*Rev'*. Homo stat imponens pedem nesciocui, dextra tenet gubernaculum erectum. Inscriptio evanuit.

46. *Obv'*. Caput idem ac 43; & eadem epigraphe nisi TR. P XVII.—*Rev'*. Homo tenet spicas dependentes; sinistram imponit nesciocui. COS. IIII.

47. *Obv'*. Caput Antonini Pii laureatum, imberbe. IMP. ANTONINVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo pileatus sedens tenet gubernaculum dextra, sinistra cornucopiam. P.M. TR. P. II. COS. II. P. P.

48. *Obv'*. Caput ejusdem Imp' laur', imberbe. IMP. CAES. ANTONINVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo (fortasse Esculapius) tenet dextra serpentem qui altius capite se erigit; and sinistra elevat pateram flagrantem. SALVS ANTONINI AVG.

49. *Obv'* Caput ejusdem Imp' laureatum. IMP. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo dextrâ sustinet pateram super aram; sinistra tenet ramum acanthi vel aliquid simile.

50. *Obv.* Caput Antonini Pii, barbatum, laureatum. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. IMP.—*Rev'*. Homo pedem imponit puppi; sinistra sustinet aliquid super genu, sive infantem sive panarium, quod evanidum est; dextra tenet gubernaculum erectum.

51. *Obv'*. Caput senis (Antonini Pii) barbatum, laureatum. M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXIII.—*Rev'*. Homo dextra imponit corollam super aram, sinistra sustinet hastam. SALVS AVG. COS. III.

52. *Obv'*. Caput Faustinæ (majoris natu, ut opinor) crinibus eleganter ornatis, & cum margaritis. DIVA FAVSTINA.—*Rev'*. Mulier stat dextra tenens hastam puram, sinistra spicas, sive aliquid simile, dependentes.

53. *Obv'*. Caput Faustinæ majoris natu, caliendro ornatum. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Juno stans protendit pateram dextra, sinistra tenet hastam. Ad pedes stat pavo. *ivno regi*NA.

54. *Obv'*. Caput M. Aurelii (Philosophi) imberbe, non laureatum. AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG. PII. F.—*Rev'*. Homo galeatus stat protendens dextra nescioquid duplex (quasi duas manus junctas), sinistram imponit scuto, & hastam sustentat.

55. *Obv'*. Caput Aurelii laur', barba tonsa. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. GER.—*Rev'*. Homo sedet sella curuli, & protendit dextra ramum. P. M. TR. P. - - III COS. IIII. P. P.

☞ Nummos M' Antonini (Primi) & M' Aurelii Antonini (Philosphi) & M' Aurelii Antonini (Caracallæ) non facile est dignoscere.

56. *Obv'*. Caput Aurelii (philosophi) laureatum, imberbe. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Tropæum inter duos captivos sedentes humi. PART. MAX. PONT. TR. P. IIII.

57. *Obv'*. Caput M' Aurelii barbatum, laureatum. M. *antoni*NVS AVG. ARM. PARTII. MAX.—*Rev'*. Victoria alata dextra tenet nescioquid; sinistra suspendit clypeum trunco. TR. P. XX. IMP. *iiii Cos.* - - - Clypeo inscriptum est VIC. PAR.

58. *Obv'*. Caput M' Aurelii. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. GERM.—*Rev'*. Homo sedens. P. M. TR. P. XIIII. COS. IIII. P. P.——Sed potest fieri ut hic nummus sit Caracallæ.

59. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum, M' Aurelii, ut videtur. IMP. ANTONINVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo stans ad columnam, dextra extendit baculum ad terram, sinistra tenet cornucopiam, sive aliquod simile: ante pedes globus est. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. II. P. P.

60. *Obv'*. Caput Faustinæ, junioris, crinibus calamistratis, & in nodum collectis. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Duo pueruli lectisternio insidentes. SAECVLI FELICIT.

61. Alius nummus ejusdem descriptionis.

62. *Obv'*. Caput Faustinæ junioris. FAVSTINA AVG. - - - - AVG. FIL.—*Rev'*. Foemina sedens dextram extendit; sinistram tenet super cornucopiam: humi jacet globus prope cornucopiam. CONCORDIA.

63. *Obv'*. Caput juvenis crinibus in nodum collectis in summo capite; facies elegans. DIVA FAVSTINA.—*Rev'*. Foemina stat tenens dextra spicas dependentes, sinistra baculum vel hastam erectam. AVGVSTA.

64. *Obv'*. Caput elegans juvenis, (Faustinæ junioris) crinibus pone caput collectis. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Foemina stans erecta hastam tenet utraque manu. DIANA LUCI*fera*.

65. *Obv'*. Caput ut supra. FAVSTINA AV*gvsta*—*Rev'*. Mulier stans tenet sinistra cornucopiam, dextera pateram.—AVGVSTI PII *fil.*

66. Alius Faustinæ junioris, crinibus in nodum collectis; sed omnia evanuerunt.

67. *Obv'*. Caput Veri barbatum, nudum, calamistratum, vel potius cum galericulo IMP - - - AVREL. VERVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo stat protendens pomum vel globum dextra, sinistra tenet cornucopiam. - - - - - DEOR. TR. P. II. COS. II.

68. *Obv'*. Caput imperatricis Lucillæ cum corona & crinibus in nodum collectis. LUCILLA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Mulier stat, dextra tenens ramum erectum humo innitentem, sinistra cornucopiam.

69. *Obv'*. Caput muliebre crinibus in nodum collectis ponè. LVCILLA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Dea stans porrigit pomum dextra, sinistra sustinet hastam erectam. VENVS.

70. *Obv'*. Caput Commodi laureatum. *av* REL. COMM. AVG. P. FEL.—*Rev'*. Homo stans tenet dextra labarum, sinistra cornucopiam. Sol est ante genua. - - - P. M. TR. P. XVII. COS. VII. P. P.

71. *Obv'*. Idem caput. M. COMM. ANT. P. FEL. AVG. BRIT. P. P.—*Rev'*. Miles galeatus & togatus dextra protendit imaginem, sinistra figit hastam humi. pone est tropæum justum. M. INVICT. P. M. TR. P. XIIII. COS. V. DES - - -

72. *Obv'*. Idem caput. M. COMM. - - - - FEL. AVG. BRIT.—*Rev'*. SAEC. FEL. P. M. TR. P. XI. IMP. VII. COS. V. P. P. Victoria inscribit scuto erecto super truncum VO. DE.

73. *Obv'*. Idem caput. M. COMM. ANT. P. - - - - AVG. - - - —*Rev'*. Homo sedet super sellam curvatis pedibus fultam, protendit dextra imaginem sive aliquid simile, sinistra tenet hastam. P. M. TR. P. XV. IMP. VIII. COS. II.

74. *Obv'*. Idem caput. L. AEL. AVREL. COMM. AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo stans tenet crumenam dependentem dextrâ, sinistrâ hastam. Sol lucet ponè. AVG. P. M. TR. P. XVII. COS.

75. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum Commodi. M. COMM. ANT. P. FEL. AVG. BRIT. P. P.—*Rev'*. Homo tenens dextrâ crumenam dependentem, sinistra hastam. - - - TR. P. XV. COS. VI.

76. *Obv'*. M. COMMODVS ANTONINVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo tenens labarum dextrâ, cornucopiam sinistra. - - - AVGV - - - TR. P. VII. IMP. IIII. COS. III. P. P.

77. *Obv'*. Alius ejusdem propè descriptionis.—*Rev'*. - - - - AVREL. COMM. AVG. P. P. - - - -

78. *Obv'*. Victoria alata tenet dextra corollam, sinistra palmam vel spicam. Sol lucet ante Victoriam. Nulla est epigraphe.

79. *Obv'*. Caput Commodi laureatum, barbatum. M. COMM. ANT. P. FEL. AVG. BRIT.—*Rev'*. Homo sedens protendit dextra donarium quoddam, sinistra tenet hastam erectam. P. M. TR. P. XI. IMP. - - - - -

80. Caput laureatum Pertinacis. IMP. CAESAR P. HELV. PERTIN. AVG.—*Rev'*. Dea sedet, dextra gerens ramum. OPI DIVIN. TR. P. I. COS. II.

81. *Obv'*. Caput Clodii Albini (Imperatoris Britannici) nudum, barbatum. D. CLOD. - - - - - ALBIN. CAES.—*Rev'*. Minerva galeata protendit olivam dextra, sinistram imponit clypeo, & sustinet hastam. MINER *va* PACIF. - - - - -.

82. *Obv'*. Caput Albini nudum, barbatum. - - - - ODIVS ALBINVS CA *esar*.—*Rev'*. Foemina, cujus ante pedes jacet globus, dextra tenet parazonium sive aliquod simile, sinistra sustinet hastam erectam. PROVID. AVG. COS. - - - -.

83. *Obv'*. Caput Severi laureatum. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT.—*Rev.'* Sol radiatus, stans elevat dextram, sinistra gerit flagellum. P. M. TR. P. VI. COS. II. P. P.

84. *Obv'*. Idem caput. SEVERVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo paludatus stans fundit ex patera super aram tripodem. VOTIS SUSC. DEC. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. P. P.

85. *Obv'*. Id' caput & inscr'.—*Rev'*. Homo sedens tenet dextra serpentem, sive aliquid tale. P. M. TR. P. VII. COS. III. P. P.

86. *Obv*. Caput idem Severi. L. SEPT. SEV. AVG. IMP. XI. PAR. - - - -.—*Rev'*. In medio coronæ inscriptum est VOTIS DECENNALIBVS.

87. *Obv'*. Idem caput. L. SEPT. SEV. AVG. IMP. X - - - - - IX.—*Rev'*. Homo sedens protendit pateram dextra, tenet hastam sinistra. Nulla est epigraphe.

88. *Obv'*. Caput Severi barbatum, laureatum. SEVERVS PIVS AVG. BRIT.—*Rev'*. Foemina sedens sella benè ornata tenet dextra pomum sive aliquid simile; sinistro cubito innititur sellæ. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. III. P. P.

89. *Obv'*. Caput ut in præc'. SEVERVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Vir togatus & velatus dextra protendit olivam, sinistra togam colligit. FVNDATOR PACIS. Vide 90 and 145.

90. *Obv'*. Caput Severi & inscriptio, ut in 84.—*Rev'*. Homo velatus vel velata extendit olivam. FVNDATOR PACIS. Vide 89 and 145.

91. *Obv'*. Caput barbatum, laureatum. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG.—*Rev'*. Jupiter stans tenet fulmen dextra, sinistra sustinet lanceam; cujus ad pedes stat aquila. P. M. TR. P. XIII. COS. III. P. P.

92. *Obv'*. Caput Severi barbatum, laureatum. - - - - - - SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. VIII.—*Rev'*. Hercules nudus tenet dextra clavam humi nitentem, sinistra protendit arcum, humero sinistro gerit pellem leonis. HERCVLI D - - - -

93. *Obv'*. Caput ut in præced. - - - - SEV. PERT. AVG. - - - - —*Rev'*. Victoria alata gradiens protendit nescio quid dextra, sustinet ramum, sive aliquod tale, sinistrâ. VICT. AVG. - - - C COS. II. P. P.

94. *Obv'*. Caput idem ac præced. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT.—*Rev'*. Homo sedens sella curuli tenet dextra pateram super aram; serpens tollit se ex ara, & pascitur ex patera; homo sinistro cubito innititur sellæ. - - - - - AVGG.

95. *Obv'*. Caput Severi barbatum, laureatum; - - - - - - AVG. IMP. VIIII.—*Rev'*. Homo (sive Fortuna) tenet dextra gubernaculum cum globo, sinistra cornucopiam. P. M. TR. P. V. COS. III.

96. *Obv'*. Caput Severi, ut in præc'. - - - - PERT. AVG. - - - - - —*Rev'*. Elephas. - - - - TIA AUG. Vide 123.

97. *Obv'*. Caput Severi, ut in 95. L. S *ep* T. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. VII.—*Rev'*. Victoria alata protendens dextra coronam. ARAB. ADIABE. COS. - - - -.

98. *Obv'*. Caput Severi, ut in 95. - - - PERT. AVG. IMP. VIIII.—*Rev'*. Homo capite radiato (ut videtur) tenet dextra gubernaculum cum globo, sinistra cornucopiam. P. M. TR. P. V. COS. III sive IIII.

99. *Obv'*. Caput ut in 95. SEVERVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo sedens in sella benè ornatâ tenet dextra gubernaculum, sinistra cornucopiam. P. M. TR. P. II (sive VI, sive XI) COS. III. P. P.

100. *Obv.'* Caput Severi laur', perpulchrè excusum. SEVERVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Tropæum erectum inter duos captivos. PART. MAX. P. M. TR. P. VIIII. nummus pulcherrimus.

101. *Obv'*. Caput Severi laureatum. SEVERVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo nudus pileatus fundit ex patera super aram dextra, tenet sinistra vestem defluentem. P. M. TR. P. XIIII. COS. III. P. P.

102. *Obv'*. Caput, ut in 101. - - . EPT. SEV. AVG. TR. P. XI. PART. IMP.—*Rev'*. Victoria imponit coronam margaritarum super globum (*sive* scutum) impositum basi. VICTORIAE AVGG. FEL.

103, 104. *Obv'*. Caput ut in 101. SEVERVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo galeatus sedens protendit dextrâ victoriolam armatam, tenet sinistra hastam : ad pedem sellæ stat scutum. RESTIVTOR VRBIS.—duo sunt ex omni parte similes & iidem.

105. *Obv'*. Caput Severi ut in 101. IMP. C. AEL. SEP. SEVER. - - - - -—*Rev'*. Homo togatus tenet dextrâ abacum quadratum cum manubrio, sinistra cornucopiam. LIBERAL. AVG. - - - - - Vide 138, et 209.

106. *Obv'*. Caput, ut in 101. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. VII. (sive VIII.)—*Rev'*. Mulier velata fundit ex patera super aram tripodem. VOTA PVBLICA.

107. *Obv.* Caput Severi ut in 101. - - - - SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. VII.—*Rev'*. Mars gradiens cum spoliis super humero. P. M. TR. P. III. COS. II. P. P.

108. *Obv.* Caput ut in 101. - - - - SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. III (sive IIII).—*Rev'*. Homo trabeatus ad pedes tenet dextra pateram (*sive* panem) sinistra lyram. P. M. TR. P. III. COS. II. P. P.

109. *Obv'*. Caput ut in 101. - - - T. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. III (sive IIII).—*Rev'*. Hercules indutus pelle leonis stat dextra innitens clavæ, sinistra tenens arcum. HERCVLI DE - - - -

110. *Obv'*. Caput ut in 101. - - - - PERT. AVG. COS. II.—*Rev'*. Fortuna stans tenet dextra clavum navis, sinistra cornucopiam. FOR*tunae* REDVCI.

111. *Obv'*. Caput Severi ut in 101. - - - - PERT. AVG. - - - - -—*Rev'*. Victoria alata festinat: quid teneat manibus incertum est. VICTORIA COS. II. P. P.

112. *Obv'*. Caput Severi, ut in 101. - - - SEV. PERT. AVG.—*Rev'*. Pax sedet : quod tenet manibus evanidum est. PACI - - -.

113. *Obv'*. Idem caput. SEPT. SEV. PERT. - - - - -—*Rev'*. Cybele turrita sedet ante aram ; cubito sinistro innititur sedili, dextra tenet nescioquid super aram. - - - - - AVGG. (fortasse *mater Augustorum.)*

114. *Obv'*. Idem caput. SEVERVS AVG. PARTH. - - - - -—*Rev'*. Miles galeatus habens clypeum ad pedes, hastam sinistra protendit nescioquid dextra. VIR *tvs* AVGG.

115. *Obv'*. Idem caput Severi. - - - - - SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP.—*Rev'*. Mars gradiens. - - - - - COS. - - - P. P.

116. *Obv'*. Idem caput. - - - EPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. X.—*Rev'*. Pax sedens protendit dextra olivam, sinistra tenet colum sive aliquid simile. PACI AETERNAE.

117. *Obv'*. Idem caput. - - - SEVERVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo togatus & velatus dextra protendit olivam, sinistra togam colligit. FVNDATOR PACIS.

118. *Obv'*. Idem caput ac 101. L. SEPT. - - - - AVG. IMP. - - I. PART. MAX.—*Rev'*. Victoria alata festinans gerit dextrâ olivam : ante pedes captivus sedet. VICT. PAR*thic* AE.

119. *Obv'*. Idem caput ac in 101. - - - - SEV. PERT. AVG.—*Rev'*. Idem ac 109.

120. *Obv'*. Caput Severi barbatum, laureatum. *im* P. CAE. L. SEP. SEV. - - - -—*Rev'* Evanuit.

121. *Obv'*. Caput Severi senis laur' barbatum. L. [*sic*] SEPT. SEV. AVG. IMP. XI. PART. MAX.—*Rev'*. Dea sedet sella, protendens dextra pateram, sinistra sustinet hastam puram erectam. IVSTITIA.

122. *Obv'*. Caput ut in 121. SEPT. SEV. PERT. - - - - - -—*Rev'*. Eques vehens dextram elevat. - - - - FELICISSIMO.

123. *Obv'*. Caput Severi. - - - - - SEV. PERT. AVG. - - - - -—*Rev'*. Elephas. MV - - - - . Vide 69.

124. *Obv'*. Caput Severi. SEVERVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo stans fundit super aram. VOTA SUSCEPTA XX.

125. *Obv'*. Caput ut in 121. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. X.—*Rev'*. Mars galeatus imponit pedem nesciocui, dextra tenet ramum, sinistra figit hastam humi. - - - - - PACIFERO.

126. *Obv'*. Caput ut in 121. - - - SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP.—*Rev'*. Mars armatus gradiens eum spoliis. P. M. TR. P. III. COS. II. P. P.

127. *Obv'*. Caput Severi laur'. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. P. M. TR. P. VI. COS. II. P.P.—*Rev'*. Homo *(sive* Sol) radiato capite stans dextram extendit, quasi digito monstrans aliquid : sinistra gerit flagellum.

128. *Obv'*. Severi caput. SEVERVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo sedet ; quod tenet manibus abrasum est. P.M. TR. P. VII. COS. III. P. P.

129. *Obv'*. Caput Severi laur'. SEVERVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo nudus stans dextra fundit aliquod in aram; sinistra dependet. P. M. TR. P. XIIII. COS. III. P. P.

130. *Obv'*. Caput, ut in 129. - - - - - SEVERVS - - - - AVG. P. M. - - - —*Rev'*. Apollo stans tenet cymbalum dextra, lyram sinistra. APOLLINI AVGVSTO.

131. *Obv'*. Caput ut in 129. - - - - - PERT. AVG. IMP. V.—*Rev'*. Mars gradiens cum spoliis. - - - - COS. IIII.

132. *Obv'*. Caput Severi, ut in 129. - - - - SEPT. SEV. PERT. - - - - IMP. - - - —*Rev'*. Victoria alata festinat, gerens coronam dextrâ, tenens sinistra spicam sive ramum. VICT. AVG. COS. II. P. P.

133. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum (Severi, ut opinor). Inscriptio est evanida.—*Rev'*. Victoria alata festinat, gerens coronam dextra, VICT. AVG. COS. - - - P. P.

134. *Obv'*. Caput laur' Severi. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. - - - - —*Rev'*. Victoria alata elevat coronam dextra ; tenet sinistra spolium super hastam. ARAB. A*diab.* *co* S. II. P. P.

135. Alius nummus ejusdem descriptionis ex omni parte, ac præced ; at non sunt ex eadem forma. Ex' gr' : Victoria in 134 est procera & elegans ; in hoc est brevis & obesæ staturæ.

136. *Obv'*. Caput, ut in 134. SEPT. SEV. PE*rt. a* VG. IMP. VIII.—*Rev'*. Mulier elegans sedet, dextra panem protendens, sinistra innititur hastæ. INDVLGENTIA A*vg.*

137. *Obv'*. Caput ut in 134. *se* PT. SEV. PERT. - - - - —*Rev'*. Imperator eques hastam tenet dextra. *p* RO*fe* CTIO AVG.

138. *Obv'*. Caput, ut in 134. IMP. CAE. L. SEP. SEV. PERT. AVG. COS. II.—*Rev'*. Mulier tenet dextra labarum, sinistra cornucopiam. LIBERA. [*liberalitas*] AVG. Vide 105, et 209.

139. *Obv'*. Caput idem ac 134. L. SEPT. S*ev.* PER. AVG. IMP. VIII.—*Rev'*. Homo sedet, omnia sunt evanida.

140. *Obv'*. Caput idem ac 134. - - - - - SEV. PERT. - - - —*Rev'*. Homo sedet, dextra tenens baculum, sive aliquid simile, sinistra hastam. - - - - - - - - - TENAE.

141. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum barbatum. SEVERVS PIVS AVGVSTVS.—*Rev'*. Homo nudus dextra fundit è patera super aram ; sinistra tenet vestem. P. M. TR. P. XII. COS. III. P. P.

142. *Obv'*. Caput cum inscriptione idem ac præced.—*Rev'*. Homo sedens in sella dextra protendit nescioquid. P. M. TR. P. XVII. COS. III. P. P.

143. *Obv'*. Caput Severi barbatum laureatum. L. SEPT. SEV. AVG. IMP. XI. PART. MAX.—*Rev'*. Justitia stans tenet dextra bilancem, sinistra hastam puram. AEQVITATI AVGG.

144. *Obv'*. Caput cum inscriptione idem ex omni parte ac præced.—*Rev'*. VOTIS DECENNALIBUS intra coronam.

145. *Obv'*. Caput cum inscriptione idem ac 141.—*Rev'*. Imperator velatus dextra tenet olivam, sinistra sustinet vestes. FVNDATOR PACIS. Vide 89 & 90.

146. *Obv'*. Caput Severi barbatum laureatum. SEVERVS AVG. PART. MAX.—*Rev'*. Homo armatus paludatus fundit ex patera super aram, altera figit hastam in humum. RESTITVTOR VRBIS.

147. *Obv'*. Caput ut in præced. SEVERVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Tropæum ; duo captivi, alter sedet humi, alter stat. P. M· TR. P. XV. COS. III. P. P.

148. *Obv'*. Caput & inscriptio, ut in præced.—*Rev'*. Tropæum ; captivus sedet hinc inde. vinctis post tergum manibus. PART. MAX. P. M. TR. P. VIIII.

149. *Obv'*. Caput Imperatoris laureatum, barbatum. - - - - PT. SEV. PERT. AVG.—*Rev'*. Captivi et tropæum, ut in præced'. - - - - RAB. - - - - LET - - . ADI - - - -.

150. *Obv'*. Caput Severi. IMP. SEV. PERT. AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo stans dextrâ tenet nescioquid evanidum, sinistra cornucopiam. LIBERALITAS.

151. *Obv'*. Caput Severi laureatum. IMP. CAE. *l. sept. sev.* PERT. AVG. COS. II.—*Rev'*. Victoria alata elevat coronam dextra. VIC. AVG.

152. *Obv'*. Caput Imperatoris nesciocujus, sive Severi, sive Antonini. - - - - - AVG. IMP. X.—*Rev'*. Mulier sedens: sed omnia sunt obscura. SALVTI - - - -.

153. *Obv'*. Caput nesciocujus, Severi fortasse. - - - - - - - AVG. IMP.—*Rev'*. Homo sedens in curuli sella protendit nescioquid dextrâ, tenet hastam sinistra. P. M. - - - - - XXI. P. P.

154. *Obv'*. Alius similis & ejudem imperatoris, ut opinor.—*Rev'*. Homo nudus stat levans dexteram super caput, sinistra tenens tenens hastam. Inscriptio in neutrâ facie legi potest.

155. *Obv'*. Nummus ærens. Caput Severi vel Antonini, ut opinor. Inscriptio evanuit.—*Rev'*. Minerva stat armata galea, hasta & parma rotunda ante pectus. - - - - TR. P. III. - - - -.

156. *Obv'*. Caput Severi, ut opinor. Nihil legi potest, nisi AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo sedens dextra protendit globum, sinistro cubito innititur sellæ. SECVRITAS PUBLICa.

157. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum; Severi, ut opinor. - - - - - PIVS P. P.—*Rev'*. Homo stans tenet dextra spicas dependentes; sinistra tangit aram. COS. IIII.

158. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum; Severi, ut opinor. Inscriptio evanuit·—*Rev'*. Mulier sedens dextra protendit globum (sive pomum) votA PVBLICA.

159. *Obv'*. Caput Severi, ut opinor. Inscriptio evanuit.—*Rev'*. Mulier tenens dextra coronam dependentem. Inscriptio prope evanuit; fortasse CONCORDIA AVGG.

160. *Obv'*. Caput incertum; Severi, ut videtur. - - - - - - AVG. COS. II.—*Rev'*. Duæ cornucopiæ, inter quas spica erecta. FELICITAS TEMPOR.

161. *Obv'*. Ecce alius Severi, ut videtur, sed omnia sunt evanida.—*Rev'*. Eques armatus, vehens. PROFECTIO.

162. *Obv'*. Caput Severi, barbatum, non laureatum. DIVO SEVERO PIO.—*Rev'*. Aquila insistens globo. CONECRATIO. Nummus elegans, sed malè servatus.

163. *Obv'*. Caput Juliæ Domnæ, uxoris Severi, cum caliendro. JVLIA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Cybele turrita sedet protendens dextra baculum (sive aliquid simile); sinistro cubito innititur tympano, et sinistra tenet hastam. Leo sedet hinc inde ad pedes. MATER DEVM.

164. *Obv'*. Caput & inscriptio ut in præced'.—*Rev.'* Cybele turrita sedens dextra tangit solem, sinistrâ tenet hastam: ad pedes sellæ recumbit leo. MATER DEVM.

165. *Obv'*. Caput Imperatricis cum galericulo. JVLIA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Mulier velata stans ante aram elevat ambas manus hinc inde. PIETAS PVBLICA.

166. *Obv'*. Caput & inscriptio, ut in præced.—*Rev'*. Dea elegans sedet in sella benè ornata, dextra tenet spicas defluentes, elevat tædam. CERERI FRUGIF. Nummus pulcherrimus.

167. *Obv'*. Caput & inscriptio, ut in duobus præcedent'.—*Rev'*. Foemina stat dextra extensa offerens aliquid, sinistra tenens cornucopiam. PIETAS PUBLICA.

168. *Obv'*. Caput Juliæ, gerens galericulum. JVLIA DOMNA.—*Rev'*. Foemina protendens dextra pomum, sinistra gerens spicam sive palmam. VENERI.

169. *Obv'*. Caput Imperatricis crinibus calamistratis, vel potius cum galericulo.—*Rev'*. Cybele sedet alto curru, vecta quatuor leonibus. MATER AVGG.

170. *Obv'*. Caput Juliæ crinibus calamistratis & pone in nodum collectis. JVLIA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Dea stat tenens pateram dextra, sinistra hastam erectam. Pavo ante pedes. JVNO REGINA.

171. *Obv'*. Caput Impeaatricis. JVLIA AVGVSTA—*Rev'*. Cybele turrita sedet, protendens stellam dextrâ, sinistra tenens hastam. Leo recumbit ad pedes sellæ. MATER DEVM.

172. *Obv'* Caput mulieris ætatis mediæ calamistratum, vel cum galericulo. JVLIA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Venus sustinens sinistra hastam humi fixam, dextra porrigens pomum. *Venus genetr*IX.

173. *Obv'*. Idem caput ac præcedens, habens comam non planè eandem, nec multo diversam. IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG. —*Rev'*. Venus sedens dextra porrigit nescioquid, sinistra sustinet lanceam. VENVS GENETRIX.

174. *Obv'*. Caput propè idem ac 172. JVLIA AVGVSTA.—*Rev.'* Juno procera & elegans extendit pateram dextra, sinistra sustinet hastam, cujus ad pedes graditur pavo. IVNO REGINA.

175. *Obv'*. Caput ejusdem Juliæ Domnæ, sed ætate paulo minore, IVLIA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Foemina stans sustinet dextra culmum segetis ex humo surgentem, sinistra tenet cornucopiam. HILARITAS.

176. *Obv'*. Caput prope idem ac 172. IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG.—*Rev'*. Dea tenet dextra transversam hastam, sinistra dependente tenet brevem baculum,, vel aliquid tale. DIANA. *lu*CIFERA.

177. *Obv'*. Caput Iuliæ Domnæ imperatricis cum galericulo. IVLIA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Foemina sedens in sella. PVDICITIA.

178. *Obv'* Caput idem ac præcedens. IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG.—*Rev'*. Dea sedens offert nescioquid infanti ad pedes stanti; sinistra tenet hastam puram. VENVS GENTERIX.

179. *Obv'*. Caput idem ac 177. IVLIA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Cybele. MATER DEVM.

180. *Obv'*. Caput idem ac 177. IVLIA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Dea stans tenet dextra pateram vel coronam, sinistra hastam puram erectam. Pavo stat ad pedes. IVNO.

181. *Obv'*. Caput Imperatricis cum galericulo. IVLIA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Idem ac præced'. IVNO REGINA.

182. Alius, prope idem ac præced.

183. *Obv'*. Ut 181.—*Rev'*. DIANA LVCIFERA.

184. *Obv'*. Caput idem ac 181. IVLIA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. - - - - FELIX.

185. *Obv'*. Caput imperatricis. JVLIA AVG.—*Rev'*. Cybele sedens protendit ramum dextra, sinistro cubito innititur sellæ. Lea ante sellam. MATER DEVM.

186. *Obv'*. Caput Caracallæ laureatum. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Triremis; in puppe duo homines sedentes, alius stans in media nave. ADVENT. AVGG.

187. *Obv'*. Caput imberbe laureatum. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Victoria alata currit, protendens florem dextra, gerens olivam sinistra super humerum. VICT. PART. MAX. Potest fieri ut hic & quidam alii sint M' Aurelii: non enim facilè dignoscuntur.

188. *Obv'*. Caput juvenis cujusdam, Caracallæ, ut opinor, durante vita patris. - - - - - ANTON. CAES. - - - - .—*Rev'*. Mars gradiens cum spoliis. *ma* RTI *Victori.*

189. *Obv'*. Idem caput & eadem inscriptio.—*Rev'*. Homo dextra baculum versus terram obliquè dirigit; sinistra tenet hastam & paludamentum. Post tergum est tropæum. PRINCIPI - - - - .

190. *Obv'*. Caput juvenis, Caracallæ ut videtur. - - - - AVREL. ANTO - - - - .—*Rev'*. Simpulum & alia instrumenta sacrifica. Inscriptio evanuit.

191. *Obv'*. Idem caput. - - - AVR - - - CAESAR PONTIF.—*Rev'*. Foemina dextram supinam extendit super aram, sinistra curat vestem. PIETAS.

192. *Obv'*. Caput juvenis Caracallæ (ut opinor) imberbis tonsum, non laureatum. M. AVR. ANTON*inus p*O*ntif.*—*Rev'*. Instrumenta sacrifica. - - - - EP (sive R) AT - - - -

193. *Obv'*. Caput Caracallæ pueri tonsum, nudum. M. AVR. *Antoninus* CAES. PONTIF.—*Rev'*. Homo stans figit hastam in humum sinistra, dextram imponit clypeo. SECVRITAS *perpe*TVA.

194. *Obv'*. Caput Caracallæ, ut videtur. - - - - ANTON. CÆS.—*Rev'*. Mars gradiens. Literæ evanuerunt.

195. *Obv'*. Caput Caracallæ laureatum, imberbe. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Mars galeatus, stans firmiter, dextra figit hastam in humum, sinistra tenet parazonium. TR. P. XII. COS. III.

196. *Obv'*. Caput juvenis, Caracallæ, imberbe, laureatum. IMP - - - ANTONINVS PON - - - .—*Rev'*. Foemina sedens protendit pomum dextra, sinistro cubito innititur sellæ. SECVRITAS PVBLICA.

197. *Obv'*. Caput idem. ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS.—*Rev'*. Miles galeatus, paludatus, stans dextra sustinet victoriolam, sinistra figit hastam in humum. VIRTVS AVGG.

198. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum Caracallæ juvenis imberbe. CAE. M. AVR. ANT. - - - - —*Rev'*. Foemina stans tenet dextra spicas dependentes, sinistra globum turritum, sive aliquid simile. FIDES PVBLICA.

199. *Obv'*. Caput tonsum Caracallæ juvenis imberbis, laureatum. IMP. ANTONINVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Foemina sedens sella ornata tenet gubernaculum dextra, sinistra cornucopiam. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. II. P. P.

200. *Obv'*. Caput Caracallæ juvenis laureatum. ANTONINVS. AVGVSTVS.—*Rev'*. Homo nudus protendit pomum dextra, sinistra figit hastam in humum. PONTIF. TR. P. III.

201. *Obv'*. Caput Caracallæ juvenis imberbis laureatum. IMP. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo sedens, quietus, nihil faciens. SECVRITAS SAECVLI.

202. *Obv'*. Caput idem. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Foemina galeata sedet, protendens dextra imaginem, sinistra tenet nescioquid. Clypeus innititur scdili. VIRTVS AVGVSTOR.

203. *Obv'*. Caput Caracallæ, ut in præcedentibus. ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS.—*Rev'*. Homo stans protendit gladium dextra, sinistra sustinet hastam erectam. Canis sive aliquod animal simile sedet ad pedes. SEVERI PII AVG. FIL.

201. *Obv'*. Caput Plautillæ Imperatricis calamistratum, crinibus in nodum collectis ponè. PLAVTILLAE AVGVSTAE.—*Rev'*. Vir & uxor conjungunt dextras. CONCORDIAE AETERNAE.

205. *Obv'*. Caput muliebre. PLAVTILLA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Homo protendens dextera pateram, sinistra tenens hastam. CONCORDIA AVGG.

206. *Obv'*. Caput Plautillæ galero ornatum, vel crinibus calamistratis. PLAVTILLA AVGVSTA.—*Rev'*. Homo stans protendit dextram, sive aliquod donarium, sinistra tenens hastam puram. CONCORDIA AVGG.

207. Alius ejusdem ex omni parte descriptionis.

208. Alius ejusdem ex omni parte descriptionis ac 204.

209. *Obv'*. Caput Getæ juvenis imberbis tonsum, non laureatum. L. SEPTIMIVS GETA CAES.—*Rev'*. Foemina radiata tenet obliquè dextra abacum, ut in 105, sinistra tenet cornucopiam. FELICITAS TEMPOR. Vide 105, & 158.

210. *Obv'*. Caput nudum Getæ juvenis. SEPT. GETA CAESAR PONTIF.—*Rev'*. Homo paludatus & caligatus graditur, protendens dextra sceptrum dependens, sive bacillum: sinistra tenet hastam puram erectam. Ponè stat tropæum. PRINC. JVVENT.

211. *Obv'*. SEPTIMIVS GETA CAES.—*Rev'*. Sacrifica instrumenta, lituus, simpulum. - - - PII AVG. FIL.

212. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum, barbatum. IMP. *Caesa*R *Sept.* GETA PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo stans tenet dextra cornucopiam, sive aliquod simile; sinistra hastam erectam. PONTIF. TR. P. II. COS. II.

213. *Obv'*. Caput juvenis, Getæ, ut videtur. - - - PONT. - - - .—*Rev'*. Juvenis armatus stat ante tropæum. - - - JVVENTVTIS.

214. *Obv'*. Caput juvenis nudum, tonsum. P. SEPTIMIVS GETA CAESAR.—*Rev'*. Instrumenta sacrifica. lituus, culter, simpulum, olla. - - - - - AVG. FIL.

215. *Obv'*. Caput pueri tonsum, non laur'. L. SE*pt*IMIVS GETA CAES.—*Rev'*. Homo stans tenet dextra caduceum, sinistra cornucopiam. *fel* ICITAS TEMPOR.

216. *Obv'*. Caput imberbe Elagabali laureatum. IMP. ANT*onin*VS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Foemina stans tenet dextra pileum dependentem, sinistra arundinem sive baculum. Ponè Sol lucet. LIBERTAS AVG.

217. *Obv'*. Caput Elagabali laureatum, barba tonsa. IMP. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo sinistra tenet cornucopiam, dextra fundit ex patera super aras geminas, ut videtur. Sol lucet ante pectus. INVICTVS SACERDOS AVG.

218. *Obv'*. Caput Elagabali laureatum. - - - - ANTONINVS.—*Rev'*. Homo tenens dextra pateram (sive fortasse globum) super aram, sinistra spicas vel aliquod simile. Sol lucet ante pectus. P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. III. P. P.

219. *Obv'*. Caput juvenis Elagabali imberbe, laureatum. - - - - - - *antoni*NVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo pileatus spargit aliquid ex fiscella. Ponè lucet Sol. ABVNDANTIA AVG.

220. *Obv'*. Caput Elagabali laureatum, tonsum, imberbi mento. IMP. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo radiatus dextra tenet pateram super aram, sinistra spicam. Sol lucet ante pectus. P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. - - - -.

221. *Obv'*. Caput muliebre calamistratum. IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG.—*Rev'*. Venus stola induta defluente ad pedes; ante quam Sol lucet. VENVS CAELESTIS.

222. *Obv'*. Caput Imperat' Alexandri imberbe, laureatum, crinibus tonsis. IMP. C. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXAND. AVG. *Rev'*. Pax festinat, tenens dextra ramum, sinistra hastam. PAX. AVG.—Hic nummus non repertus est ubi cæteri, sed alio quodam loco vicino.

223. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum Alexandri juvenis, capillo tonso, imberbe. IMP. C. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXAND. AVG. *Rev'*. Foemina elegans stat, tenens olivam (sive spicam) dextra, et sinistra lanceam erectam cujus superiori parti bulla imposita est. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P.

224. *Obv'*. Caput ejusdem tonsum, imberbe, laureatum. IMP. ALE XANDER PIVS AVG.—*Re'*. Foemina protendit florem dextra, sinistra vestes colligit. SPES PVBLICA.

225. *Obv'*. Caput laureatum Alexandri Severi, capillo tonso. IMP. SEV. ALEXAND. AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo stans dextra protendit globum, sinistra hastam. PRRPETVITATI AVG.

126. *Obv'*. Caput juvenis tonsum, imberbe, laureatum. IMP. C. M. AVREL *se*V. ALEXANDER.—*Rev'*. Dea alata currit elevans coronam dextra, sinistra tenet ramum olivæ super humerum. Sol lucet ante eam. VICTORIA AVG.

227. *Obv'*. Caput anile calamistratum. IVLIA MAMAEA AVG.—*Rev'*. Dea stat velata protendens dextra spicas (sive ramum) sinistra sustinens hastam. VESTA.

228. *Obv.* Caput Maximini laureatum, crinibus & barba tonsis. IMP. MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Homo stat, baculo tangens globum (vel pomum) humi jacentem, sinistra sustinet cornucopiam. PROVIDENTIA AVG.

229. *Obv'*. Idem ac præced.—*Rev'*. Victoria alata festinat, tenens dextra coronam, super humerum sinistram gerens ramum. VICTORIA AVG.

230. *Obv'*. Caput Pupieni Maximi tonsum, laureatum, barbatum. MAXIMVS PIVS AVG.—*Rev'*. Miles gradiens tenet hastam dextra, sinistra portat sarcinam super humero.

231. *Obv'*. Caput Gordiani radiatum, imberbe. IMP. GORDIANVS PIVS FEL. AVG.—*Rev'*. Miles gradiens tenet sinistra pomum, dextra hastam. P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. II. P. P.

132. *Obv'*. Caput ut in præced'. IMP. GORDIANVS P. M. - - - - - *Rev'*. Hercules nudus clavam demittit humi. VIRTVTI AVGVSTI.

233. *Obv'*. Caput, ut in præced'. IMP. CAESAR M. ANT. GORDIANVS.—*Rev'*. Miles stans protendit dextra ramum sive aliquid simile, sinistra tenet hastam erectam: scutum est ad pedes: VIRTVS AVG.

234. *Obv'*. Caput Gordiani radiatum. IMP. GORDIANVS. - - - - -.—*Rev'*. Mars irruens. MARS PROPVG.

235. *Obv'*. Caput Gordiani radiatum capillo et barba tonsis. IMP. GORDIANVS PIVS FEL. AVG.—*Rev'*. Fortuna sedet, tenens clavum gubernaculi dextra, cornucopiam sinistra. FORT. RED.—Hic nummus non Ashtoniæ repertus est, sed in quodam loco vicino.

136. *Obv'*. Caput Philippi imberbe, radiatum. IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS.—*Rev'*. Homo stans tenet dextra coronam dependentem, sinistra attingit hastam humi fixam. LAETIT. FVNDAT.

237. *Obv'*. Caput ejusdem radiatum, capillo & barba tonsis. IMP. PHILIPPVS AVG.—*Rev'*, Dama vel Capricornus. SAECULARES AVGG.—In *Exergo* litteræ quædam, fortasse LVDI.—Hic nummus non Ashtoniæ sepertus est, sed in alio quodam vicino loco.

238. *Obv'*. Caput Saloninæ (uxoris Gallieni) calamistratum. SALONINA AVG.—*Rev'*. Dea stat protendens pateram dextra, tenens hastam erectam sinistra. IVNO REGINA.

239. *Obv'*. Caput Constantii junioris imberbe, cinctum diademate margaritis ornato. D. N. CONSTANTIVS P. F. AVG.—*Rev'*. VOTIS XXX. MVLTIS XXXX. inscriptum intra coronam frondeam.—Pondus 28 gr'. Qui sequuntur, sunt propè evanidi.

240. *Obv'*. Caput (Commodi; fortasse) non laureatum—*Rev'*. Homo tenet dextra baculum cum duobus serpentibus, ut videtur; sinistra cornucopiam. TR. P. XII. COS. VI.

241. *Obv'*. Omnino deleta est.—*Rev'*. Mars galeatus dextram imponit clypeo, sinistra figit hastam in humum. MARTI VICTORI.

242. Nummus Titi aut Domitiani, ut licet conjicere ex capite: cætera evanuerunt.

§ 70. The following observations occurred in describing the preceding coins. They were buried in or soon after the reign of Constantius II A' Chr' 340: not earlier, for there is one coin of his among them; and not much later, because there are no coins of his successors. What might be the reason for burying such a sum 100 years before the Roman armies quitted this island, when the country was under a regular government, who shall inform us? They are all, as I suppose, intended for denarii: their size is nearly the same $\frac{3}{10}$ or $\frac{4}{10}$ of an inch in diameter. The weight of the heaviest No. 26 is 56 grains: if we suppose it's original weight from the mint to be 60 grains, it's value (reckoning silver at five shillings per ounce, i' e' $\frac{1}{2}d.$ for four grains) will be $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ In process of time the weight of the denarius was much lessened; so that the medium weight of those above-mentioned belonging to Hadrian and his successors

for some time is 46 or 47 grains ; and that of Constantius No. 239 is only 28,=3½*d*: beside which the metal under the later emperors is shamefully debased ; one of this collection taken at hazard, which weighed 30 grains, containing 18 gr' of copper and only 12 of silver. It appears from this collection, and from some Consular coins found at Caerwent, that the ancient money of the Republic was in circulation even in the Provinces, as late as the reign of Constantine.—The present collection gives a strong proof of this peculiarity in the Roman coinage, that two pieces of money are seldom, if ever, to be found exactly alike. Of the whole number above described, there were only two, which were not instantly discernible to be of different moulds. Either the heads of many are alike, but the inscriptions vary, even if the letters are the same : or, the whole Fronts of two or more are the same, but the Reverses are different : or the figures of the Reverses are the same, but the inscriptions vary, &c. These peculiarities shew that the Roman coinage was conducted on principles different from our own ; I venture to think that great part of it was cast. A large collection of moulds in clay was discovered some years ago in Somersetshire, some of them having the metal coins in them ; these have hitherto been considered as the work of ancient forgers ; I am of opinion that it was an authorized practice.—Several of these coins have work on the edges of them, similar to the milling on modern coins.—The number of Severus's coins is remarkable : out of 239 nearly 100 belong to him and his Empress : his residence in Britain was certainly the cause, why his coins are more numerous, than others.

§ 71. These are the principal remains and evidences of Roman residence, which our neighbourhood affords. Bath and it's immediate vicinity are not part of my subject : I take leave however to observe, that* Musgrave speaks of a tessellated pavement found at Bath-ford a short time be ore he wrote : and he also says, that at Hasilbury farm six miles from Bath between Box and Corsham was found in 1710 or 1711 a villa 184 feet long having in it a tessellated pavement, and that at Wellow† likewise a similar pavement and the foundations of a villa of very great extent were discovered. At Bath-ford Roman coins have been dug up

* Belg' Britan' vol' 1, p' 151 ; printed in 1711. † See Chapt' 1, § 110, *c.*

in the Parsonage garden ; and there was the appearance, as I was well informed, of a small station there, apparently an out post to the garrison of *Aquæ-solis*.—Two other Roman stations there are, at Sodbury and Horton ; which being almost as near to Bristol as to Bath, seem to require some notice in these pages. The camp at Little Sodbury is situate on the brow of the Cotswold hills, overlooking the vale of the Severn ; about a quarter of a mile distant from the turnpike road which leads from Bath or Bristol to Oxford, and about half a mile from a well-known inn, called *the Cross Hands*, so denominated from a Roman coin found on digging a foundation there, the reverse of which represented two hands joined. The camp is nearly an oblong square, with a double ditch and rampart, about 300 yards long and 200 wide, containing about twelve acres. It is described in Sir Rob' Atkyns, in Rudder, in Lysons, and particularly in *Mûnimenta Antiqua*.—About a mile northward from Sodbury camp, still on the edge of the hill, at Horton, is another smaller camp, apparently Roman, of a form approaching to a parallelogram, of which the western side, nearest to the brow of the hill, which is the longest, is 200 yards long.* It has a single ditch and rampart.

§ 72. The government of the Romans in Britain appears to have been carried on with as much regularity, as that of any part of their empire. When their dominion extended only over the southern part of England, it was governed as a † single province ; and as they proceeded in the conquest, the bounds of the province were of course gradually enlarged. To the governor, called *the Legate*, was entrusted the general care of the province civil and military : and with him was associated ‡ a *Procurator*, who managed all affairs relating to the revenue and the treasury. It was a proconsular government, and the governor resided at Rutupiæ : and afterwards when Severus divided it into two, and succeeding Emperors into more provinces, each province must have had it's governor and procurator, residing at it's own capital town : but before the Romans quitted the island, all the governors were placed under the superintendence of an officer, called the § Vicar-general of Britain.

* See Mr. Baker's account of a Chain of Fortresses in Glocestershire, Archæol' Vol' XIX.

† Tac' Ann' 12, 40 ; and Agric' 14.

‡ Tac' Agric' 15.

§ Notitia dignitatum, printed in Reynolds's Iter Britann'.

There are several reasons for supposing, that after the conquest was compleated, their government of Britain was mild. They permitted * several of the native princes, if not all, to retain their dignity; with diminished authority surely, and without the power of making war. Such was † Cogidumnus, who was continued in his kingdom during all the government of Agricola, and probably longer; such too was that § Lucius, who with other kings of Britain is said to have embraced Christianity A' D' 164: and the Welsh Chronicles give a regular history of their kings during the whole Roman period; to which history although numberless particular objections may be made, yet the great and leading facts are probably true.

§ 73. The support of the Roman government was their standing army. The whole military force of the empire was usually about thirty legions, containing each about 12,000 men. Musgrave ‡ proves clearly, that the standard of the Roman legion in the time of the republic was 3000 foot and 300 horse, of citizens only; and that by means of auxiliaries the number was increased gradually and occasionally to 4, 5, 6, 7000 and upwards. Under the Emperors the legion never consisted of less than 6000 foot, usually more, beside as many auxiliaries; making on the whole more than 12,000 men. Of these legions three were stationed in Britain, who were sufficient to secure it from foreign aggression: and being in small parties all over the country effectually ensured it's internal tranquility. They ought not to be considered as altogether a foreign army; for although they were originally composed of men of § various nations, yet they continued here during the whole time of the Roman dominion, and for the most part in the same quarters, and many of them must have had British wives, and children born here: as Constantius Chlorus married Helena, a British lady, by whom he had his son

* Tac' V' Agric' 14.

† "Anno Dominicæ incarnationis 164, Lucius Britannicus rex cum universis regulis totius Britanniæ baptismum susceperunt, missâ legatione ab imperatoribus Romanorum et à Papâ Romano Euaristo. Lucius agnomine *Levermaur* id est *magni splendoris* propter fidem, quæ in ejus tempore venit." Nennius 18.

‡ Belg' Brit' Vol' 4, cap' 6.

§ "Exercitus Romani, ex mille nationibus coacti." *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Norm'.*

Constantine, afterwards Emperor, born * at York. Many also of the legionaries in Britain must have been Britons themselves, and many must have had British property and connexions. An army thus composed and stationed was not likely to be oppressive, as one wholly foreign might have been. Moreover, the establishment of corporate towns and colonies, in Britain as in other provinces, must have been favorable to the interests of the provincials: the privileges attached to those towns and their territories rendered them in different degrees independent of the ordinary governors of the provinces, and therefore afforded without doubt an asylum to those, who suffered or feared oppression, and an example of free and equal government to any provincial governor, who might be inclined to severe or unjust proceedings.

§ 74. That Britain flourished under the Roman government is manifest from the number of it's towns. These are set down to be only twenty-eight by Gildas and Nennius, two ancient British writers, whose authority is chiefly appealed to in this part of British history. Their works are published in Dr' Gale's *Quindecim Scriptores;* and it may be satisfactory to give some account of them.

§ 75. Gildas is the author of two short treatises. *I. Historia*, or *de excidio Britanniæ*. *II. Epistola*. He says himself, that he was born in the year of the siege of Mount-Badon; from which circumstance he is properly stiled *Gildas Badonicus*, to distinguish him from another of the same name. The original † is below; it may be thus rendered. "From the time of the successes of Ambrosius, sometimes the Britons and sometimes their enemies prevailed until the year of the siege of mount-Badon, [which ‡ is thought to be near the mouth of the Severn]; which was almost the last, and not the least slaughter of those villains,"

* Stillingfleet's Orig' Brit' cap' 3.

† Et ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes vincebant, - - - - usque ad annum obsessionis montis Badoniei [qui prope Sabrinum ostium habetur], novissimæque fermè de fureiferis non minimæ stragis; quique [*perhaps* à quoque, *or* unde] quadragesimus quartus, ut novi, orditur annus, mense jam uno emenso, qui et meæ nativitatis est. *Gildas* de exeid' Brit' 26.

‡ This member of the sentence is supposed by some to be an interpolation.

"the Saxons: and which 44*th* year [he means the 44*th* year from which], as I well know, is now beginning, a month being already past; which also is the year of my nativity." The age of Gildas must therefore depend on the date of this siege, at which Arthur gained his great victory; which Rapin * sets down under A' D' 511, but which better authorities, † Usher, and ‡ Rowland, and § Whitaker place in A' D' 520: consequently the year, in which he was then writing, was A' D' 564, the grandson of Aurelius Ambrosius ‖ living at that time. Now Ambrosius fought against Hengist and Horsa in ¶ A' D' 456, and died in ** 497; his grandson therefore might be reigning in 564. Gildas says moreover †† that the Britons, when he wrote, enjoyed peace; which must have been the peace, which followed the victories of Arthur. There can be no doubt therefore concerning the age of Gildas. He is sometimes called *Gildas Albanicus (the Scot)*, and it is said that he was born at Alcluyd, and that his family quitted their country and settled in North Wales. This however (if there ever were such a person) must be a different person from *Gildas Badonicus*, and a century earlier; for he is said by Rowland ‡‡ to have set up a school A' D' 455, and instructed youth in arts and sciences; and the removal to Wales might have been feigned in order to identify the two. The Albanian Gildas is said to have been the son of one Caw; but Rowland thinks it more probable that Caw was the father of Gildas *Badonicus*, and consequently a Cambrian Briton: and moreover our Gildas Badonicus is §§ called *Cormac*, which probably means the *son of Caw*. After all, it is very questionable, whether such a person as Gildas Albanicus existed, as a writer different from our Gildas. Leland |||| mentions only one; and Stillingfleet ¶¶ considers the two as the same person. Of our Gildas however we have a tolerably good account; of Gildas Albanicus we know little or nothing.

* Rapin quotes Langhorne as his authority. † Usher Primordia, Index Chronol' 520.

‡ Rowland *Mona antiqua* p' 180. § History of Manchester, 2, 2. Vol' 2 p' 57.

‖ "Duce Ambrosio Aureliano, viro modesto - - - - - cujus nunc temporibus nostris soboles mag nopere avitâ bonitate degeneravit." Gildas de excidio Brit' 25.

¶ Hen' Hunt' 2. ** Matth' Westm'. †† De excid' Brit' 26.

‡‡ Rowland's Mona Antiqua p' 180.

§§ In some verses added to the end of his history. *Historiam Gildæ Cormac sic perlege scriptam Doctoris digitis.*

|||| De Script' Britann' XXXII. ¶¶ Orig' Brit' IV, p' 209.

§ 76. Leland * relates all the circumstances he could collect concerning Gildas. 'He was a Cambrian by birth, and it will appear probable from the latter part of his history, that he was of South not of North-Wales. He was a monk; and since the monastery of Bangor was then famous, Leland thinks it likely, that he studied there:' a conjecture which stands on so slight a foundation scarcely deserves notice: beside which, it has been † proved that the word *Ban-chor* or *Bangor* is simply an appellation for any College, and there were many at that time in Wales. 'He is said to have visited Gaul and even Rome, and to have returned to his own country with a large collection of books. Here he became a famous preacher of the gospel, and many resorted to him: among his principal friends and associates was Cadoc of Llancarovan, a man who had built a monastery in some very solitary part of Glamorgan: the Britons gave that name to the place, because Cadoc had obliged some *stags* instead of oxen or horses to labor at the building.'

§ 77. 'Gildas in the midst of his celebrity grew tired of the monks his companions, and chose to seek a place, where he might enjoy a more perfect retirement from the world. Some think, and Leland is almost persuaded of the fact, that he retired to one of the two small islands in the Severn sea; where he hoped to enjoy uninterrupted retirement and silence. But his hopes were disappointed; he was frequently disturbed by pirates, who made this island the place of their retreat. For some time he endured the plunder, rapine and sacrilege of these villains; but at last foreseeing no probable end of their violence he quitted the place, and crossed over into Somersetshire, and took refuge in the monastery of Glastonbury, where he was well received; and when he died, he was there interred.'

§ 78. In another place ‡ Leland gives the following account of him out of an ancient Calendar. "He preached every Sunday in a church on the sea-shore, which stands in the country of *Pebidiauc* in the time of king Trifunus, an innumerable multitude hearing him. He always

* De script' Britann'. † Gunn's Edit' of Nennius, pref' p' xxi. ‡ Coll' 3, 368.

wished to be a faithful subject to Arthur: his brethren however rebelled against that King, unwilling to endure a master. Hueil, the eldest, a perpetual warrior and most famous soldier, obeyed no King, not even Arthur himself. The term of a year being ended, and his scholars retiring from study, the abbat St Cadoc, and the excellent doctor Gildas, went to two islands, Ronneth and Echin: Cadoc entered the one nearest to Wales, and Gildas the other nearest to England. In confirmation of which account Mr. Roberts * quotes a passage from the life of St Eudoceus, where it is said, that Gildas led an Anchorite's life in the isle of Echni. Here Gildas founded an oratory in honour of the holy and undivided Trinity, and near it his bed-chamber; but he did not fix his bed there, but it was situate under a high rock. Pirates came there and annoyed him; whereupon he left the island, and went on board a small vessel, and entered Glastonbury with great grief, king Melvas reigning in Somersetshire. Glastonbury was therefore besieged by King Arthur, with an infinite multitude, on account of Guennumar, his wife, who had been violated and carried away by the aforesaid wicked king, and taken to Glastonbury for the sake of protection, on account of the sanctuary of that inviolable place, and the defence of the beds of reeds, and the river and the marsh." This is Leland's account of Gildas, and he adds all that he could collect concerning the books, which he wrote. Rowland says that he removed into Armorica A' D' 564, from whence he wrote his *Epistola;* and in 570 (or according to Baker in 580) he died. Polydore Virgil, as quoted by † Leland, says that Gildas flourished in the time of Pope Pelagius the second, about A' Chr' 580. From his abode in and near the Severn, and in Armorica, it may be supposed, that he was of South-wales rather than of North-wales‡.

§ 79. His style is wretchedly bad, consisting of perplexed periods of vast length, having frequent parentheses, and full of metaphors and allusions. He wrote his history, he says, at§ the instigation of his brethren,

* Brut Tysilio p' 201. † Coll' Vol' 3.

‡ There is a Life of Gildas, son of Caw, by Caradoc of Llangarvan; see Usher's Antiq' pp' 447, 452: and another in Biblioth' Floriac' quoted by Stillingfleet Orig' Brit' pp' 204 and 207.

§ Fratrum religiosis precibus coactus.

the monks, and a more contemptible performance can scarcely be found. His ignorance of the affairs of Britain is extreme: he says that the Romans did not conquer this country, as they did others, by arms, so much as by mere threats and edicts, and the power of their civil courts. His account of Boadicea's revolt betrays a total and a wonderful ignorance of that important event; and his whole representation of the Roman period in Britain, proves that he had never read Cæsar, Tacitus, or any other Roman historian, although he quotes Virgil and another* Latin poet. He professes to take his history "not from British writings [*scripturis patriæ*] which, if ever there were any, were either burnt in the wars or carried abroad, but from foreign records [*transmarina relatione*] which are obscure and interrupted." This is another proof of the author's ignorance; for many Welsh chronicles and records existed in that age, as is manifest from many parts of the Brut Tysilio, and from the history of Nennius, which is certainly derived from such chronicles: and the same thing is abundantly proved by Aaron Thompson in the preface to his translation of Geoffry of Monmouth.

§ 80. Next to the ignorance of this Gildas, his extreme dislike to his countrymen the Britons, is most observable. He grossly reviles them all: he calls them cowards, impious, villains, liars, faithless, and the like: in his epistle he gives the vilest character to five or six of the British princes by name, and abuses them most vehemently: and although it is probable, that there was too much truth in these representations, yet the abuse is so indiscriminate, that it is hard to put entire confidence in them. His manner of speaking concerning his countrymen is such as shews, that he had no regard or affection for them; nay his prejudice extends even to the country, which he represents as a frozen region of the North. The gospel, he says, "was brought to† Britain, an island stiff with frost, and lying in a more distant corner of the world, not very near to the sun." This description might have been excused, proceeding from the ignorance or prejudice of an ancient Roman, but not from one, who had lived in

* Innumeris onerantes æthera votis.

† Glaciali frigore rigenti insulæ, et velut longiore terrarum secessu; soli visibili non proximæ. Gildæ Hist'.

South-wales and in Somersetshire, as Gildas is said to have done. On the other hand his partiality to the Romans is great, as often as he has occasion to speak of them; and once in mentioning the Latin language he calls it * *our* language; which has induced Mr. Roberts to suspect that the author was a Roman: this however is no certain proof; for a British Ecclesiastic of that age would have used the same expression, Latin being the language which they chiefly wrote: beside which he speaks of *our* merits, and† *our* soil, meaning the British. He appears to have been a man of great piety, and to have entertained a great indignation against the vices of his countrymen; to have been thoroughly versed in Scripture, which he quotes even to tiresomeness, and to have had some acquaintance with ecclesiastical writers, for he quotes Philo and Porphyry. But it must be allowed that he was a weak doating man, that he complains of every thing, so as to deserve the name which has been given him of *Querulous*; that his admonitions are childish, and his representations of public affairs ignorant and silly; and that therefore only a modified dependence can be placed on his narration.

§ 81. From two arguments Mr. Roberts is inclined to believe that both these treatises of Gildas are the forgeries of a later age: first, because there are in them several passages, wherein the supremacy of St Peter and of the Roman pontiff is recognized; whereas the British church in Gildas's time held no such doctrine, and Austin the monk did not arrive in Britain till some years after Gildas's death: Secondly, because it is certain from various testimonies, that Gildas Historicus [*the historian*] was well acquainted with Welsh records; whereas this Gildas *Badonicus* or *Querulus*, says that no such existed in his time, if ever they did. The first objection may easily be answered by supposing, as Mr. R' does in other cases, that the Romish monks and ecclesiastics in copying this kind of books did very generally insert fabricated passages for the purpose of recommending their own church, and omit such as seemed adverse to it. His second objection seems unanswerable: but

* Tribus (ut linguâ ejus [Saxonicâ] exprimitur) Cyulis, nostrâ linguâ, longis navibus. Gildæ hist. 23.

† Nostris condigna meritis. In nostro cespite. Hist' 23.

instead of concluding from thence, that these two treatises are the forgery of a later age, I should rather suppose that this Gildas Badonicus is a different person from Gildas Historicus; for the two treatises attributed to the former have strong internal marks of authenticity, and contain many particulars, which an ignorant man in a succeeding age could not, and a pious man would not forge: nor does there appear any motive for forging the history, and a very insufficient for forging the epistle. The other, that is, Gildas the historian may be the same writer, who is well known by the name of Nennius: for Dr' Gale in his preface says that Nennius's work is quoted by early writers as the production of Gildas, which name is also prefixed to some MSS of Nennius. For example; Will' Worc' quotes * the following book "*Incipit Gesta Britonum à Gildâ Sapiente composita.*" But the whole passage which he quotes is not in Gildas, but in Nennius, although the readings are considerably different from those of the printed editions. And the same quotation he makes in another place.† It is therefore tolerably certain, that he, who is sometimes improperly called *Gildas Historicus*, is in fact the historian Nennius. And some of the Welsh Antiquaries seem to be of the same opinion; for example, David Powell in the Preface to his Hist' of Cambria recounting the MSS authors, whom he consulted, mentions first *Gildas Sapiens, aliàs Nennius:* in reckoning his printed authorities he had before mentioned first *Gildas.* Lewis Morris, a Welsh Antiquary, in a lettter dated 1760, ‡ speaks of "Gildas Nennius a Britain, who wrote in Latin about the year 850:" and again some few lines onward, "read the 20*th* chapter of Gildas Nennius's Eulogium." Mr. Pegge in his § answer to Lewis Morris adopts the same notion; "I remember the passage of Gildas Nennius well."

§ 82. Two persons of this name have been already mentioned, Albanicus and Badonicus; and a third, Historicus, is misnamed Gildas, being in fact Nennius; a fourth remains to be produced. Aaron Thompson ‖ says that Gildas, a poet, lived in the time of Claudius Cæsar, and

* Itin' p' 85. So also Hen' Hunt' 2, p' 313, quotes Gildas Historiographus, as the author of the account of Arthur's twelve battles; which account is in Nennius.

† Itin' p' 299. ‡ Cambrian Register 1795, p' 351. § Ibid' p' 364.

‖ Preface to Geoffry of Monm'.

is a different man from Gildas the historian ; that he wrote a poem called *Cambreis*, and other poems quoted by Ponticus Virunnius in his Britannicæ Hist'; they are also quoted by Hoveden and Lilius Giraldus. Aaron Thompson mentions also one Gildas, probably the same, who treated of the contention between Lud and Ninnius ; who translated the Molmutian laws out of British into Latin, and related other particulars, which happened before the arrival of Cæsar. It will however require much stronger evidence than is ever likely to be produced, to prove that an author of this description lived in the reign of Claudis Cæsar. His works (if ever such there were) must be attributed to one of the three preceding. One or another of these authors is often called *Gildas Sapiens*. If this title be given to Gildas Badonicus, it cannot be on account of what is usually called *wisdom*, but perhaps from his readiness in preaching and quoting Scripture. Why it should be given to either of them is not very evident.

§ 83. The other ancient British author above mentioned is Nennius or Ninnius, whose British name was probably Nyniaw ; for a Chief of that name is said in the Welsh Chronicle to have been brother of Caswallon [Cassibelaunus], who opposed Julius Cæsar, and to have died of a wound in the head given by Cæsar's own hand. This author wrote a treatise called *Historia Britonum*, which was first printed by Dr' Gale in his *Quindecim Scriptores;* who says that the MS copies, from which he formed his text, are corrupted in various ways; and other writers complain that some of the copies are full of interpolations, some of which may belong to Gildas: Dr' Gale has added a large collection of various readings.

§ 83. *b*. While I am writing, another MS copy of the *Historia Britonum* has been * discovered in the Vatican, in a manner similar to that in which Richard of Cirencester was discovered. It differs considerably from the common copies of Nennius. After some chronological calculations, the real history begins thus: " Here begins the *history of the Britons* published [*edita*] by Mark the Anchorite, a holy Bishop of that"

* *Historia Britonum*, edited by the Rev' W' Gunn, 8vo 1819.

"people. The island Britain was so called from one Brutus a Roman Consul &c." No mention is made of Nennius; yet it is evident that Mark copied that writer, making many alterations; and that the present copyist supposed Mark to be the original author. A critical edition of the *Historia Britonum* would be a benefit to British history.

§ 83. *c.* With regard to the person of Nennius, he was certainly a Briton; for although he generally calls the nation *Britons*, yet he sometimes speaks of them as * *us* and *ours*. He was likewise either an ecclesiastic or a monk: for he recounts at length and with pleasure the miracles of St German, and quotes † a book, either of his writing or containing an account of his life. He was also an admirer of St Patrick, and relates the legendary tale of his apostleship; and Leland ‡ supposes that he had studied among the Scots of Ireland, judging from the account he gives of that nation. He says in the preface, that by the grace of God he was a disciple of St Elbotus, or Elbodus, or § Elvodugus. Gale in his preface says that he was Abbat of Bangor [*Banchoriensis Coenobiarcha*] but on what authority I know not; and if the date of his book, A' D' 858, be correct, as I believe it to be, he could not belong to the great monastery of Bangor in Denbighshire; for that never recovered from the massacre of it's monks, which happened according to Bede A' D' 613. Perhaps some other Bangor is meant; for *Ban-chor* was a common ‖ name for all monasteries: or perhaps he was mistaken for his predecessor Gildas.

§ 83. *d.* He wrote, he says, by the command of his seniors; and compiled his history in Latin from the traditions of their ancestors, from the writings and memorials of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, from the annals of the Romans, from the chronicles of the fathers, Jerom, Prosper, Eusebius, and from the histories of the Scots and Saxons, although

* Regionem, quæ in linguâ eorum [Saxonum] vocatur *Cantguaraland*, in nostrâ autem linguâ *Chent* c' 36.

† Hic est finis Guortigirni, sicut in libro Beati Germani repperi. cap' 49.

‡ De Script' Brit' cap' 47. § Leland Coll' 3, 45. ‖ Mark pref' p' xxiii.

enemies. By the *Roman annals* he means not Cæsar, Tacitus &c, but Dares Phrygius, and such writers, and perhaps the Latin lives of St German, St Patrick and the like. His history plainly shews that he had before him more than one British Chronicle; for he tells the usual story* of Brutus or Brito the Trojan, grandson of Aeneas, who being driven from Italy at last settled in Britain: and this story he tells with variations. He must have had also many genealogies of the early inhabitants of the country, some of which he quotes; but does not mention in what language they were written. It is true, he contradicts this account by saying in the apology which follows the preface, that the stupidity of the British nation prevented them from having any memorials in books. But that† apology bears marks of being an interpolation.

§ 84. He appears to have had some knowledge of the Roman authors, for he quotes from Virgil *Purpurea intexti tollunt aulæa Britanni;* yet his ignorance of Roman transactions in Britain is so great, that either he never redd or wholly disregarded the histories of Cæsar, Tacitus and the rest. Particularly he describes Julius Cæsar as having gained possession of the whole island, in which he differs not only from the Roman authors, but from the Welsh Chronicles also. But he agrees with Gildas and the Chronicles in representing the dominion of the Romans over Britain to be only of an irregular kind: that they came here only occasionally, first under Julius, then under Claudius, and then under Severus, quitting the country almost wholly in the intermediate time. What degree of truth may be in this statement, deserves the reader's consideration.

§ 85. That he was not the same person as Gildas Badonicus or Querulus above-mentioned, as some have supposed, is plain from his style: that of Nennius is simply narrative; scarcely a pious observation or a quotation from Scripture through the whole book; whereas in Gildas every sentence has one or the other. In Nennius are several

* See above, Chapt' I. 47.

† It is scarcely worth while to mend so silly a piece; however I can inform the reader that *cujus sum* ought to be *ausus sum*.

expressions copied from Gildas, which is at least a probable reason for thinking them to be different persons: but it is of more consequence to observe, that he differs from Gildas in relating some historic facts; for example, the invasion of the Picts and Scots, and the conduct of the Romans on that occasion. It may be concluded therefore with certainty, that they were two different authors, although their copyists often confounded them.

§ 85. *b.* At what time Nennius wrote has been made a matter of some doubt. Dr' Gale * says that he flourished in 620: but he quotes no authority, and it may be an error of the press. My opinion is, that he wrote in A' D' 858; but that various parts of his book were written at various times. The following are all the passages, which can serve to settle the date of this history. He says in his Preface, that he wrote in the year after the Incarnation of our Lord 858, which he writes in words at length: and although some MS copies omit that sentence, yet there is no good reason to doubt it's authenticity. But he adds, that the year 858 was also the 24*th* of Mervin, king of the Britons, which raises a † difficulty. For Mervin I began ‡ his reign A' D' 817; his 24*th* year therefore is A' D' 841, and if this be the king, who is meant, there must be an error of 17 years in some part of this computation. But if Mervin II be the person intended, he began § to reign A' D' 877; and his 24*th* year must be A' D' 901; in which case there is an error of 43 years.— Again in Chapt' I, the author gives A' D' 800 (or 832, it is not clear, which he means) as the date of his writing, which he says "is the 30*th* year of Enarauth, king of Mona, who *now* governs the kingdom of North-wales." This king, we are told by ‖ Welsh authority, began his reign A' D' 877, and his 30*th* year is therefore 907. Here must be some great mistake. Other figures in the same chapter give a different result. Again he says in Chapt' XI, that from the arrival of the Saxons to the 4*th* year of king Mervin (his own time) are 429 years: and the arrival of

* In the General Preface to the XV Scriptores. † See Nicholson's Hist' Libr' voc' *Nennius*.

‡ Gunn's Historia Britonum p' 124. Warrington (Hist' of Wales) says, that this Mervin I was slain A' D' 843. § Warrington B' 4, p' 152. ‖ Warrington's Hist' of Wales.

the Saxons he places more than once in 447, as others do: the date of this copy must therefore be A' D' 876. But if Mervin began his reign in 817, as mentioned above, the date must be carried back to 821. In Mark's copy of Nennius, the author * tells us, 'that from the passion of our Lord are 946 [and from the Incarnation 976] years to the time when he writes, which is the fifth of Eadmund, king of the English.' In the first part of this quotation is a manifest error; the author knew not, whether the computation of the Christian era began from the passion or the incarnation, and he has placed it on the wrong point: and then a blundering emendator inserts the words, which are placed above within brackets. The latter part of the passage precisely fixes the date of the Vatican transcript of Nennius to be A' D' 946 or 947; and all our histories agree that this is the *5th* or *6th* of king Edmund, and the Editor informs us, that the Librarians at the Vatican on inspection of the MS judged that it was written in the tenth century. Nevertheless, page 62 of this same Vatican transcript gives a different date. He there says, that 'the Saxons arrived 447 years after the passion) meaning as before, the incarnation) of our Lord; and then from that time to the year in which he writes, which he says again is the fifth of king Eadmund, are 547 years:' which computation makes the date 994 after Christ. And he repeats in page 80 the same computation, only omitting any mention of the year of king Edmund. It seems therefore that the Vatican copy of Mark's *Historia Britonum* was composed out of several copies, in the same manner as those from which Dr' Gale's printed Edition was formed.

§ 85. *c.* From a comparison of these dates it may be collected, that Nennius wrote in 858, making use however of prior documents, and copying their dates into his own work: and that succeeding copyists in transcribing his history dated their transcripts in the year in which they copied it, yet frequently preserving the dates of former copyists: and that sometimes they had other chronicles before them, beside that of Nennius, and incorporated them into the copy, which they were writing: and that no part of the *Historia Britonum* was written before A' D' 800, nor after 1000.

* P' 45.

§86. Mr. Whitaker * supposes that Nennius wrote the original part of his history even before Gildas, and that later events were interpolated by various hands: the latter part of this opinion is certainly true, but the former part is not supported by any sufficient argument, and I wholly dissent from it.

§87. Mr. Hooke is another Author, who endeavours to uphold the higher antiquity of Nennius. His book is entituled *Bristollia ;* or *Memoirs of the city of Bristol &c: to which is prefixed a Dissertation on the antiquity of Bristol. By Andrew Hooke Esq' a native thereof. London* 1748. It is a thin 8*vo* pamphlet, and is continued to the reign of William Rufus. Every thing worthy of notice is extracted from it and inserted into the present work. He uses (p' 24) an argument, which ought not to be overlooked, to prove, that Nennius lived long before the time here assigned to him. In Asser's life of king Alfred is a passage, which relates to a dispute, which happened at Oxford A' D' 886 between Grymbold, a foreigner sent by king Alfred to Oxford, and the Students, who were there before his arrival. "These † old Scholars contended that learning flourished there very commonly, before Grymbold came to Oxford. - - -Moreover they proved, and that by the undoubted testimony of ancient Annals, that the orders and institutions of that place were enacted [*sancita*] by certain learned and pious men, such as Gildas, Melkin, Nennius, Kentigern, and others, who all grew old in letters there, managing all things with happy peace and concord; and that St Germain also came to Oxford, and spent half a year there, when he journeyed through Britain to preach against the Pelagian heresy: and he wonderfully approved of the orders and institutions above [*suprà*]." 'Now Gildas lived A' D' 511—570, and Melkin and Kentigern were his cotemporaries; and it is probable, that Nennius being named among them was also of that same age: whereas if he had lived at Oxford within some few years before this dispute, there would have been no occasion to have recourse to ancient Annals; they would themselves have remembered him.'

* Hist' of Manch' Vol' 2, p' 33. † Asser anno 886.

§ 88. The answer which may be made to this argument is as follows. The whole passage in Asser is very commonly and on very good presumption supposed to be spurious, forged in a subsequent age for the purpose of commending the antiquity of the University of Oxford: and the forger would very probably insert the well-known name of Nennius, who was as likely as any of the rest to have lived at Oxford time enough for his purpose. The whole state of this controversy the reader may see in Wise's edition of Asser; and may from thence determine whether the passage was forged and inserted in some copies by a crafty Oxonian; or really written by Asser and cut out of some copies by an envious Cantabrigian.

§ 89. But supposing the passage to be authentic, it would be too much to expect such accuracy of style in these old writers, that the words *ancient annals* must refer to every one of the four individuals afterward mentioned, and to others understood; if the fact were generally true, it would be sufficient to authorize the expression. Moreover these Ancient Annals must have been of the nature of a Chronicle or Register, in which events, rules &c were entered successively, as they happened: a book of this kind would be produced to prove a regulation made by Ninnius only 20 or 30 years before, as well as one of Gildas enacted 350 years before. On either supposition the objection appears to be of no value.

§ 90. I now return to the account given by Gildas and Nennius of the number of towns in Britain during the Roman Period; of which Bristol appears to have been one. Gildas says that Britain was decorated with 28 cities and some castles, all furnished in a respectable manner with walls, towers, locked gates, and houses firmly built up to a threatening height: but he does not mention the names of these towns. His words are these. *Britannia bisdenis, bisque quaternis civitatibus ac nonnullis castellis, murorum, turrium, serratarum portarum, domorumque, quorum culmina minaci proceritate porrecta in edito forti compage pangebantur, molitionibus non improbabiliter instructis deco-*

rata [*erat*]. Bede, who died * A' Chr' 734, aged 59, and may be supposed to have written about A' Chr' 720, says the same, and in words so alike, that he must have had Gildas's book before him. *Britannia erat civitatibus quondam* 28 *nobilissimis insignita, præter castella innumera, quæ et ipsa muris, turribus, portis, ac seris erant instructa firmissimis.* Then follows Nennius † in the same story, and many of the same words. *In eâ sunt* 28 *civitates, et innumerabilia promontoria, cum innumeris castellis ex lapidibus et lateribus fabricatis: in eâ prius habitabant quatuor gentes, Scoti, Picti, atque Saxones, et Britones.* And at the end of his history he gives their names thus. "The names of all the cities of Britain. The first city of Britain is that which is called

1. Cair Gurthigirn.
2. Cair Municip.
3. Cair Meguid.
4. Cair Eborauc.
5. Cair Verulam.
6. Cair Mauchguid.
7. Cair Canit.
8. Cair Peris.
9. Cair ——.
10. Cair Guent.
11. Cair ——.
12. Cair Pensavelcoit.
13. C— Celemon.
14. C— Guinting.
15. C— Luadiit.
16. C— Colun.
17. C— Custent.
18. C— Graunth.
19. C— Lunden.
20. C— Gnoirangon.
21. C— Daun.
22. C— Goricon.
23. C— Legion Guarusic.
24. C— Britton.
25. Cair Droithon.
26. Cair Urnach.
27. Cair Luitcoit.

These are the names of all the cities which are in Britain, of which the number is XXVIII." There are however only 27 in this list; one therefore is omitted, which was probably a second Cair Legion as in H' Huntingdon's catalogue below.

§ 91. Mark's copy of Nennius's list is so different from the pre-

* Will' Malmsb'.

† I copy from Gale's edition; and the same words are quoted by W' W', as the words of *Gesta Britonum*, written by Gildas Sapiens.

ceding, that I give it entire. "In Britain are XXXIII cities.

1. Cair Ebrauc.
2. C— Ceint.
3. C— Gurcoc.
4. C— Guor thegern.
5. C— Gusteint.
6. C— Guoranegon.
7. C— Segeint.
8. C— Guin truis.
9. C— Merdin.
10. C— Peris.
11. C— Lion.
12. C— Mencipit.
13. C— Caratauc.
14. C— Ceri.
15. C— Gloui.
16. C— Luilid.
17. C— Graut.
18. C— Daun.
19. C— Britoc.
20. C— Meguaid.
21. C— Mauiguid.
22. C— Ligion.
23. C— Guent.
24. C— Collon.
25. C— Londein.
26. C— Guorcon.
27. C— Lerion.
28. C— Drait hou.
29. C— Pensauelcoin.
30. C— Teim.
31. Cair Urnahc.
32. Cair Celemion.
33. Cair Loit coit."

§ 92. Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote in the reign of k' Stephen, about A' D' 1148, shews the same unaccountable adherence to the number 28, as Gildas and Nennius, and Bede. He copies the very words of Bede *Britannia - - - - firmissimis*, and then proceeds thus: "But these were the names of the cities in the British language.

1. Kair Ebrauc *i' e'* Eboracum.
2. Kair Chent *i' e'* Canturia.
3. Kair Gorangon *i' e'* Wigornia.
4. Kair Lundenc *i' e'* Lundonia.
5. Kair Legion, *alias* Lirion *i' e'* Liceastria.
6. Kair Colou *i' e'* Coleceastria.
7. Kair Glou *i' e'* Glouceastria.
8. Kair Cei *i' e'* Ciceastria.
9. Kair Bristou.
10. Kair Ceri *i' e'* Circeastria."

"11. Kair Guent *i' e'* Winceastria.
12. Kair Grant *i' e'* Granteceastria, which is now called *Cantabrigia.*
13. Kair Lion, which we call *Carleuil.*
14. Kair Danri *i' e'* Dorceastria.
15. Kair Dorm *i' e'* Dormeceastria, which being situate in Huntingdonshire on the River called *the Nen*, is now totally destroyed.
16. Kair Luitcoit *i' e'* Lincolnia.
17. Kair Merdin, which is still called by the same name.
18. Kair Guorcon.
19. Kair Cucerat.
20. Kair Guortigern.
21. Kair Vrnach.
22. Kair Celemion.
23. Kair Meguaid.
24. Kair Licelid.
25. Kair Peris *i' e'* Portcestre.
26. Kair Legion, in which was an Archbishopric in the time of the Britons, but now it's walls are scarcely to be seen, where Usk falls into the Severn.
27. Kair Draiton.
28. Kair Mercipit.
29. Kair Segent, which was on the Thames not far from Reding, and is called *Silcestre.* These were the names of the cities in the time of the Romans and the Britons."

§ 93. From the last words it is evident that Bede, Nennius, and Henry Huntingdon mean that there were 28 cities in Britain in the time of the Romans, and no more. Yet Nennius's list contains only 27, and Huntingdon's 29; and it is observable, that the towns mentioned by the one are not the same, as those mentioned by the other. Mark, in copying Nennius, broke through this strange attachment to the number 28: he mentions 33 as the number of Roman-British towns; in which he was followed by Ric' Cirenc', who says "there * were formerly among the"

* Ric' Cor' 1, 7.

"Britons 92 cities, of which there were 33 more celebrated, and conspicuous above the rest." This number 33 shews, that Richard had a copy of Mark's *Historia Britonum* before him. But even this number 33 is incompleat. Whitaker * reckons 140.

§ 94. I proceed to particularize these several towns, taking them in alphabetic order.

1. Caer Brito. I shall endeavor below to prove this place to be *Bristow*.—It occurs in Nenn' 24; in Mark 19; H' H' 9.—It is found written Brito, Britto, Britoc, Brithon, Bristou, Britton.
2. Caer Chent is undoubtedly *Canterbury*, *Cantiopolis* of † Rich' Cirenc', 'the metropolis of the Cantii and burial place of St Augustin.'—It is in H' H' 2: in Nenn' 7; in Mark 2.—The word is written Chent, Caint, Canit; which last *may* be a literal error for Caint: but on the other hand Kent is spelt Chenith in Domesday book.
3. Caer Celemon. Camden conjectures that it is *Camalet* in Somersetshire.—It is in Nenn' 13; Mark 32; H' H' 22.—It is written Celemon, Celemion, Coloimon, Celeimon, Celgimon.
4. Caer Colon is probably *Colchester*, as H' H' says it is. Being for some time the only Colony in Britain, it thence acquired the name. It was also called *Camalodunum*. Camden says that Harlech in Merionethshire was formerly called Caer Colun or Kolwhyn.—It occurs in Nenn' 16; Mark 24; H' H' 6.—It is spelt Colon, Collon, Colun, Colim, and perhaps Golun.
5. Caer Cei is said by H' H' to be *Chichester*, probably the ‡ *Regentium* of Rich' Cirenc'.
6. Caer Ceri is *Cirencester*; so we are told by H' H' and by § Asser, and by other undoubted authority. It was called by the || Romans *Corinium* or *Corinum*.
7. Caer Caratauc. There is in Shropshire, near Lentwardine, a fortified hill called *Caer Caradoc*, and another called *Caerdock hill*,

* Hist' Manch' Vol' 1, p' 241. † De situ Br' 1, 6, 5. ‡ Ric' Cor' 1, 6, 9.
§ Asser Vita Alfr' anno 875. || Ric' Corin' 1, 6, 28.

near Longnor, at one of which Caractacus is supposed to have been defeated. Geoffry Monm' calls * *Sarum* by the name of *Caer Caradoc*; this also may be the place.—It is in W' W's † copy of Nennius; in Mark 13; in H' H' 19.—It is written Caratauc, Cartauc, Caratans, Caradawg, Cureraud, Cucerat: but perhaps this last word means a different place.

8. Caer Costeint, certainly means a town, called in Latin *Constantia* or *Constantina* but where it lay is uncertain. Nennius ‡ says that 'beside it's name Caer Costaint, it was also called *Mirmantun*: and that Constantius, father of Constantine the Great, dying in Britain, was buried near that city, as the inscription on the tomb still shews.' Now Constantius Chlorus died at York; whence it may be supposed, that Constantia was either near to York, or a part of it, or another name for York itself: which latter supposition seems most likely. Mark, in his copy of Nennius says, that the tomb seems to be near Caer Segeint; by which he meant Caernarvon, and probably mistook the tomb of one of the Welsh Princes § for the tomb of Constantius Chlorus. It occurs only in Nennius 17. It is written Costaint, Custeint, Kusteint, Costeint; and I suppose it is the same, which Mark 5 writes Gusteint. Mirmantun likewise is variously written; Mirmantum, Mimmaton, Minmanton, Mirmantoniam, Inermantun. Camden writes Murimundum.

9. Caer Daun. Archbishop Usher, who wrote some Observations on Nennius's Catalogue, which are reprinted in the Appendix to Bede's Eccl' Hist', supposes Caer Daun to be the *Danum* of Antonine, i' e' *Doncaster*.—It is in Nenn' 21; in Mark 18.—It is written Daun, Daim.

10. Caer Dauri is said by H' H' 14 to be *Dorchester*. It is the *Durinum* of Rich' Cirenc'.—It is written Dorin in Alfred Beverlac'.

11. Caer Dorm is said by H' H' 15 to be a ruined town on the Nen: Usher says it is called *Dornford*. *Castor* on the Nen is supposed to be the place. It is written Dorm, Deorm.

* B' 8, c' 9, when speaking of Aurel' Ambrosius. † Itin' p' 300. ‡ Cap' 21
§ See Gunn's Edition of Mark, p' 141.

12. Caer Droiton, Usher supposes to be *Drayton* in Shropshire.—It occurs in Nenn' 25; in Mark 28; and H' H' 27.—It is found written Droiton, Droithon, Droithan, Droithoi, Draiton, Draithou, Drait hou, Draicon, Draico.

13. Caer Eborauc is certainly *York*, in Latin * *Eboracum*. See Caer Costeint above. Mark and H' H' place it at the head of the Catalogue, as being the capital and residence of the Emperor.—It is found written Eborauc, Ebrauc, Ebroanc.

14. Caer Glou is certainly *Gloucester*. This place (as well as Bath) was taken and secured, probably walled, by Plautius or by Vespasian under his orders, in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, whence it is called *Claudiopolis*, and *Claudii castra*, and *Claudia*: and some have attributed † the original foundation of this city to Claudius; which is very improbable, for Gloucester must always have been a place of great military importance, a site, where the very earliest inhabitants of Britain would undoubtedly form a settlement. Nennius relates, that it was built by a British Chief named *Gloui* or *Gloyw*, an Ancestor of Vortigern in the fourth degree: but this will not carry back the foundation even so far as the age of Claudius. The founder of Glocester, Gloui or whoever else he was, must have been far earlier. It's British name *Glou* or *Gloui* is latinized *Glevum*, and *Glebon*, and in later times *Glovernia*. Rich' Cirenc' ‡ says that it was a Roman Colony founded three years after the expedition of Claudius into Britain, which will bring the foundation to A' D' 45 or 46. He seems to have made a slight mistake in this account: the Romans took possession of it at that time, but it could not have been made a colony until some years after: Camalodunum was the first Roman colony in Britain, and that was not made so until the first year of Ostorius's government A' D' 50; and it seems to have continued the only colony for some years. Gloucester was certainly a colony; beside

* Ric' Corin' 1, 6, 32. † Brut Tysilio p' 36; and so says Gervais of Tilbury.

‡ Glevum vero in extremo regni contra regionem Silurum situm Romana tenebat colonia, quam deduxit Claudius Cæsar, ut scriptores de istis temporibus affirmant. 1, 6, 28; and in other places.

the authority of Ric' Corin' there is an * Inscription at Bath which proves it; but it could not have attained that rank earlier than about A' D' 55 or 60; perhaps much later.

15. Caer Guricon. John Ross supposes it to be *Warwick;* but being almost the same word as *Uriconium*, the Latin name of *Wroxeter*, that is probably the place.—It is in Nennius 22; in Mark 26; and in H' H' 18.—It is written Guricon, Goricon, Guorcon, Guorichon, Guorion.

16. Caer Grant is on the Cam, near *Cambridge;* it's Roman name is † *Camboricum*.—It is in Nenn' 18: in Mark 17: in H' H' 12.—It is written Grant, Graut, Graunth, Grauth.

17. Caer Guoirangon is *Worcester*. It's latinized name is *Branogena:* in modern Latin *Vigornia*.—It is in Nenn' 20; in Mark 6; in H' H' 3.—It is written Gorangon, Guoirangon, Guoranegon, Guiragon, Guorangon, Guoeirangon. The later Welsh call it *Caer Wrangon*.

18. Caer Guent in Monmouthshire is *Caerwent*, latinized *Venta Silurum*.

19. Caer Guent in Hampshire is *Winchester:* in Latin *Venta Belgarum*.

20. Caer Guent in Norfolk is *Castor* near Norwich, in Latin *Venta Icenorum*.—Which of these three are intended in the preceding lists, it is useless to enquire.

21. Caer Guinting. It is spelt Guinting, Guintguic, Guintuig, Guntuig, Guaituig, Guin truis. If the first be the orthography, Usher supposes it may be *Norwich*, which the Britons called *Caer Guntin*, a corruption of *Guentum*, i' e' *Venta*, from the ruins of which Norwich was built. If the second be the true reading, then it may be *Winwick* in Lancashire. An old Annotator on Ninnius says it was *Winchester*. It is in Nenn' 14; and perhaps in Mark 8.

21. Caer Gurcoc, found in Mark only. The Editor (p' 97) supposes it may be *Coccium* in Lancashire, or *Tre Coch* near Llandovery.

22. Caer Guortigern, wherever it be, means *the city of king Vortigern*. It could not be called the first city in Britain, but as being his

* Horsley's Brit' Rom' p' 327.

† Ric' Corin' 1, 6, 30.

residence, and it therefore shews the time, when that part of Nennius's book was originally composed. He * says it was on the banks of the Tivy in South-wales. Will' W' says it was at *Salisbury*. He copies the beginning of Nennius's account of the 28 cities, which as many others do, he attributes to Gildas. His † words are these. *Prima civitas Britanniæ ipsa est, quæ vocatur Cair-Guorthegyn, hoc est dicere, Castrum Vortigerni, modò Salisbery. Cair Minucip, Cair Meigudel, Cair Ebroanc, Cair Caratans.*—It is in Nenn' 1; in Mark 4; H' H' 20.—It is written Guortigern, Guortigirn, Gurthigirn, Guor thegern, Vortigern, Guorthigirn. Some ‡ are of opinion that the Castle Guthrenion on the Wye arose from the ruins of Caer Guortigern.

23. Caer Lunden. *London.* Latinized *Londinium:* in after ages *Londonia.*—Nenn' 19; Mark 25; H' H' 4.—It is written Lunden, Londein, Lundene, Lundein, Caer Lud.

24. Caer Legion in Monmouthshire is *Caerleon.*—In H' H' 26: in Mark 22; in Nenn' 23 it is written Cair Legion Guarusik, which seems a corruption of Caer-legion-ar-Usk, *Caerleon on the Usk.* But the word *Guarusik* is also written Guarunic, and Guarenic: from whence it may be conjectured that *Warwick* was at one time the station of a legion, and called *Carlegion.*

25. Caer Legion, alias Caer Lirion, is said by H' H' 5 to be *Leicester.* Mark 27 writes the name *Lerion*, which I suppose is right. "Anno § 908 the city, which is called in the British *Caer-leir*, and in Saxon *Legacestre*, was rebuilt by order of duke Ethered and Egefleda." It's Latin name is *Ratæ.*

26. Caer Lion is said by H' H' 13 to be *Carleuil*, that is *Carlisle.* It's Latin name is *Luguballium.* Leland ‖ in copying H' H' writes "Caer Luel, i' e' Carlisle."

27. Caer Luitcoit. Alfred Beverlac', H' H', and Ran' Chest' all agree that this place is *Lincoln.* The Brut Tysilio has ¶ also "Caer-Lwyd-coed otherwise called *Lincoln.*"—It is in Nenn' 27; in

* In regione Dimetorum juxta flumen Teibi. Nenn' cap' 49. † Itin' p' 300.

‡ Camden in Radnorshire. § Sim' Dunh'. ‖ Coll' 3, 290. ¶ Page 140.

Mark 33; in H' H' 16.—It is written Luitcoit, Loit-coit, Luitchoit, Lwydcoed, Loidcoit, Luitcoith, Lidcoit. It's Latin name is *Lindum*.

28. Caer Licelid, in H' H' 24, and Cair Luadiit in Nenn' 15, and Caer Luilid in Mark 16, which three I suppose to be intended for the same town; and the various readings are, Licelid, Licilid, Lualid, Luilid, Ligualid, Luadiit, Licidit, Legevit. From similarity of sound (the letter *c* being in many of these words pronounced *ch*) it is likely that *Licelid* means *Licelid-field*, i' e' *Lichfield*.—It may be however, that some of these Var' Lect' may belong to other towns; for example, Ligualid may belong to * Legaecstre.

29. Caer Municip is in Nenn' 2; Caer Mencipit in Mark 12; Kair Mercipit in H' H' 28: it is found written Municipit, Muncip, Mencipit, Mincip, Mercipit, Meircipit, Mercip. But perhaps two different towns are meant.—Usher says that Caer Municip is *Verulam*; but I know not on what authority; nor is it probable, since Nennius introduces Verulam afterward.

30. Caer Meguaid in Nenn' 3; in Mark 20; in H' H' 23.—The various spellings are Meguid, Mygid, Meigudel, Meguaid, Meguod, Meiguod, Maguoid. Usher supposes it to be *Meyrod* in Montgomeryshire, induced probably by the similarity of the names. Baxter supposes it to be *Maidstone*. Leland † writes thus: "The monks of Tyne say, that it is a city on the further bank of the river Tyne, by name *Caer Urfe*, where king Oswi was born."

31. Caer Manchguid in Nennius 6; in Mark 21. It is written Manchguid, Manchguit, Maunguid, Manguid. According to Archbishop Usher, it is supposed to be either *Manchester* in Lancashire, or *Mancester* in Warwickshire, the Roman *Manduessedum*. Camden supposes the latter to be the place.

32. Caer Merdin. In Mark 9; H' H' 17.—It is certainly *Caermarthen*. The Latin name is *Muridunum*.—It is written Merdin, and Merthin, and Merddyn &c. There are two opinions concerning the origin of this name. First, that it is so called from being the birth-place

* See above No. 25.

† Lel' Coll' 3, 290.

of Merthin the prophet, usually called by the Saxons *Merlin*. This cannot be: for being latinized in Antonine's Itinerary, about A' D' 300, *Muridunum* (contracted from *Merthin-dunum)* it must have been called Caer-merthin, long before the birth of Merlin, which was about A' D' 450. The reverse is probably the case, that the prophet received his name from Caer-merddin; *dd* in British being pronounced *th*. The other opinion is, that the town was so called from *myrddyn*, the Welsh word for a myriad; so that *Caer-myrddin* is the city of the 10,000. And this name I suppose to have been given to it on account of it's size and population, not because it was the seat of a legion, which it was not; at least there is no proof of it, but strong presumptive evidence to the contrary.

33. Caer Peris, in Nenn' 8; in Mark 10; in H' H' 25.—It is found written Peris, Poris, Porari.—H' H', Alfred of Beverley, the * Welsh Chronicle, and Geoffry † Monm', all agree that this place is *Portchester*, near Portsmouth.

34. Caer Pensavelcoit in Nenn' 12; and in Mark 29 Pensauelcoin.—In the Brut Tysilio Penhwylgoed, spelt in Geoff' of Monm' Kair Penhevelcoit, is *Exeter*, which may be the place here intended; for although Exeter was called by the Britons ‡ *Caer Isk*, and *Caer Wisk*, yet many places had two names, and more than two. But Usher thinks it probable, that the place here meant is *Pevensey* in Sussex, which is called *Penvesellum* by Guill' Pictav', Orderic' Vitalis, and Guill' Gemetic'; to which if we add *coit* (a wood), very applicable to Pevensey § at that time, which was the Roman *Anderida*, *Penveselcoit* will approach very near to Nennius's *Pensavelcoit:* and this last is the more probable conjecture.

35. Caer Segent in H' H' 29; in Mark 7 *Segeint*. That Vindonum or Vindomi, and Caer Vyddaw, and Caer Segent, and Silchester, are all different names for the same place, has been sufficiently shewn above.

* Book 3, p' 97. † Geoff' Monm' 5, 8.

‡ Asser Vita Alfr' anno 876.—Hoveden 1, p' 417.—Ad Exancestriam diverterunt, quod Britannicè dicitur *Cairwise*, Latinè *Civitas aquarum*. Sim' Dun' 876.

§ See Ric' Corin' 1, 6, 8, and 9.

36. Caer Teim only found in Mark 30. Many rivers in England are called Tame, or Thames, or Tein or the like; on one of which this town was probably situate.

37. Caer Verulam in Nenn' 5, but not in the other two. It is still to be seen near St. Alban's. In Latin *Verulamium*.

38. Caer Urnach in Nenn' 26; in Mark 31; in H' H' 21.—It is found spelt Urnach, Urnac, Uruac, Urnahc, Urnath, Uruch, Ruth. What place it is I know not. Camden supposes it to be *Uriconium* (Wroxeter): but see above No. 15.

§ 95. The preceding list contains 38 towns collected from two writers, who had fixed on the number 28. Richard's 33 cities, selected out of 92, * contained two Corporate towns [*municipia*] York and Verulam; these had probably the rights of Roman citizens, but not the privileges of colonies, which were the highest order of Corporate towns: in an inscription published by † Gale, Camulodunum is called both *municipium* and *colonia*. Next are mentioned nine colonies, London, Colchester, Richborough, Bath, Caerleon, Chester, Gloucester, Lincoln, Cambridge. Then come ten cities, which possessed the privileges of Latium, among which were Carlisle, Cirencester and Sarum: and then twelve stipendiary towns of lesser consequence than the preceding, among which we find Caerwent, Winchester, Caermarthen, Leicester, Canterbury, Exeter &c.

§ 96. About sixteen of Richard's 33 are not found in the preceding lists, and three of those which are omitted deserve particular mention. 1. *Rutupis* or *Rutupiæ*, which is *Richborough*, near Sandwich, a seaport, and the common passage town from Britain to the Continent, a place of the utmost consequence to the Roman dominion; every thing relating to it may be found in Battely's *Antiquitates Rutupinæ*. 2. *Thermæ*, or *Aquæ Solis*, certainly *Bath:* it's Roman history may be found in Musgrave's *Belgium Britannicum*, in Warner's *History of*

* See the place above § 93.—Ric' Corin' 1, 7. † Iter Brit' p' 115.

Bath, and in the *Antijacobin Review* of that book Oct' 1801, written by the historian of Manchester. Richard's * description of Bath is this. "The *Hot-springs*, called also the *Waters of the Sun*, was made a Colony and a perpetual seat of the Romans, who held this part of Britain. It was a very celebrated city, situate on the river Avon; and there the warm springs were wrought in carved work with sumptuous decoration for men's use; over which springs, the deities of Apollo and Minerva presided. The fire which was perpetually kept up in their temple never mouldered away into ashes; but when it wasted, it was changed into lumps of stone." The latter part of this quotation he took from † Solinus. 3. Deva, *Chester*, a place of so much consequence, that it was distinguished by the name of *Caer-leon mawr*, i' e' *the great-legion-city*. This was the station of the 20*th* legion, *Legio XX*, ‡ *Valeriana*, [not *Valens*], *Victrix*. From a coin of Carausius, found at Bath, which has the letters B E on it (meaning probably *Britannicus exercitus)* and on the reverse PAX AVG, Musgrave suppposes that the British legions, and particularly that at Chester, took part with that prince, and enabled him to make an honourable peace with Dioclesian. The exergue is M L XX, which Musgrave interprets *milites legionis vicesimæ*. I have a coin of the same description, purchased at Chester; and I have no doubt, that it ought to be read *moneta legionis vicesimæ*. Nothing shews the imperfection of the preceding lists, more than the omission of three such cities as these.

§ 97. The prosperity of the Britons under the Roman government is fully proved by such a number of towns, as have been here mentioned: not such towns as their rude ancestors inhabited in the age of Julius Cæsar, built of mud and placed on inaccessible hills, but situate, the greater number of them, in the most fruitful parts of the country, by the side of rivers, walled, regularly built of stone, and wealthy. Let us take only one of these towns, Caerwent, as an example. If this, which was only one in the fourth degree of importance, could erect, maintain and defend such walls as those of which we see the remains, what must have been the power and resources of those of greater consequence? Other

* Ric' Cor' 1, 6, 15. † Cap' 22. ‡ Musgrave Belg' Brit' 1, 94.

proofs of prosperity are also to be found. The ruins of elegant and costly temples, together with the many remains of altars and of inscriptions, votive, sepulchral and civil, which have been found in Britain, are the works of a polished people living in security and abundance; and their many tesselated pavements and hypocausts are undeniable evidences of the luxury and splendor in which the owners lived. Those of Caerwent have been already mentioned; we have one pavement of this kind nearer to Bristol, at a place now reduced to a farm-house, called Tockington Park, 8 or 9 miles distant on the right hand, as you go to Glocester. It was discovered about A' D' 1785, in the farm-yard, not more than a foot under ground, and a large quantity of dung lay over it; on removing which some part of it about a yard square was laid open. The tesseræ were rather larger than they are generally found, formed into a pattern, as usual. Very little notice was taken of it, and it was soon forgotten: the number of foundation walls around it, make it highly probable, that this is the site of a Roman villa, yet unexplored. Let it be observed also, that these pavements, which could only be the ornament of costly houses, are found not only in and near fortified towns, but often at the distance of several miles from them: in such situations therefore, the country as well as the towns must have been orderly and well affected, safe from any immediate danger of insurrection or revolt. It is true they were liable to taxes and to military levies; but so are the subjects of all regular governments; and there is no reason to suppose, that they were excessive. Galgacus indeed, haranguing his soldiers * says that "their goods and fortunes were consumed by taxes, and their children and relations carried away to serve as soldiers." But it must be remembered, that he who speaks was a free barbarian, one who thought any tax at all, any military discipline whatever, to be an intolerable breach of liberty. That the taxes were moderate may be conjectured from hence, that the empire in general derived no† emolument from the possession of Britain.

* Tac' Agric' 31.

† Οἱ Ρωμαῖοι τῆς Βρεττανίδος νήσου τὸ κράτιστον ἔχουσι ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ, οὐδὲν τῆς ἄλλης δεόμενοι. ὁ γὰρ εὔφορος αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἣν ἔχουσι. Appian; who wrote in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian.

§ 98. It was the Roman policy, not only to introduce their laws among their conquered Provincials, but also to bring them over as much as possible to a conformity with their own customs. Hence so early as A' D' 82, the Britons* by the advice and authority of Agricola began to build temples, houses and public places, to adopt the manners and the dress of the Romans, and to indulge themselves in baths, porticos and feasts. Some of the sons of their princes applied themselves to the liberal arts, and their genius in this respect was said to be superior to that of the Gauls. The conquerors also spread the use of their own language among the Britons, as they did in other† provinces, as a powerful mean of romanizing them; in which they so far succeeded, that some of the British youth studied the Roman law, and pleaded‡ with eloquence in the Roman-british courts, and of course before Roman judges, and in the Latin language. Traders always followed the Roman conquests, and settled in numbers in the conquered provinces: they did so in Britain; and for their purposes, as well as for the fruitfulness of the soil, the Romans chose to place their towns almost universally by the side of navigable rivers. Among many commodities they exported tin, lead and corn. The first was an ancient article of traffic before the arrival of the Romans, and continued by them: the export of lead has been mentioned § already; Camden ‖ gives another example of the same kind: an oblong mass of it was found in the time of Henry VIII near Wokey in Somersetshire, with the following inscription.¶

TI. CLAVD. CÆSAR. AVG. P. M. TR. P. VIIII. IMP. XVI. DE. BRITAN.

Musgrave supposes the words *de Britannis* to mean a trophy of victory: here as before, I rather suppose it to be merely the stamp on a piece of lead intended for exportation, shewing from whence it came. However it be understood, it proves that the Romans were in possession of Somersetshire, working the lead mines of Mendip, and exporting their produce,

* Tac' Agric' 21.

† "At enim opera data est, ut Imperiosa Civitas non solùm jugum, verùm etiam linguam suam domitis gentibus per pacem societatis imponeret." *Aug' Civ' Dei* 19, 7.

‡ Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos, Juv. 15, 111. § Chapt' I, 30.

‖ Camden Brit' Somerset'.

¶ See Leland, app' ad Collect' part 1 p' 45; from Musgrave's Belgium Britan' 3 p' 182.

as early as A' U' C' 802, that is A' D' 49. As for corn * many authors mention the abundance of it exported from Britain and carried up the Rhine for the use of the Roman armies. Even the † oysters of the eastern coast of England were well known at the tables of the rich in Rome: and the rapid rise of ‡ London, although not the seat of government, nor at first a colony, shews that commerce was actively carried on. The pay of an army, consisting probably of 36,000 men, spent in the country, must have had a considerable effect in promoting the trade of the province: and the quantity of Roman coins, which succeeding ages have been continually finding ever since, and which we still find in most parts of the kingdom, is a proof that there was no want of money here, and that the country was well inhabited.

§ 99. Under this government the Britons, that is the Roman as well as the British inhabitants, seem to have lived content: we have no account of any revolt for the purpose of breaking off their connexion with Rome, after it was once compleatly effected: Carausius and others, who refused submission to the reigning emperors, endeavoured to preserve the integrity of the empire; and when at last the connexion was dissolved, the Britons lamented it as the greatest calamity. Under this government, they seem to have attained a degree of civility, population and prosperity, which being overthrown by the extinction of the Roman power they could not recover for many centuries, certainly not until the reign of Henry II: during all which period of 700 years, this unfortunate country was harrassed by ruinous wars, and oppressive governments.

§ 100. It only remains to enquire, whether during the Roman period Bristol existed as a town on the same spot, as at present. § Leland,

* Ammian' Marcell' 18, 2, Edit' Leyden, 1693; where see the authors quoted by the Editor, James Gronovius: and see Musgrave's Belg' Britan' 4, 18.

† "Circæis nata forent, an
Lucrinum ad saxum, Rutupinove edita fundo
ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu."—*Juv' Sat'* 4, 142.

‡ "Londinium perrexit cognomento quidem Coloniæ non insigne; sed copiâ negotiatorum & commeatuum maximè Celebre." Tac' Ann' 14, 33.

§ Comment' in Cygn' Cant' voc' *Venta*.

* Lambarde, and other early Antiquaries, said that Bristol was the town called by Ptolemy *Venta Belgarum*. Leland's words are these. "It appears from this passage of Ptolemy, that *Venta Belgarum* was that city, which the Saxons afterward called *Brightstowe*. At first it was not a large city: it was enlarged by the Saxons; and afterward by building a bridge, Redcliffe was joined to it." Now although Leland is mistaken in the name, yet it is certain from these words that he considered Bristol to be a Roman town. † Camden rectified this error in the name; Venta Belgarum is unquestionably *Winchester*, the proofs of it are abundant; it's name, it's situation in the Itineraries, and the evidence of Henry of Huntingdon above quoted: and others say the same. Ptolemy's words literally translated are these; "Under the Dobuni lie the Belgæ, and their towns *Ischalis*, *Bath*, *Venta*:" from which words I should only collect according to that author's usual manner of expressing himself, that the Belgæ, with their towns Ischalis, Bath and Venta, lay more to the south than the Dobuni. Mr. Hooke with great warmth, but little argument, endeavors to shew from these words, that *Venta Belgarum* must lie *immediately* to the south of the Dobuni, and therefore that it must be Bristol. And inasmuch as he himself is forced to allow the claim of Winchester, he contends that Bristol was a second town of the same name: which has not the slightest probability.

§ 101. Nevertheless it may have been a Roman town, under some other name; and if Hen' Huntingdon may be credited it was such, for he inserts *Caer Bristou* in his catalogue ‡ of British towns in the time of the Romans. It is not to be supposed that this Author found *Caer Bristou* in any catalogue written before the Saxon era: it must be considered merely, as his interpretation of Nennius's *Caer Brito*. Many succeding writers adopted the same interpretation, which was generally prevalent, until Archb' Usher § commenting on Nennius's Catalogue gave his opinion that Caerbritton was more likely to be *Dunbritton* or *Dunbarton* in Scotland; and altho' he gives no reason for his opinion, but the sound of the words, yet it seems to have prevailed generally.

* Topogr' Dic' p' 30. † Britannia, Somersetsh' ad fin'. ‡ See above, § 92.
§ Inserted at the end of Nennius in Gale's *Quindecim Scriptores*. See Ant' Eccl' B' p' 59.

Dunbarton is usually said to have been the same town, as that called by the Britons *Caer Alcluid;* and it is so probably, altho' it has been questioned: if so, how is it that Nennius does not use the British name *Alcluid*, or the still more ancient name * *Caer Efroc*, as he has done of every other town in the list? And lastly against Usher's opinion there is the following almost decisive argument: that in this catalogue of ancient cities every one of them, as far as they are known or conjecture has been made, is on this side of Severus's Wall; which raises the probability very high, that Caer-britton is so likewise: and no town in the south of England of similar sound can be mentioned except Bristow.

§ 102. Another argument there is for the Roman origin of Bristol, not to be omitted, altho' it amounts only to probability. The situation of the four streets crossing each other as they appear in the plan of the original town inserted below † favours the notion; for it was a form, which the Romans particularly affected; as may be seen at Gloucester, Colchester, Chester, Worcester, Oxford, Chichester, Exeter, &c. It is true, that one of the four streets of Bristow deviates from a right angle, for which deviation a probable conjecture is obvious at sight: neither has the town that strait and right-angled outline, which the Romans usually adopted: but it may be, that they submitted to these irregularities, rather than relinquish a spot so secured by nature, so commodiously situate on a tongue of land between the two rivers, and so adjacent to the original settlement of Caer Odor: for it may be observed, that as the station at Sea-mills is the spot nearest to Clifton on the river downwards, where there is convenient space for a town, so is Bristol the nearest spot of that kind upwards.

§ 103. Neither is Bristol without the proof, such as it is, to be derived from Roman coins found in and about the town. Several were dug up about the year 1750 "on ‡ St. Michael's hill by Thomas Tyndal, Esq. at the Fort, when he formed and walled in a large garden there: they were of Constantine, Constantius, Gordian and Tetricus: and in

* Brut Tysilio p' 36. † Chapt' III, § 64. ‡ Barrett, p' 29.

the field behind the Montague inn, on Kingsdown, in 1780, was found four feet deep a coin of Constantine with the following inscription. IMP. C. CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG. a laureated head: on the reverse a figure of the Sun, with *Soli invicto Comiti.*" In digging the foundation of a house on the southern side of the Old Jewry, now Bell-lane, about the middle of the lane, the four following copper coins were found in Aug. 1808, about six feet below the surface. IMP. C. MAXENTIVS P. F. AVG, with the Emperor's head. The reverse has the front view of a temple, having three pillars on each side, with a statue (perhaps of Jupiter) sitting between the pillars within the temple; it has a pediment and three statues standing on it: the inscription is imperfect; CONSERV. VRBS IIII: the exergue is +BS. The second coin has the face the same as the preceding: the reverse is, Two Soldiers holding each his horse with the inscription AETERNITAS —VG N—: the exergue is MOSTQ. Two other coins of modern date impressed with the Venetian lion, were found near the same place. And in the year 1762, a silver coin of Nero, in good preservation was found in the rubbish of the shambles, which were then taken down, either on or near the surface. So far as I have heard, these are all the Roman coins, which have been found in the city or its immediate neighbourhood; and from them we learn only this; that during the Roman period there were in the area of the original town and on St. Michael's hill, some inhabitants, either Britons or Romans, who were possessed of money. The proof therefore of the Roman origin of Bristol rests chiefly on the Catalogues of towns above mentioned: and next on the situation of the four streets, and on the probability, that the *Trajectus* of Antonine was here, as mentioned above II, 41.

§ 104. My own opinion is that these evidences, particularly the first, are sufficient to prove the Roman origin of Bristow. From Nennius's list it is certain that when the Romans governed this country, there was a city of note in South Britain, called by the natives *Caer-britton.* Ancient authors commenting on this or similar catalogues say, that that city was *Bristow;* and I think that they were right in so saying; for in Huntingdon's time, in 1148, they might have had traditional knowledge

of this circumstance, particularly by means of the Welsh; and probable enough it is, that some of the written memorials of that day, Latin, Welsh and Saxon (whether legendary or not, would in this case make no difference in the argument), might contain the same information. If this be so, we may suppose that the town Caer-britton was called by the Romans *Castrum Britonum*, as being inhabited chiefly by Britons; whereas the Port-town at Sea-mills was a regular Roman military station, inhabited chiefly by Romans or romanized Britons, possessing commerce and wealth. We must suppose that the first streets were laid out and a steep bank formed on the edge of the natural hill, with a wall on it's summit, by the Britons acting under the authority of a Roman governor: and that it's first population consisted of those who gradually quitted the hill fortress of Caer-odor, that they might dwell in a situation more adapted to the state of security, which they now enjoyed. And if the Trajectus of Antonine were in this place, as I have supposed above to be most probable, then the few houses which were previously there near the river as in Maryport-street, Worship-street, and the lower part of High-street, were inclosed within the new walls; and the name *Trajectus* lost in the new name *Castrum Britonum*. When the Saxons took possession of the country, they translated *Caer-brito* into *Brito-stow*, *Britstow*, *Bristow*.

§ 105. There is a further circumstance attending the first delineation of Bristow, which is probably peculiar to this town, and may enable us to fix the time of it's foundation somewhat more exactly. The corners of the four streets in the centre of it were occupied by four churches; from whence a sure inference may be deduced, that they who first laid out those streets were Christians. The churches were coæval with the four streets; because that situation, as being most desirable would naturally be occupied by the houses of the principal settlers, if they had not considered the interests of Christianity as predominant over their own particular convenience. The era therefore of the foundation of Bristol is connected with that of the establishment of Christianity in this island.

§ 106. The Christian religion found it's way into Britain at a very early date. Musgrave has * a short dissertation, in which he endeavours to prove that Pomponia Græcina, wife of the Governor Plautius, came into Britain with her husband A' D' 43, and was the first Christian here. She was accused of being attached to a foreign superstition, and commentators with good reason suppose that thereby Christianity is meant. But there is no proof that she was a British lady, or that she was married to Plautius before he went into Britain; the words † of Tacitus seem rather to imply, that she was not married till his return. Plautius returned to Rome A' D' 49 or 50, and she was not accused until 57: it is therefore to be feared that this supposition of Musgrave has but little foundation. Claudia Rufina is mentioned as another British Christian then in Rome. A British lady of that name, beautiful and accomplished and living at Rome is spoken of by ‡ Martial; and the same writer celebrates the marriage of his friend Pudens with a lady named *Claudia Peregrina*, probably the same person. Now St Paul in his second Epistle to Timothy (cap' 4, 21) written in A' D' 67 or 68, a short time before his martyrdom, says "Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens and Linus and Claudia and all the brethren." Pudens and Claudia are apparently the same as those mentioned by Martial: but this proves nothing more, than that there was in the year 68, living at Rome, a British lady named Claudia, who with her husband Pudens was a Christian.

§ 107. There are however other arguments which render it probable that before that time Christianity had been preached in Britain by St Paul himself. For a particular account of what is most credible on this subject, the reader is referred to Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, a work of exact historical research, and to some elucidations and corrections of this part of the history, lately published by the present Bishop of St David's. The conclusion is this: that some, one or more, of the twelve Apostles did certainly preach the gospel in Britain, and that St

* Belg' Brit'.

† Pomponia Græcina, insignis foemina, Plautio, qui ovans se de Britannis rettulit, nupta, ac superstitionis externæ rea. *Tac' Ann'* 13, 32.

‡ Epigr' 11. 54: and 4, 13.

Paul was probably the person; because it is well known that he did so in Spain and Gaul, from whence he might easily have crossed into Britain, and there is no sufficient proof that any of the other apostles were ever here. The time of this visit must have been soon after his release from his first confinement, which release was 4 Nero A' D' 58, soon after which he went into Spain and Gaul and from thence probably to Britain. Claudia Rufina mentioned above, might have been converted to Christianity by the Apostle during this his first residence at Rome in the years 57 and 58, and she might then have given him information concerning her native Britain, and might have been instrumental in causing him to visit this island soon after his enlargement.

§ 108. An attempt has been made to settle the exact time of the introduction of Christianity into Britain, founded on the following sentence in Gildas's History. After describing in few words the Roman conquest of Britain, the revolt of Boadicea and the consequent servitude to which the Britons were reduced, he proceeds; "Meanwhile the gospel which shewed itself to the whole world in the latter part of the reign of Tiberius, first appeared to the distant isle of Britain:" and then the next historical fact, which he mentions, is the persecution under Dioclesian A' D' 303. No accurate knowledge can be derived from such an irregular way of writing as this: since it is impossible to determine whether the word *meanwhile* relates to the revolt of Boadicea in 57 and 58, or to the years of peace, which preceded it, or to the years of servitude which followed it. Connected with St Paul's preaching in Britain is a curious event fortunately preserved in the Welsh * Triads. "The blessed kings of Britain were first St Bran, the son of Llyr Llediaith, who first brought a knowledge of the Christian faith to the Cymry from Rome, where he had been for seven years, as an hostage for his son Caradoc, whom the Romans had imprisoned, after that he was betrayed by the treachery and an ambush laid for him by Aregwedd Foeddawg;" i' e' Cartismandua. If this be a fact, as it certainly has the appearance of truth, Bran might have been converted by the Apostle himself at Rome, he might have

* See Roberts's App' No. 6, p' 293.

persuaded him to undertake the journey, and might have accompanied him in it. The dates will be found to agree sufficiently; for if Caractacus was permitted to return home, leaving his father and his family, as hostages for his peaceable behavior, he might have died there, or might have returned to Rome in the year 59; and then his father might have returned to Britain after seven years residence in that city.

§ 109. The story of king Lucius comes next, who is said in the Welsh Chronicles and in Nennius to have been a king of Britain, to have been baptized with all his subordinate kings by persons sent from Eleutherius, or as Nennius calls him Euaristus, bishop of Rome, to have been the first Christian king, and to have established the public profession of Christianity throughout the island. In the Brut Tysilio he is called *Lles*, but in the Triads *Lleirwg:* the passage which relates the fact, immediately follows that given above concerning Bran the father of Caractacus, and is this: [The second blessed king of Britain was] "St. Lleirwg (son of Coel and grandson of St. Cyllin) surnamed *Lleufer Mawr (the eloquent)*, who first established a church at Llandaff, the first established in Britain. He also granted constitutional privilege, judicial power, and validity of oath to the Christians." Nennius's interpretation of his name is different: he says* that Lucius was styled *Levermaur*, that is, *of great splendor*, because in his time the Christian faith arrived in Britain. This event is dated by Rich' Cirencester in A' D' 160, by Nennius in 164, and in Mark's transcript of Nennius 167: the Brut Tysilio says that he died and was buried at Glocester A' D' 136, and Geoffry Monm' in 156. William Malms' says that he succeeded his father Coil A' D' 124, and about 185 sent a letter to Pope Elentherius, begging that instructors in the Christian faith might be sent to him. Bede † says 'that Marcus Antoninus Verus with his brother Aurelius Commodus began to reign in 156: in their times, when Eleutherus was Pope, Lucius sent a letter to him, desiring to embrace Christianity:' this carries on the date to 167—170. Usher ‡ reckons 23 different opinions concerning the time, when king Lucius embraced Christianity.

* See above II, 72.

† Bædæ Hist' Eccl' 4, 4.

‡ Usher Primordia, cap' 3.

§ 110. Many deductions must be made from the power and honors attributed above to this king in the establishment of Christianity. His territory must have been in what we now call *South-wales*, his capital probably Caerwent; but his kingly authority must have been subordinate to the government of the Romans in their province, Britannia Secunda, or at least much controuled by it. That he was the first Christian *king* here, may be true; but that he first introduced Christianity cannot be, for it has been already shewn, that it was brought here by some of the Apostles: still less can it be believed, that he had power to introduce the public profession of Christianity, to erect bishoprics, and to establish the legal authority of the church. From the earliest date of our religion until it's final prevalence under Constantine, it was sometimes suspected and persecuted in the Roman empire, and sometimes tolerated and overlooked, but never legally encouraged and adopted. It is evident therefore that Bristol could not have been founded in such a period: for although there must have been churches (i' e' assmblies of Christians) from the beginning, and consequently bishops and church-government here, as in other parts of the empire, and at some places and times there were edifices called churches, also; yet until A' D' 312 all this was carried on privately, or at least without ostentation, lest the government should be alarmed or offended: whereas the Christian founders of Bristol must have been predominant; their zeal induced them to erect a singularly large number of religious edifices in proportion to the size of their new town; and having the support of a Christian government, they ostentatiously placed them in the best and most conspicuous situations. Nothing of this could have been done until the government became Christian, which may be dated from the edict of Constantine in 312.

§ 111. It may indeed be said, that these churches were previously heathen temples used by the Romans, and afterward converted into churches. This would carry back the building of our city one or two hundred years earlier; but this hypothesis is not so probable as the former: for the Roman temples were generally. and except in some few particular instances, of small dimensions, not being intended for places

of public assembly: and were therefore seldom converted into churches: neither is it probable, that so many heathen temples should be crouded together in a small provincial town at it's first foundation: whereas the zeal of the early Christians would be very likely to do this.—On the whole I conclude, that the first settlement on the Avon was Caer-odor or Cliff-ton, founded about 391 B' Chr': and that there was at that same time a ferry across the Avon, where the bridge now stands, and a small town or village near the ferry. When the Romans conquered this part of the country their general Vespasian settled a regular city at Abona, at the same time keeping garrisons at Clifton, Henbury &c. When thus the country became safe and peaceable, the most respectable part of the neighbouring inhabitants settled at Abona for the sake of commerce, society and safe government: meanwhile the inhabitants of Clifton feeling the same security, gradually extended themselves down the hill, occupying the bank of the river as far as the *trajectus* [now Bristol]; insomuch that the whole was one long town, called by the original name Caer-odor. Things were in this situation, when in the reign of Constantine the Great the Roman government thought fit to surround with a wall and gates the area now occupied by High-street, Broad-street, Corn-street, Wine-street; which then became a town and was called Caer-brito: still however the whole settlement continued to be called Caer-odor, and is so called by the Welsh to this day.

End of Chapt' II.

CHAPTER III.

THE SAXON PERIOD.

1. *Departure of the Roman Legions.*—2. *Picts and Scots.*—3. *Saxons.*—4, 5. *Causes of the success of the Saxons.*—6. *The West of England still independent. Landing of Cerdic.*—7. *Aurelius Ambrosius, and Arthur.*—8. *Battles with the Saxons.*—9. *Battle of Mount-badon.*—10. *Battles.*—11. *Saxon Conquest, not a war of extermination.*—12. *Battle of Dirham &c.*—13. *Jordan preaches in the College-green.*—14. *Austin's conference in the College-green.*—15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. *The Wiccii and the Diocese of Worcester.*—21. *Bristol and Gloucestershire subdued by the Mercians.*—22. *Augustin's preaching.*—23. *Brictric, the Danes.*—24. *Egbert not the first Monarch.*—25, 26. *Battles against the Danes.*—27. *Alfred succeeds to the Crown.*—28. *Danes masters of Exeter.*—29. *They win Somersetshire.*—30. *Alfred's success against the Danes.*—31. *Danes harrass the shore of the Severn.*—32, 33. *More battles against the Danes.*—34, 35, 36, 37, 38. *King Edward defeats the Danes, and secures the mouth of the Avon.*—39, 40, 41, 42, 43. *King Athelstan's coinage. Aylward Snow, Lord of Bristow.*—44. *Murder of king Edmund.*—45, 46, 47. *Danish pirates.*—48, 49, 50. *Some account of the Danes.*—50. *b. Canute's coinage in Bristol.*—51. *Irish pirates.*—52. *Earl Godwin's opposition to king Edward.*—53. *His banishment: his son Harold goes to Bristol.*—54. *His return.*—55. *Irish pirates and Welsh insurgents quelled by Earl Harold.*—56. *Harold subdues the Welsh.*—57. *He builds at Portskewith.*—58. *Algar Lord of Bristol.*—59, 60. *Brictric succeeds:*

the love and hatred of queen Matilda.—62, 63. *Brictric's possessions and piety.*—63. *The age of Aylward, Algar and Brictric.*—64, 65. *Form and size of Bristow.*—66—78. *Description of the Town-walls.* —79, 80. *It's Municipal state. Bristow the property of it's Lords.* —81. *A Sea-port.*—82, 83. *Origin of the Town.*—84, 85, 86. *Derivation, and*—87. *Orthography of it's name.*

§ 1. THE Roman Empire, being assaulted on every side by it's barbarian neighbours, was forced to withdraw it's legions from Britain, in order to protect it's more vital parts. At what time the last legion quitted this island, historians are not agreed. When the * *Notitia imperii* was drawn up, the Roman government still subsisted in Britain, and at least two legions were here, and the Wall in the North of England was garrisoned, as formerly. Now the *Notitia* was † compiled after the year 425, and in 446, when ‡ the Britons sent to Aetius, in his third Consulship, imploring his assistance, the legions were gone. It is probable therefore, that they began removing about 425 or 430: different historians place their final departure at different times from 440 to 446.

§ 2. By their departure the government was unavoidably dissolved, and all the miseries, which attended that dissolution in other parts of the empire, fell on Britain with full force. At that time two nations occupied the country on the north of the Wall, the Picts and the Scots: the former inhabited the eastern side, and are generally supposed to have been settlers from the north of Germany and Scandinavia: the Scots came from Ireland, under the command of Fergus, and had settled on the western coast. These two nations had long been the plague and terror of the northern provinces on the south of the Wall: and another barbarian nation there was, the Saxons, dwelling on the coast of Belgium and Germany, opposite to the south of England, who had often during the time of the Roman government sent out piratical expeditions across the sea, harrassed the

* This Document is printed in Reynolds's *Iter Britan'*. † Horsley Brit' Rom' pp' 75 and 473.
‡ Bede 1, 13, and Gildas, Hist' 17.

romanized Britons, and assisted their barbarous neighbours. We * are told, that at the beginning of Constantine's reign, the Britons [i' e' the barbarians on the north of the Wall] had shaken off the Roman yoke by help of the Transrhenani, who were certainly the Saxons.

§ 3. When the legions were withdrawn, the Picts and Scots began the attack: and then the Saxons, having driven them away, after many years of bloody warfare, conquered England for themselves, as related in all our histories. It may appear strange, that so small a number of invaders, landing from only few ships, should be able to subdue a large and populous country: but several causes contributed to this event. It is said that Britain was drained of it's soldiers and military resources by the expedition of Maximus, the governor, who claiming to be independent, and not contented with the possession of Britain, carried over a large army of Britons to the Continent, where he was defeated by the emperor Theodosius, and his army being dispersed, very few returned home. Gildas, Nennius and Richard attest the fact; but there is a difference in the date of it. Rapin places it in 383: Richard writes, that in the year 384, the Picts and Scots had devastated Britain for many years, the tyrant Maximus having carried away the troops. The expedition therefore must have been about A' D' 375—380. A similar event happened a second time: one Constantine usurped the sovereignty of the island; and taking with him a British army into Gaul was there defeated and put to death by the emperor Honorius about the year 410. Yet it can hardly be supposed that these levies could have exhausted the country; for the legions were in a posture of defence in the year 425, and perhaps beyond that time. A pestilence and famine also is said by † Gildas to have thinned their number to such a degree, that the survivors were scarcely sufficient for burying the dead: but his whole account of the miseries which the Britons endured from the Picts and Scots, must be confined to the northern part of England; and even this is evidently exaggerated in a rhetorical manner, in order to introduce religious observations. Their sufferings could not have been general,

* Zosimus. † Gildas, 16 and 21.

since he himself tells us, that they were succeeded by victory and uncommon plenty.

§ 4. It is probable that the chief cause which prevented the Britons from making a successful resistance to their enemies, was the want of a single and efficient government. On the retreat of the legions, the government naturally reverted to the native chieftains, the petty kings, whom the Romans had permitted to retain some kind of authority during their whole dominion. Five of these are mentioned by Gildas, as living in his time about A' D' 566; who seem to have been kings of Wales and of the western part of England, adjoining to Wales. I. Constantine, prince of the Dumnonii. II. Aurelius Conanus. III. Vortipor, prince of the Demetæ, i' e' all South Wales; such was the meaning of the word in that age, even to the time of Geoffry Monm'. IV. Cuneglass, who is said to have been Prince of Cumberland. And V. Maglocunus, who (he says) had deposed and killed many other kings: a very brave chief, the tallest and nearly the most powerful of all the kings of Britain, but a man of excessive wickedness. He calls him the dragon of the island [*insularis Draco*]; probably therefore he resided in Anglesea, and was king of North-wales. And although when Gildas describes them as monsters of iniquity, and the priests and the people to be nearly as bad as the princes, we ought to make some allowances on account of the writer's querulous habits, yet when he tells us, that they were continually at war, dethroning and murdering each other, for such notorious facts as these we may certainly give him full credit. Baxter * says, that the Welsh nation have always been intent on mutual quarrels, rather than opposing a foreign enemy; their ancestors, the Britons, it seems, had the same propensity: an ancient historian describes them as † being "greedy of quarrels." If the Princes, who lived when the Romans quitted Britain and during the Saxon invasions, were of the same disposition, as those whom Gildas describes, of which there can be no reasonable doubt, we need look no further for the reason, why the Saxon arms finally prevailed. During a peace, which was made between Hengist and the

* Gloss' p' 30.

† *Avidi jurgiorum.* Amm' Marcell' 15. 12.

Britons, about seventeen years after his first arrival, the * historian says, "while wars with foreigners ceased, civil wars did not cease: but amid the ruins of cities overthrown by the enemy, the citizens, who had escaped, fought with each other."

§ 5. The success of the Saxons may be attributed in some degree to another cause also. The war was partly religious; the Saxons were all Pagans; the British armies, who opposed them, are always † spoken of as Christian. Now since it cannot be supposed, that the Britons were *wholly* Christians, it is probable, that the Saxons were joined, or at least not opposed, by many of those Britons, who continued Pagans. Moreover, that part of England, which the Saxons first subdued, was inhabited by tribes, who were not pure Britons or Celts, but were partly descended from the Belgæ, a nation allied to the Saxons; and their language and manners probably had some resemblance to those of the Saxons.

§ 6. The first little army of Angles and Saxons arrived in Kent in three small ships. This event is usually dated in ‡ 449; but happened more probably two or three years later; for Bede, who seems to be the original authority, writes that Martianus with Valentinian began to reign in that year, and that the former reigned seven years; and that in his time the Saxons arrived. Their progress in the conquest of the island was slow, it being about 150 years, before their seven kingdoms were established: and even then almost all the western part of Britain, Cornwall and Devonshire and part of Somerset, and of Gloucester, and of Worcester shires, together with all Wales and Cumberland, continued under the government of the British or Welsh Princes. In respect of our own neighbourhood, from the final departure of the Romans and before, this western part of the South of Britain was governed by it's own chiefs, unmolested by the settlement of the Saxons in Kent, Sussex &c, in which they might consider themselves not at all interested. The

* Hen' Hunt' p' 311, from Gildas and Bede.

† Hen' Hunt' p' 315, and elsewhere. ‡ Will' Malm' 1.

authority of the prince of Cornwall extended beyond our Avon; Mr. Vaughan of Hengwrt writes, that "the * kingdom of Cornwall in Arthur's time contained Cornwall, all Devon, Somerset, a great part of Wiltshire, and some of Glocestershire; for Aust passage on the Severn in Glocestershire was then part of Cornwall;" and if so, probably as high as Glocester. The Chief of the Silures or Dimetæ ruled on the other side of the Severn: who it was, who governed in the upper part of Glocestershire &c we have no means of knowing: beside which, it must have happened, that the Roman colonies and corporate towns, viz, Bath, Glocester, Cirencester, Caerleon, Caerwent, and perhaps our Abona, maintained a sort of republican independence; it could scarcely be otherwise; and in them probably lay the power and interest of the Romans and romanized Britons. In this situation the neighbourhood of Bristol remained for 60 or 70 years after the departure of the Romans, unmolested by foreigners: when in † A' D' 495, Cerdic a Saxon Chief, with a small body of his countrymen in five small ships [*ceolis*] landed on the south coast. He was opposed by Aurelius Ambrosius, a romanized Briton of great ability, who had been elected General-in-chief over all Britain; and afterward by the celebrated Arthur, prince of Cornwall and Devon, whose dominions as above-mentioned extended over all the West of England; and who on the death of Ambrosius, is said by some to have been elected General-in-chief in his stead: but Matth' Westm' says, that he was elected to the Crown on the death of his father Uter Pendragon in 516; or perhaps (as Florence Worc' writes) in 519. Rowland's date is 517.

§ 7. One or two modern writers have questioned even the existence, not only of Aurelius Ambrosius, but also of Arthur himself, on account of the many fabulous exploits attributed to him by the bards, Welsh, English, and French, and in the Welsh and Latin Chronicles, particularly in that written by Geoffry of Monm'. But most of the original writers of English history mention the chief actions of this prince, and some of them lived so near to his age, that they must have been sufficient judges,

* MS quoted in Mr. Roberts's Brut Tys' p' 152.

† Will' Malmsb' and Flor' Worc'. Matth' Westm' 494.

whether such a Prince existed or not. One of them, after mentioning the nine victories usually ascribed to him, * says, "This is that Arthur, over whom the British triflers doat: a man really worthy of having his actions published, not by deceitful fables, but by true histories: as being one, who sustained his falling country, and sharpened the broken spirits of his countrymen to war, and lastly who alone put to flight 900 of the enemy at the siege of Mount-badon." Further on he mentions some differences between the Saxon and the British writers in relating the actions of Arthur; and he critically refutes some of the lying wonders, which Geoffry of Monmouth published concerning him. Such a writer could not well be mistaken with regard to Arthur's existence.

§ 8. The first battle recorded to have been fought in these Western counties, was on the arrival of Cerdic. "He † and his son Kynric arrived in Britain A' D' 495, with five ships, at a place called *Cerdices ora* [perhaps *Cerdic's shore*], and immediately on the same day fought with the Britons, and gained the victory." Higden ‡ adds *Cerdichesore* is now called *Gernemouth*, which may perhaps be Charmouth in Dorsetshire, but others say Chadsforth in Hampshire: Wallingford says, it was at the mouth of a river, called from him *Cerdice's ora*. This battle secured to him a footing on the south-coast: the Britons of the neighbourhood made no further opposition. Not long after this, the Saxons first entered Somersetshire, and were defeated by Arthur at Cadbury. Again, Cerdic was at the head of an army in Somersetshire, and attacked Bath. Matth' Westminster writes that 'in A' D' 520, a Saxon army landed at Totness, and in it's progress came to the city of Bath, and besieged it. Arthur marched to it's relief, and after a battle, which lasted all day, the Saxons were forced from the siege, and driven to an adjoining hill [*proximum montem*]. Next morning Arthur attacked them, and after considerable loss got possession of their camp and totally destroyed their whole army.' So also write Will' Malmesb' and others. During this invasion, or about this time it is said, in a romance, that they

* Will' Malm' 1. Bromton Chron' ad fin' Hen' II. He quotes this passage from Willielmus Ripalensis.

† Asser' Ann'. and the Saxon Chron'. ‡ In Polychr'.

came to Bristol. "A vast * army of Sarazens [Pagans] from Denmark made an attack on Bristol with 30,000 men, in which they were so compleatly defeated, that not five of them escaped; but Aurelius Ambrosius was slain." But possibly it may be an error for *Bath*. Bede dates the siege of Mount-baddon 44 years after the arrival of the Saxons, i' e' about A' D' 495. But Bede is here copying § Gildas, and certainly misunderstands him: his meaning is, that from the first victory of Ambrosius over the Saxons (not from the first arrival of the Saxons) to the siege of Mount-baddon are 44 years. The date 520 given by Matt' Westm' is therefore most probable: in 495 the Saxons were but just arrived on the southern coast of England.

§ 9. There seems to be no sufficient reason for questioning where this battle was fought. *Badon* is the common name of *Bath*, and accordingly writers generally fix the battle at that city. One authority has been already quoted; Geoffry ‡ Monm' is of the same opinion: "the Saxons (he says) pursued their furious march to the town of Badon, and laid siege to it." The Brut Tysilio says the same; that the Saxons "landed at Totness, and ravaged the country as far as the Severn; and from it to Caer-vaddon, to which they laid siege;" and then he relates the issue of the battle as others do. Mr. Roberts's note is as follows. "The Original has *Caer-Vyddaw* [*Silchester*]; but as all the other copies read *Caer-Vaddon* [Bath], and from the testimony of Nennius and other historians, and the Welsh bard Taliesin, there can be no doubt, but that this was the celebrated battle of Badon hill, I have ventured to introduce the correction into the text." Gildas's § expression is *Obsessio montis Badonici*, by which he certainly means the attack or siege of the hill, after the siege of the city was raised as was mentioned above. Whitaker however ‖ supposes that it was not Bath or near it, and proposes Badbury in Wiltshire, but he gives no reason. The common interpretation cannot reasonably be questioned; the place was certainly Bath, and the *mons Badonicus*, to which the Saxons retreated, must be one of the hills

* Ellis's Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances: Vol' 1, p' 236.

‡ Geoff' Monm' 9, 3. § See the whole passage II, 75. ‖ Hist' Manch' 2, 2.

overhanging that city; Hampton-hill or Salisbury-hill, or possibly the large British camp at North Stoke, * already mentioned.

§ 10. This was the severest battle yet fought between the two nations. The two sons of Ella, king of Sussex, were slain: Cerdic himself escaped; but seems to have quitted this part of the country, and to have retired to the southern coast. Again however he took the field, and defeated the Britons in a great battle at *Cerdic's ford*, or *Charford*, or *Chadsford* in Hampshire: whereupon Arthur made peace with him, and surrendered Hampshire and Somersetshire. Thus was founded the kingdom of the West-Saxons; which before Cerdic's death, in † 534, contained the fairest part of England, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire and Dorsetshire.

§ 11. Our historians usually represent the Saxon conquest, as a war of extermination. That the British inhabitants suffered most severely by fire and sword and plunder, there can be no doubt; but that they were indiscriminately slaughtered there are several good reasons for disbelieving. I refer to one modern ‡ author, who gives a more rational account of this affair: to what he says, I add the two following passages. The first is from a Welsh § author, as I find him quoted by Mr. Roberts. After observing that the Welsh lost their independence by their excessive quarrels with each other, he adds, "just as they did by the conduct of Vortigern; in whose time all the Britons of England attached themselves to the Saxon princes, that they might enjoy their possessions with peace, tranquillity, and justice." The other passage, equally decisive, is from William Malmsb', who writes ‖ that "after the victory, which was gained by Cerdic on the very same day on which he first landed, the Britons never afterward attacked him, but willingly submitted to his government; so that the Provincials [of Hampshire &c] were at peace, and he himself in security for the rest of his life, and at leisure to extend his dominion; which he did by several victories." The Belgic Britons in this instance

* Chapt' I, § 90. † Saxon Chron' ‡ Pinkerton on Medals.

§ Jevan Brechfa, apud Brut Tysil' p' 366. ‖ Will' Malmes' cap' 2.

must have incorporated with the conquerors; and probable enough it is, that some of them, the Pagans particularly, joined them in their military expeditions: and the case I suppose to be the same in all parts of Belgic Britain. An exception must be made of the British clergy, whom the Saxons wholly destroyed or drove away; either out of hatred to Christianity, or because they feared their influence over the Christian part of their countrymen.

§ 12. Arthur * died in 542; but the war still continued. † In 552 Kenric, son of Cerdic, fought and defeated the Britons at Searesbirig [*Salisbury*]. Hitherto the West-Saxons do not seem to have extended their dominion across the Thames or the Avon: Bath and Cirencester, Abona and Bristol were in the hands of the Britons, and formed a barrier against them; and all the inland country was still British. But about A' D' 570 the West-Saxons began to make conquests on the north of those rivers, and the war was brought into the immediate neighbourhood of Bristol. Ceaulin, their king, and Cutha his brother, grandsons of Cerdic, led an army into Gloucestershire in A' D' ‡ 577, and were met at Dirham, distant ten miles from Bristol and eight miles from Bath, by an army under the command of three British Princes, Commail or Commagil, Condidan, and Farinmail or Farinmagil. The Britons were defeated, and the conquerors took Bath, Cirencester and Gloucester. Whether this battle was fatal to Bristol and to the Port-town at Abona may be questioned. If the object of Ceaulin was to make a permanent conquest of Gloucestershire, he certainly would not have left these towns behind him in the hands of the Britons. But the expedition was probably only predatory: Matth' Westm' writes that Ceaulin about the year 580 took Bedford, Lienbury, Aylesbury, Benson, Hensham, Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath. Apparently he made several excursions into the enemy's country for the sake of plunder, § and took many towns at different times, retreating into Hampshire after each invasion. No mention is made by any historian, that Ceaulin took Abona or Bristow; and it

* Rowland Mona ant' p' 180.

† Flor' Wigorn', et Sax' Chron'.

‡ Saxon Chron'.

§ Sax' Chron' A' D' 584.

may be, that they escaped for reasons, which may be easily supposed: but the probability is nevertheless, that they were about that time taken by the West-Saxons and plundered; and that Abona was never restored.

§ 13. About twenty or thirty years after the battle of Dirham, one solitary event is recorded which seems to prove, that Bristow survived that event. Jordan, one of the companions of St Austin, who was sent into England * A' D' 596, for the purpose of converting the Saxons to Christianity, is said to have preached the gospel in the place, which we now call the College-green. Leland is the authority for this fact; his words are these, "St Augustine's Black Canons † are [*or* were] outside the walls: and there in the large area is [*or* was] a chapel in which was buried St Jordan, one of the disciples of Augustin, the Apostle of the English". Camden ‡ copies Leland; he speaks of the College-green as "a large and green plain, shaded all along the middle with a double row of trees; among which is a pulpit of stone and a chapel, wherein they say, that Jordan, companion to St Austin, the English Apostle, was buried; but it is now a Free-school." From which words it seems that the stone pulpit was to be seen in Camden's time. Now although Leland and Camden are very late authority for so early a fact, yet there is no reason to question Leland's information: he certainly learned it from some Chronicle or Calendar now lost, of which he quotes so great a number; perhaps from a Register of the Calendaries of All-saints church. It is true, that Jordan's preaching in the College-green does not absolutely *prove*, that Bristol was in existence, but it gives a high degree of probability: he chose that situation apparently, because it was within a short distance from a town, where he might have an audience, but not choosing to trust himself into the midst of it.

* This is the date given by the Saxon Chron', and by Bede, 1, 23; but Bromton says it was in 588. His words are, *Anno Gratiæ quingentesimo octogesimo octavo, Mauritio imperante, quarto decimo anno imperii sui, qui quinquagesimus quartus ab Augusto imperavit, misit Servus Dei Gregorius Augustinum &c.*

† Leland Itin' 5, 64. The verb is omitted in the Latin; so that it is uncertain, whether they were there in Leland's time, or not. ‡ In Somersetshire.

§ 14. Moreover, I undertake to convince the reader, that not Jordan only, but Austin himself also preached here, and that his celebrated conference with the British bishops was holden on our College-green; and I suppose that the monastery afterward built there received it's name, as a memorial of that transaction. And this I say without partiality for him, whom we call *Saint* Augustin, but induced by historical evidence alone.

§ 15. The original author, who mentions this conference is * Bede: he says, that "it was A' D' 603, in a place, which to this day is called in the language of the English *Augustinaes ac*, [i' e' *Augustine's oak*] at the confines of the Huiccii and the West-saxons" Alfred's translation of the passage is "on dhære stowe, dhe mon nemneth *Agustinus ac*, on Hwicna gemære and West Sexna." Austin died in 605. Now the place of conference is supposed by all our Antiquaries to be in Worcestershire; assuming, that the Wiccii or Huiccii lived in Worcestershire alone, and that the West-Saxon kingdom extended to the same county; neither of which assumptions is true. With regard to the latter, Gloucestershire was not a part of the West-Saxon kingdom, as will be proved below § 21; and therefore the confines of the West-Saxons could not touch Worcestershire at all. And secondly, the *Gloucestershire* men were Wiccii, as well as the *Worcestershire* men: and therefore Austin's Oak must be at some place, where the Wiccii in Gloucestershire touch the West-Saxons in Wiltshire or Somersetshire: and all along that line I know no place, the name of which has any relation to this conference, except St Augustin's Green in Bristol, nor any place where a number of Bishops from South Wales would so conveniently meet as in Bristol. And nothing is more probable than that the pious Founder of the Abbey gave it it's name in memory of St Augustine; and that Harding his father named one of his sons *Jordan*, in memory of the preacher, Augustine's companion.

§ 16. Mention was made above of the Wiccii; I shall speak of them more at large; not only because I suppose that Bristol was in their

* Hist' 2, 2.

country and inhabited by them, but also because former historians have said very little concerning them. They have hitherto been considered, as inhabitants of Worcestershire exclusively: but in fact they inhabited Gloucestershire also and part of Wiltshire, being nearly, if not wholly, the same as the ancient Dobuni, with a new name. They were a British tribe and not Saxons, as we find from the following passage. "Austin * with the bishops Mellitus and Justus invited to conference the bishops, and chief doctors and priests of the country of the Britons, at a place, which is still called in the language of the English *Augustine's Ok*, in the confines of the *Britons* and the West-Saxons." And another † writer proves the same. Bede who died in A' D' 735 is the first writer, who mentions them: but after him they continue to be spoken of by historians until after the Norman Conquest.

§ 17. 'In ‡ the reign of St Aethelred, king of Mercia, Osher, sub-regulus of the Hwiccii, persuaded him to divide Mercia, which had hitherto been under one bishop, into five Dioceses, of which the principal was his own province Hwiccia. This happened A' D' 679. "And because the city of Worcester [*civitas Wigorniæ*] at the time when the the Britons and [*rel*] the Romans reigned in Britain, was both then and now the famous metropolis of all Hwiccia and [*rel*] Magesitania [Herefordshire], he erected the pontifical seat in it according to its dignity, making Hwiccia the first of the dioceses now divided." Hoveden § calls this king *St Hosher*. Bede ‖ speaks of the province of the Huiccii about the year 690, which king Osric at that time governed. 'Ethelred ¶ king of Mercia appointed this Osric, who was son of Penda, a former king of Mercia, to be governor of the Wicces: and gave him among many gifts the royalty of the town of Glocester, for the purpose of building and endowing the monastery there. He finished the nunnery, settled on it all which he had received from Ethelred, and made his own sister Kyneburg, the first abbess.' This transaction proves that Glocester was in the country of the Wiccii. There is mention made

* Brompton.

‡ Ann' ad calcem Flor' Vigorn'.

‖ Hist' 4, 23.

† Annal' ad calc' Flor' Wigorn'.

§ A' D' 1070 p' 454.

¶ Sir Rob' Atkyns, p' 67.

of * Burgred, king of the Wixes; he became king of Mercia, A' D' 850. In reckoning up the bishops of his own age, Bede† 'mentions two of the West-saxons, one of the Mercians, one of the people on the west of the Severn, and one of the Wiccii. In the time of Offa‡ king of the Mercians A' D' 757—796, the Wiccii 'were governed by a petty king [*subregulus*] subordinate to him. There are extant two or three charters of these petty kings, and of some bishops of the Wiccii, granting lands to the church of Worcester, which was in their kingdom and diocese.' St. Egwin§ was bishop of the Wictii about A' D' 775.—"In A' D' 872, Alchun or Alchwin‖ bishop of the Hwiccii, being dead, Werefrith, a scholar [*nutritius*] of the holy church of Worcester, and a man very learned in the Holy Scriptures was ordained in his place."

§ 18. In A' D' 922 Wilfret¶ 'bishop of the Hwictii died.' "In the** year 915 Werferth, bishop of the Wiccii, being gone the way of all flesh, Aethelhun, Abbat of Berkeley, succeeded in his place." The bishop of Worcester, the famous Dunstan, is twice in†† one page called bishop of the Wiccii by Will' Malmsbury. Altho' the residence of the Bishop was first placed at Worcester, as mentioned above, yet sometimes the‡‡ episcopal seat of the bishops of the Wiccii was at a place called *Kemesia* [*Kempsey*]: here it was in 1033'; soon after which it was again removed to Worcester, for Aldred, bishop of Worcester, in 1060, is§§ called in the same line bishop of the Wiccii.' 'Alfred‖‖ sent for Werefrich, bishop of the Wiccii, out of Mercia.'—'A' D'¶¶ 1046 died Livingius, bishop of the Hwiccii, and of Devonshire and Cornwall: but in the preceding page this same Livingius is said to be bishop of Worcester. Aldred succeeded him, as bishop of the Hwiccii, or (as he is called in the same page) bishop of Worcester; others in the other bishopries.'—In the time of Archbishop Theodore "Bosel*‖ was ordained by him bishop of Wictia, a part of the province of Mercia; having his episcopal see at the city of Worcester."

* Atkyns, p' 74.
† Hist' Eccl' 5 ad fin'.
‡ App' ad Bedæ Eccl' Hist' XXI.
§ Will' Malms' 1, 6.
‖ Sim' Dunh' & Chr' Mailr.'
¶ Hoveden.
** Matth' Westm'.
†† De Pontif' 1, p' 201.
‡‡ Sim' Dunh'.
§§ Ingulphus.
‖‖ W. Malms' 2, 4.
¶¶ Hoveden 1, p' 440.
*‖ Gervas Act' Pontif' Cant.'

§ 19. But the conference at St Augustin's Oak makes it necessary to enquire particularly, how far the Wiccii extended. The men of Worcestershire were certainly Wiccii; abundant proof of it has been given in the last §; the Latin name of that city and county confirms it; *Wig-or-nia* being derived from the Saxon *Wic-wara*. Gibson says * that they also inhabited Oxfordshire, which is likely enough; but he has apparently no other authority, than because the Dobuni possessed it. Next, there is sufficient proof that the Wiccii extended over Gloucestershire also. † Kenulph, king of the Mercians, in his charter to the Monastery of Winchcomb in Gloucestershire, A' D' 811, says, that he built it "at a place called anciently by the inhabitants Wincelcombe, in the province of the Wixes." ‡ Adelred, governor of the Wixes, about A' D' 740, gave lands in Barton to the monastery of Glocester. Asser in his life of Alfred A' D' 879, speaks of "Cirrenceaster, § which is called in the British language *Cair Ceri*, which is in the southern part of the Wiccii." Add to this, that Glocestershire was until the 16*th* century part of the Diocese of the Wiccii, and subject to their bishop; which alone would be a sufficient argument, that it's inhabitants were Wiccii. Moreover, the Wiccii extended far into North Wiltshire, as the Dobuni did before them, for Brompton mentions the cities Chipenham and Circecestre, which are on the ‖ south of the Wiccii. And a ¶ battle was fought between Kanute and Edmund Ironside at a place called *Scorstan*, in the province of the Wiccii; which is supposed by Camden to be Sherstone in Wiltshire; but others place it differently: Stowe says it was Sherestane in Worcestershire.

§ 20. On the whole of this question concerning the situation of Austin's oak, it has been proved to a certainty, that the Wiccii were the inhabitants of Gloucestershire, as well as of Worcestershire: and there-

* Somner de portu Iccio p' XI. † Atkyns Gloucest', Winchcomb, p' 435.

‡ Sir R' Atkyns in *Barton* quotes Domesday book as his authority for this fact.

§ Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCLXXIX, nativitatis autem Aelfredi regis trigesimo primo, præfatus Paganorum exercitus de Cippanhamme, ut promiserat, consurgens Cirrenceastre adiit, qui Britannicè *Caerceri* nominatur, quæ est in meridianâ parte Hwicciorum.

‖ "Ad meridiem Wicciorum." Bromton's Chron' anno 879. ¶ Bromton's Chron'.

fore the boundary between them and the West-Saxons must be far away from Worcestershire, and can be only near the Avon of Bristol; and if so, the reasons, which have been given above (§ 15) make it probable in the highest degree, that the Conference of Augustin with the British bishops, A' D' 603, was holden on our College-green. If this fact be granted, which seems to me scarcely to admit a doubt, it follows that those of the Wiccii, who then inhabited Bristol or it's neighbourhood, were still unconquered by the Saxons; for no British bishop would have trusted himself in any place, where the West-Saxons, being then Pagans, were masters: and that the invasion of Gloucestershire by the West-Saxons in 577, must have been only a temporary devastation, and not a permanent conquest, as it was mentioned above; and that Bristol might have escaped that devastation; and that the kingdom of Mercia had not yet extended itself to our Avon; but that in 603, that is 150 years after the departure of the Roman legions, the inhabitants of Bristol and Gloucestershire were Britons, i' e' Welsh, independent of the West-Saxons on one side, and of the Mercians on the other.

§ 21. Conquered at last they must have been. In A' D' 584 Crida, a Saxon Chief, bringing with him an army out of Germany, invaded the midland parts of Britain; and after many years of warfare having gradually subdued the Britons, who until that time had possession of the country, he founded the kingdom of Middle-Anglia, or Mercia. Of this kingdom Gloucestershire, and consequently Bristol with it, became a part. Will' Malmsb' is sufficient authority for this fact; defining* the extent of the several kingdoms, he ascribes Gloucestershire to Mercia, and Somerset to Wessex. Bromton does the same in two places; and the natural situation of the counties favors this political arrangement. Moreover it has been proved above, that Gloucestershire was in the province of the Wiccii, which was subordinate to the king of Mercia, and part of the diocese of the Bishop of the Wiccii; all which abundantly proves, that that county was in Mercia, or at least subject to it's kings. At what time it was acquired, we are not exactly informed. Ethelred began to reign in Mercia in 675, and in his time the Wiccii were governed

* Hist' I, 6.

by a subordinate king under him, as mentioned above: between the two dates therefore, 603, the year of Austin's conference, and 675, Glocestershire and Bristol submitted to the king of Mercia. It is probable, that the possession of it was disputed, for "the * kings of the Heptarchy frequently gained and lost districts;" and particularly the kings of Mercia and Wessex were often at war. The river Avon was therefore the boundary between the two kingdoms, and Bristol may be considered as a frontier town of the Mercians, a barrier against the West-Saxons in Somersetshire. One of our MS Calendars says the same: "In the time of the Saxon Heptarchy, Bristol stood in two counties or kingdoms; viz. the part which standeth in Glocestershire side was then belonging to Mercia, and the part which standeth in Somersetshire side was of the kingdom of the West-Saxons."

§ 22. It may be asked, what business Jordan had to preach among the Wiccii, if that people were Britons, and already Christians: for Austin and his companions were sent by Pope Gregory to convert the Saxons. It is however certain from all historians, that Austin neglected the great work of converting the Saxons in his own neighbourhood, and travelled across the island to the borders of the Britons, for the purpose of persuading that nation to conform to the rites and ceremonies of the church of Rome, particularly in the celebration of Easter; to submit to the authority of the Pope; and to acknowledge the Primacy of himself, as Archbishop of Canterbury. These proposals he urged at the Conference with indecent earnestness, and these were no doubt the topics of Jordan's sermons in the College-green. But they failed of success; for the British bishops resolutely maintained the independence of their church.

§ 23. Nothing further relative to Bristol occurs in the scanty records of that age during the remaining time of the Heptarchy. About A' D' 784, Brictric or Brithric began to reign over the West-Saxons: in A' D' 787 he married † Eadberga, daughter of Offa, king of Mercia: thus the two kingdoms were at peace, and Bristol between them was in

* W' Malm' Hist' 1, 6. † Sax' Chron'.

security. 'In the * fourth year of Brictric's reign the Danes first landed in England: or as Asser expresses it: "In that year also [789] for the first time, three ships of the Normans, that is the Danes, landed in the island called Portland:" and from that time till the reign of William the Conqueror they continued with few intervals to harrass this unfortunate country; and the vicinity of Bristol suffered it's proportion of the miseries inflicted by the active and cruel warfare of that extraordinary people.

§ 24. Egbert succeeded Brithric about A' D' 800: I say *about* that year, because the date of events during the Saxon period is not to be depended on, as exact: different authors vary as much as two or three years. In the present case, the beginning of Egbert's reign is usually placed in A' D' 800; but Asser dates it in 802, and the Chron' of Mailros in 803. About the year 825 Egbert conquered Mercia, and reduced it's king to be his tributary; from which time all danger of hostility ceased between the opposite banks of our Avon. Egbert is usually considered by modern writers the first sole King of all England: but his claim is invalid, kings of Mercia and Northumberland being recorded during and after his reign. The Chronicle of Wallingford calls Alfred *Primus monarcha;* so says Ordericus † Vitalis: "Elfrid king of the Gewissi" [a name by which the West-Saxons are frequently called] "first of all the Kings, obtained alone the monarchy of all England." So says Matth' Westm': "This Aelfrid was the first monarch of the kingdom of England." Diceto says, that ‡ 'of the 15 kings of England, who were raised to the royal diadem, Alfred was the first:' and William § Worc' says the same,

> "Rex Alfredus erat primus, rex Angligenarum
> dictus qui fuerat; docet ut liber historiarum."

Nevertheless Alfred in his own charters styles himself only *King of the West-Saxons.* Others give this honour to Athelstan, as the anonymous author ‖ of Tewkesbury in two places, and so does the ¶ author of the Brut

* Henry Huntingd' lib' 4, p' 343. † 4, p' 517. ‡ De partit' Provin'.
§ Annal' published by T' Hearne p' 529. ‖ Quoted below § 41. ¶ Ad finem.

Tysil': and the same thing is meant by Geoffry * Monm': "the Saxons (he says) throwing off the dominion of the Britains bore sway over all Loegria, under their leader Adelstan, who first wore a crown among them." Pinkerton † fixes on Edgar, as the first Monarch. Leland was of the same opinion. "It ‡ appeareth by the preface of the donation of king Edgar upon the priory of Worcester, that he was the very first Monarch thoroughly in all regions of England and Scotland among the Saxon kings. It appeareth also there, that he had the whole homage of Scotland, and was taken for chief Head and Governor of all the islands about England, even to Norwege. It there also appeareth, that he was crowned in Ireland in Dubeline, the chief city of it, and that all Ireland was subject upon him." After all it may be questioned whether any one could properly be called sole king of England, notwithstanding his own assumption, until Canute the great, or Edward the Confessor, or perhaps William the Conqueror.

§ 25. During Egbert's reign the Danes landed in the West twice; first with 35 ships 'at § Charmouth [Carrum] A' D' 833, where they defeated him;' and next in Cornwall, A' D' 835, where they were themselves routed with great slaughter. This last battle is thus mentioned by ancient historians. "In ‖ A' D' 835, the Danes with a large fleet landed in the country of the West Britons, which is called *Curualia* [read *Cornualia*, that is, *Cornwall* and *Devon*], with whom the Britons made a treaty, and taking them with them, they laid waste the borders of Egbert's kingdom. Hearing this he soon collected a number of soldiers, and fought them in a place called *Hengestesdune*, i' e' *Hengist's Hill*, where he slew many of them, and put the rest to flight." The Chronicle of Mailros gives this account of the matter. "In 834 the Danes landed in West-Wales [Cornwall and Devon] and being joined by the Welsh, they fought with Egbert at a place called *Hengestesdune* and were defeated." The Saxon Chron' says the same, A' D' 835. Rapin says the place is now called *Hengston hill*. It may perhaps be the same place as that mentioned below § 29, as the scene of another battle in Alfred's reign.

* Cap' penult'. † On Medals, p' 65. ‡ Itin' 8, 108.

§ Saxon Chron'. ‖ Flor' Vigorn'

§ 26. Ethelwolph, father of the renowned Alfred, succeded his father Egbert about A' D' 838. In his reign three battles are said to have been fought in the West against the Danes. "In * the year of Grace 844 Aethelulph, king of the West-Saxons, fought against the Danes *apud Carrum;* but the Danes gained the victory." The Saxon Chron' says thus. "A' D' 840. This year king Aethelwolf fought with 35 pirate-ships *æt Carrum*". The place meant is probably Charmouth. The second battle was at or near Bridgewater: the dates vary, 845, 847, 848. "In † the year of Grace 845, duke Earnulph with the Somersetshire men, and duke Osric with the Dorsetshire men, with Alstan or Ealstan or Alestan, bishop of Shireburn, fighting against the Danes at Pedredsmouth [the mouth of the river Pedridan *Flor' Worc'*.] made a great slaugter of the enemy, and obtained the victory."—"About ‡ the 9*th* or 10*th* year of Ethelwolf's reign [i' e' about 847 or 848] bishop Alstan and duke Ernulph commanding the Somersetshire men, and duke Osred the Dorsetshire men, fought a battle against an army of Danes at Pedredsmouth, and by God's asistance destroyed many of them, and obtained a splendid victory." Chron' Mailros says the same, dating it at Pedredesmuthe A' D' 847. The Saxon Chronicle dates it 845.—The third battle was at *Winborne* or *Wincanton*. "Ceorl, § earl of Devon, fought against the Danes at Wincanbeorh, and gained the victory." Another account is; "in the ‖ 16*th* year of Ethelwolph's reign [i' e' 854] a Consul or Earl of Devon, named *Cheorl*, with the Devonshire men fought against the Pagans at Wienbeorne, and killed many of them and obtained the victory." Asser relates it thus: "in 851 Ceorl, earl of Devon, with the Devonshire men, fought against the Norman or Danish Pagans in a place, which is called *Wicganbeorg*, and the Christians gained the victory." Simeon Durh' says the same: "in the year 851 Karl, earl of Devon, fought a battle with the Pagans at a place called *Wincanbeorh*, where the Christians had the victory."

§ 27. In the midst of these barbarous hostilities, the renowned Alfred 'succeeded ¶ to the throne A' D' 871. The first part of his reign'

* Matth' Westm'.
† Matth' Westm' and Flor' Worcest'.
‡ Hen' Hunt' 5 p' 348.
§ Chron' Mailr'.
‖ H' Hunting' 5.
¶ Asser and Sax' Chron'.

'was wholly occupied in warfare: within a month after his accession he was forced to fight against the Danes at Wilton, and eight times within that same year; by which the power of the English was almost exhausted; although the loss of the enemy was beyond computation.' The Saxon Chronicle says, that "nine battles were fought this year in the country south of the Thames, beside innumerable skirmishes." In Bromton's Chronicle it is written, that 'in the first year of Alfred's reign, A' D' 873, the Danes on his approach quitted Exeter and went to Chippenham plundering as they went. In their progress the King fought against them, and Hubbe, the brother of Inguar, and Bruern Brocard were slain; which latter (as it was said) first brought them from Denmark: but Alfred incautiously pursuing was ultimately defeated, and got off with difficulty. The Danes, finding the body of Hubbe among the slain, buried it with loud cries, and raised a barrow over it, which they called *Hubbelowe:* from whence the place is still [in king John's reign] called by that name: it is in Devonshire:' but in what part of that county, I know not. Others place Hubba's death at Chipenham, and in the reign of Ethelred, a year or two before Alfred came to the throne. "After * they fought at Chipenham, and there was Hubba slain; and a great heap of stones layed coppid up, where he was buried." Stowe gives the same account, but more at large; the place he says was called *Hubbestow.*

§ 28. 'About † A' D' 875 or 876 Alfred defeated the Danes, and drove them to Exeter, where he made peace with them and they continued at Exeter a year. An army of the same plunderers had occupied the camp or castle of Wareham; with whom the King made a treaty with unusual solemnity, by which they engaged to quit the kingdom: but instead of this, they escaped by night and joined their countr men at Exeter, and there wintered, and some of them marched to Chippenham, then a royal town, which they occupied.'—‡ In "the year 878, after the Epiphany, a great army of Pagans, Danes or Nordmans, unexpectedly went to *Cippanham*, a royal town, situate in the left part"

* Lell' Coll' 2, 521 [750]. † Bromton and Asser. ‡ Asser.

"of Wiltshire on the eastern bank of the river Abon, and there spent the remainder of the winter, and by hostile violence forced many of the West-Saxons beyond the sea: so that through poverty and fear they set sail, and hid themselves in the ocean. And they reduced all the inhabitants of that country in a great measure under their dominion." In this same year 878, unless Bromton be more correct, who dates it 877, and in the *5th* of Alfred's reign, another army of Danes issued from Exeter, and overran Somersetshire. Exeter seems to have been their head-quarters; and probably the majority of the inhabitants, being Cornish Britons, favoured them, and were adverse to the West-Saxon government. Even so late as the time of William the Conqueror, the character of this city was the same. "All * the cities and districts to which the King [William] went himself, or which he occupied with garrisons, obeyed his will: but about the borders of the kingdom, toward the Western and Northern parts, a lawless ferocity still exulted; and under king Edward [the Confessor], and the other kings before him, they scorned to obey the king of England, except at their own choice. Exeter was the first to claim it's liberty. - - - The citizens, who possessed it, were furious, of great multitude, great enemies to all men, [*infestissimi mortalibus*] of Welsh race [*Gallici generis*]."

§ 29. This † irruption into Somersetshire was so violent, that Alfred was unable to withstand it, "but with few of his Nobles, and soldiers and vassals, he was forced to pass some time in the woody and marshy parts of the county, having nothing on which he might subsist, except what by frequent expeditious assaults, sometimes openly and sometimes privately, he took from the Pagans, or even from the Christians, who had submitted to their dominion; and often he was in such straights that none of his subjects knew where he was, or what was become of him For a long time he concealed himself at the house of a certain Cow-herd, where that circumstance happened, which is related by all our historians, concerning the cakes, which the King suffered to be scorched: this was in a place called *Athelney*, i' e' the isle of Nobles." To these calamities, which the West of England suffered in the year 878, another

* Order' Vital' 4, p' 510.

† Asser, Bromton, &c.

was added. 'Two * Danish Chieftains, Inguar and Halden, or more probably their brother, as Asser writes, quitted their winter quarters in Pembroke and Carmarthen shires, where they had burned the religious houses and committed dreadful slaughter and violence against the Christian inhabitants ; and with a fleet of 23 ships crossed the Severn-sea and landed their army in Devonshire,' near † Bideford. This happened according to Asser in 878 ; but Simeon Durham says in 877 and the 27th of Alfred's age. Being landed, 'they besieged some of king Alfred's men in a place called ‡ *Cimwich*.' It is probably a strong circular entrenchment about six miles from Bideford, situate on an insulated knoll and called *Hengist Castle*, part of an Estate *now* named from thence *Hengist Farm*, but which until lately used to be called *Ruetown*, a name which probably was derived from the slaughter, which took place there : in the title deeds of the Estate, the hill is called *Henna Castle* or *Hengist Castle*, olim *Kenwith* § *Castle*. 'Here ‖ the Pagans were unsuccessful ; for they were defeated with a loss of 1200 men, and their famous raven-standard was taken.'

§ 30. Alfred himself also began to collect his scattered forces. 'After ¶ Easter he made a castle or citadel in a place called *Ethelingalge* or *Æthelinga-eig* or *Ethelingeie* [the isle of Athelney] where he resided with a garrison for some time, and from thence made frequent attacks on the enemy. Fifty days after Easter he was at the head of a large army of Somerset, Wilts, and Hampshire men, on the eastern border of Selwood forest, [at Brixton near Warminster] ; and three days afterward he fought the decisive battle of Edderandune or Ethandun [i' e' Heddington ** near Chippenham and Calne] where the Danes were wholly defeated. In 879 this same body of Danes quitted Chippenham and went to'

* Asser.—Hoveden 1 p' 417.—Sim' Dun'. † Barrett p' 34.

‡ Asser calls it *Kynuit*. Sim' Dunh' *Cynwith*. Matth' Westm' *Kinwic*. Marian' Scot' writes it *Tinuit* and *Tinewic*, ap' Leland Coll' 3, 281.

§ See more concerning this interesting place in Archæologia Vol' XV, A' D' 1804.

‖ The same authorities as before.

¶ Matth' Westm' and Flor' Worc' ** Milner's History of Winchester p' 129.

'Cirencester according to their agreement, and there they remained one year. In 880 they went to the eastern part of England, where they settled.'

§ 31. Some time in the reign of Alfred we read * that the Danes landed near Brent in Somersetshire, but were put to flight, by king Alfred; great numbers were drowned and slain, and others escaped and fled to Worle-hill, where they fortified themselves.

§ 32. A' D' 893, † a great part of an army of Danes, whom Alfred had defeated at Farnham, escaped to their ships, and sailed to Exeter; whither the king followed them with an army of horse and foot, and a severe battle was fought, in which the Danes were again defeated with loss.'—'A' D' 894 ‡ an army of Danes besieged Exeter;' whether they took it, we are not informed, 'but afterward, while laying waste the country about *Cissacestre* [Chichester] the citizens sallied out and defeated them, killed many and took some of their ships." It is possible however that these two last expeditions may be different accounts of one and the same. § In 'the year 893 a very large army of Danes under the command of Hastings collected chiefly in Essex, and from various other parts also, marched along the Thames, plundering as they went, until they reached the banks of the Severn, where they very strongly fortified themselves at a place called *Buttingatun*. Adhered Earl of Mercia, with the earls Ethelm and Ethelmnoth with a number of the king's loyal subjects besieged them there so strictly, that for want of food they ate their horses; and at last being forced by hunger they sallied out to battle on the eastern side. Many were slain on both sides; but by God's help the Christians obtained the victory, and the Pagans being put to flight returned to Essex.'

* An anonymous Author published in Langtoft's Chron' by Hearn, Vol' ii, p' 465. But he is a fanciful writer and of no authority. It may be true, that the Danes landed hereabout and occupied the Camps on Worle-hill and Brent-knoll; the situation of those places makes it probable, but there is no ancient written proof of it; and this author strangely misrepresents names and facts in order to prove it.

† Asser. ‡ Sim' Dunh'. § Asser.

§ 33. The account which Flor' Worc' gives of this affair is more full. He dates it A' D' 894, and says, that the Earls "collected no small army, and the Welsh who dwelled on the western side of the Severn came to their assistance. Having joined their forces they went in pursuit of the enemy, whom they found at Buttingtun, situate on the bank of the Severn; and they soon began to besiege from both sides of the river the fortress into which the Danes had fled. Many weeks being passed some of the Pagans died of hunger, and others after having eaten their horses sallied out from their fortress and fought a battle against those who were on the eastern side of the river. But many thousands of the Pagans being slain, and all the rest put to flight, the Christians had possession of the field of burial. In this battle Ordeah, a very noble person, and many of the king's officers [*ministris Regis*] were slain." Buttington is in Shropshire, not far from Welsh-pool. "In the year 897, * an army of Pagans having built many large and swift ships, grievously harrassed the country of the West-Saxons, carrying their booty along the sea-shore. Against whom king Alfred caused others to be built much longer and higher; which being sent to sea, twenty of the enemy's ships were taken and the men killed."

§ 34. 'King † Alfred died A' D' 900, and his son Edward (usually called *Elward the Elder*) succeeded him and reigned 26 years.' 'In ‡ the year 910 a large army of pirates entered the Severn, and plundered the country on the coast: but they were soon almost all destroyed.' But perhaps this may be the same transaction as the following. "In § the 11*th* year of king Edward [the Elder A' D' 911] a large army [of Danes] on board ship came from the south out of *Lidwicum*, commanded by two consuls *Uther* and *Rahald*, who went round to the West [*circuierunt in West*] until they came to the shore of the Saverne, and there and in Northwales they plundered wherever they were able, near the shore, and they took the Bishop of Caerleon and carried him prisoner to their ships: but king Edward ransomed him for 40 pounds. Afterward their army landed, wishing to plunder at Urchenfield [*super Yrcingafeldas*] and then"

* Chron' Mailros. † Asser. ‡ Sim' Dun'.

§ Hen' Hunt' 5, p' 353, and Bromton Chron' almost literally.

"the men of Caerleon [*Legeceastrenses*] and of Hereford and of other fortified places in that neighbourhood, met them and fighting against them defeated them: and they slew *Rahald* Consul, and *Geolcil* brother of *Uther* Consul, and great part of their army, and drove them by flight into a certain fort [*castrum*]; and besieged them therein, until they gave hostages, and swore that they would retire out of the King's dominion. But the King caused the coasts of the Saverne on the south side to be guarded from Wales as far as the Avon, so that they did not dare to break in on that side. Twice however they landed privately, once on the eastern side of *Weced* [probably *Watchet*], and another time at *Pordacan* [probably *Porlock*], and both times only few escaped being killed, none but those who were able to swim to their ships. The remains of them stayed in the *Stepen* island [the *Steepholme*] in great misery, so that food failed them, and many died of hunger, not being able to procure it. They then retired to *Diomedum* [perhaps *Dimed*, *Pembrokeshire*] and from thence to Ireland."

§ 35. The account given by Fior' Worc' will furnish some further particulars of this invasion. "The Pagan pirates, who for almost 19 years before had quitted Britain and gone to the regions of Gaul, returned to England [this year 915] from the province which is called *Lidwicum*, under the command of Ohter and Rhoald; and having sailed round West-Saxony and Cornwall they entered the mouth of the river Severn: and immediately they invaded the lands of the Northern Britons, and plundered almost every thing which they found near the bank of the river. They took prisoner also the British bishop, Cimelgeacus, in the district called *Irenefeld*, and with great joy carried him to their ships: whom king Edward soon after ransomed for forty pounds of silver. Not long after their whole army landed, and took it's course toward the aforesaid district for the sake of plunder: but the men of Hereford and Gloucester and very many out of the neighbouring cities suddenly met them and joined battle with them: wherein their commander Roald, and the brother of their other commander Ohter, and a great part of their army were slain, and the rest were put to flight and driven by the Christians into a certain inclosure; where they were besieged, until"

"they gave hostages on condition that they should depart as soon as possible out of king Edward's kingdom. Whereupon the King distributed his army on the southern shore of the river Severn at convenient places from Cornwall to the mouth of the river Avon [*fluminis Avenæ*], lest the pirates should lay waste the districts of those provinces. Nevertheless they privately collected plunder by night on the eastern side of Weced [*Watchet*], and again in a place, which is called *Portlocon*, leaving the ships on the shore: but both times they were all slain by the King's army, except those who fled back to their ships in disgrace. These being defeated went to a certain island, which is called *Reoric;* where they stayed until the greater part of them perished by hunger; and then being forced by necessity, they sailed first to Deomedus, and then in Autumn to Ireland. After this the invincible king Edward with his army proceeded [*perrexit*] to Bulcingaham" &c. From this last expression it seems to be the historian's meaning, that king Edward was himself present at the transactions last mentioned.

§ 36. Another account is as follows. "The * next year after [that is in 908] there came a greate navie from Tydwike with Uther and Rahald, and passed by the westerne sea to Wales, and destroied S' Dauid's, and there fought the battel of Dinerth, where Mayloc, the sonne of Peredur Gam was slaine. And afterward they entered Herefordshire, where they were fought withall, and Rahald slaine, and the rest compelled to forsweare the king's land. Then the King caused the south side of Seaverne to be kept with a great armie. Yet did the Danes twise enter his land, once by the East at Werd, and another time at Portogan; but they were at either time ouerthrowne by the Englishmen. And from thence they departed to the isle of *Stepen*, from whence they were driuen by hunger to South-wales, where they were beaten, and constrained to depart into Ireland."

§ 37. Some observations may be made on the preceding invasion. The difference of the dates given by different historians is greater than

* Lhoyd's Cambria.

usual ; some placing it in 911, and others in 915 ; the Saxon Chron' in 918: which is the true date is not yet determined. It is said, that ' they plundered on the shore of the Severn and in *North-wales*,' and invaded the land of the Northern Britons: it is clear from the sequel, that what is meant by *North-wales* is the northern coast of the Severn ; which in that age was so called, to distinguish it from South or West Wales, which was Devon and Cornwall. So afterwards, when it is said that ' king Edward ordered the coast of the Severn to be guarded from Wales as far as the Avon,' it is meant from the borders of Cornwall wherever they were, whether at Hartland point, or at Ilfracomb, or Exmoor, or Quantock.

§ 38. From the preceding narratives it appears that king Edward stationed his army along the coast of the Severn in such a manner, as to protect the country. But John Stow gives further information. " In the year 915 a great navy of Danes sailed about the West country, and landed in divers places, taking great preys, and went to their ships again. The King for strengthening of the country made a castle at the mouth of the water of Avon." It is to be regretted that Stow has quoted no authority for this castle. If there was such a one, I cannot suppose, as some have done, that the castle of Bristol was the place intended. On the contrary it appears to me very unlikely that the castle of Bristol should be designated without any mention of the town, or described at all as being at the mouth of the river Avon. That description necessarily leads us to the shore of the Severn ; and passing by the * fortress at Portbury, as insufficient for the purpose of guarding that river, the only place near the mouth of the Avon, where there is rough or broken ground, which can give any suspicion of an ancient castle or fortification is at Portshead Point; and there it is possible that king Edward built a fortress in order to check the incursions of the Danes, and that in a subsequent age, it's ruin served as the foundation of a fort in the civil wars of Charles the first.

* Described above I, 83.

§ 39. Edward the Elder died in 925, and was succeeded by his son Athelstan. This King * is said "to have made seven coining mints at Canterbury, - - - three at Rochester, in London eight, in Winchester six, in Lewes two, in Hastings two, in Chichester one, in Hampton two, in Warham two, in Excester two, in Shaftesbury two, and in every good town one coiner." The omission of Bristol in this list shews plainly enough, that at that time it was not a place of any importance. The same conclusion may be drawn from the omission of Bristow in the † coinage of Edgar and the other Saxon kings, although they had mints in several small towns, as Ilchester, Teignmouth, Watchet, Hereford, Bruton, Petherton, and the like: Bristow first occurs in the coins of Knut [Canute.] That it was a place of little importance in the days of Edgar may also be collected from that king's ‡ visit to Bath, which is related with some minuteness by our historians, but not a word is said of Bristow; had it been a place of note, it could not well have been omitted. It is true these are but negative arguments; yet they have considerable force.

§ 39. *b.* Nevertheless, although in the reign of Athelstan, Bristol must have been a town of little notoriety, yet in this reign we have the first historical proof of it's actual existence. Hitherto whether it existed or not as a town in it's present site, may be questioned by those, who will not attribute so much validity to the arguments used to prove it, as the writer of these Memoirs does; but we now approach the era of it's History. In the reign of Athelstan and his successors lived a Mercian Nobleman of great renown called *Aylward Sneaw;* which last word is the provincial pronunciation of *Snow*, and is still in common use in Bristol, Gloucestershire &c. *Snew*, as he is also called, is likewise a west-country pronunciation of the same word. This man was certainly possessed of that tract of land, which was afterward, if not then, called the *Honor of Gloucester*, and was consequently Lord of Bristol, which was part of that Honor. The meaning of the word will be best explained by the following quotation. "*Honour* § is used for the more noble sort"

* Stow. † See Ruding on English Coins. ‡ See below § 44 *b.*

§ Cowels Interpreter.

" of Seignories, whereof other inferior lordships or mannours do depend. - - - And I have reason to think, that none are Honours originally, but such as are belonging to the King; howbeit, they may after be bestowed in fee upon other Nobles." There is a list of all the Honours in England in Jacob's Law Dictionary: only four are mentioned in Domesday book.

§ 40. The earliest authorities for styling Aylward Sneaw, *lord of the Honour of Gloucester*, are here subjoined. Dugdale * in his account of Tewkesbury has inserted a history of that Abbey, copied out of the Cotton library, written in Latin apparently by a monk of that house. Sir Rob' Atkyns translated it into English, and published it in his history under the parish of *Tewkesbury*. It appears to be a correct and valuable piece of history, and is continued to the year 1470 or 1480, about which time it is evident from the minuteness of the narrative, that the author lived. The earlier part must have been compiled from the registers of the monastery; for in most of these religious houses, annals of public and private events were regularly recorded, both by individual members, and under the inspection of the College. The book contains the following passage.

§ 41. " About the year of grace 930 under the first and famous monarch k' Adelstan, there flourished a noble knight named Haylward Snew, so called from his white complexion, sprung from the illustrious family of k' Edward the elder: he was a man courageous in arms, loaded with honours, and of a firm, generous soul; who being mindful of his latter end founded a small monastery to the honour of God and the Lord Jesus Christ and his mother and St Bartholomew the apostle, for the good of himself and Algive his wife on his demeans at Cranburn in the time of k' † Ethelred and of St Dunstan the Archbishop, and endowed it with divers lands and possessions. Having gathered together several brethren under the obedience of an abbot, who were regularly to observe the rule of our holy father St Benedict, he subjected the priory of"

* Monast' Vol' 1, p' 153.

† Ethelred reigned from 978 to 1016.—Dunstan was Archbishop from 959 to 988.

"Tewkesbury, of which he was patron, to the abbey of Cranburne [or *Croneburne*]. These things were transacted about the year 980."—Leland copied * another history of the church of Tewkesbury; which gives the same account.

§ 42. Ailward was therefore a Chieftain in king Athelstan's wars; one of the royal family of king Edward the elder, but not his son, we may presume; that relation would have been specified. Leland † calls him *earl of Gloucester*, and gives the same title to his grandson Brictric; but he quotes no authority, and the fact appears doubtful; for in Brictric's time, it will appear that Sweyn held the earldom of Gloucestershire. Unluckily the exact date of Aylward's age is not mentioned; but since he flourished as a warrior about 930, he could not have been born much later than 907; and not much earlier, for even this date will make him 73 years old in 980, when he founded the monastery at Cranborne. With regard to his name, Leland in several places writes it *Ailward* or *Aelward Meaw*, and again *Alred Meaw*, and *Ailarde Mean:* but his fair complexion, being given as the reason why he was called *Sneaw*, seems to prove that *Meaw* and *Mean* are merely the errors of copyists. Nevertheless the anonymous author of Tewkesbury, quoted above, once calls his grandson by the name of *Brictric Meaw;* and Algar is said below to be the son of *Meawes*.

§ 43. Aylward being possessed of Tewkesbury and Cranborne, and being patron of the religious houses there, which possessions were parts of the Royalty or Honor of Gloucester for ages after, was certainly Lord of that Honor; which is still more clearly proved by this, that his grandson Brictric, who inherited his estates, was lord of that Honor, as will appear below; and Aylward Sneaw was therefore undoubtedly lord of Bristow, which was always part of that Honour. And now lest any one should insist that Aylward might be lord of the Honor, and Bristol notwithstanding might not yet be built, we produce the following passage, copied by ‡ Leland out of the book of the Calendaries of Bristow, which

* Itin' 6, 78 [81]. † Itin' 6, 91 [96]—Coll' 1, 82.

‡ Itin' 7. 94 [71].

unquestionably proves it's existence at that time: "Ailarde Mean and Bitrick his sunne [were] lords of Brightstowe afore the Conqueste." Aylward's connection with Bristol may be proved also by the name of one of our streets: for the Pithay was called Aylward-street, as we learn from William * Worc'. "In Pyttey, *aliter* Aylewarde strete." Mr. Barrett † says also, that the Pithay gate was called Aylward's gate: "the gate of old had the name of *pons* [qu' *porta*] *Aylwardi*, from Aylward, the Saxon governor of Bristol;" but he quotes no authority for this. It is true, the name of Aylward or Aillard occurs in our list of Magistrates in 1233 and afterwards; but since the Pithay was certainly built before that age, it is most probable, that it was built in the time of Aylward Sneaw, and on his land, and received it's name from him.

§ 44. On the death of king Athelstan in 940, his brother Edmund succeeded, whose reign and life were terminated in our neighbourhood, 'being killed at ‡ *Pulcle-circe* [*Pucklechurch*] A' D' 946, on Tuesday, St Augustin's day May 26. He was endeavouring to rescue his Steward Leo from the hands of a vile thief, who attempted to kill him, and in this office of humanity he received a mortal wound.' The Anglo-Saxon kings, as well as the Welsh princes, were accustomed to make frequent progresses through their dominions, chiefly perhaps for the sake of consuming the produce of their several manors; but the practice had other advantages, and the Norman kings continued it. It was probably during a temporary residence of this kind at his lordship of Pucklechurch, distant from Bristol seven miles, that this atrocious murder was perpetrated: the site of the place is still shewn in a field adjoining to the village, distinguishable only by the inequality of the ground.

§ 44. *b*. "In the year of § grace 973, Eadgar the Pacific, king of the English, in the 30*th* year of his age, wore his crown at *Akemanecestre*, now called *Bath*, on Whitsunday, the prelates Dunstan and Oswald being present, together with the other bishops and all the Magnates of"

* P' 181.

† Hist' and Antiq' of Bristol, p' 56.

‡ Hoveden and Mailros.

§ Matth' Westm'.

"the whole kingdom: and there with glory and honour he was consecrated king, and gave the customary donations to each person, which are usually given to Magnates at the king's coronations."

§ 45. 'In * the year 981 the same army of Danish pirates, which in the preceding year had destroyed Southampton, plundered the coasts of Devon and Cornwall; and particularly they destroyed the monastery of † *St Petroc'* [*Padstow* or *Petrocstow*]. "In the ‡ year 988 *Weeedport* [*Watchet*] was destroyed by the Danish pirates, by whom also the earl of Devon [*Satrapa Domnaniæ*] by name *Goda*, and a very brave soldier by name *Stremewold*, with some others of the English army were slain: but still more of the Danes being slain, the Devonshire men kept possession of the field." In "the *19th* year § of king Ethelred, that is A' D' 997 an army of Danes, which had remained in England during the winter, passing along the coast of Wessex and round Cornwall, entered the mouth of the Severn and laid waste the coasts of Devon, Cornwall and South Wales. After destroying *Weeedport* or *Weeeport* [*Watchet*], and burning many towns and killing great numbers of men, they returned with fire and sword round ‖ *Penwistric* [*the Land's end*], along the southern coast; and entering the mouth of the Tamar, they plundered and burned the whole country, and killed the inhabitants on both sides of the river as high as Lidford, and burned down the monastery of ¶ Tawestoke [*Tavistock*]: against whom as often as the English fought, they were defeated, either by snares, or by the treachery of their own people, or by misfortune. And they burned the monastery of ¶ Ordulphus at Esingestoke, putting every thing to fire and faggot. And then going to Fromundham, and landing from their ships, they ravaged"

* Hoveden 1, p' 427, and to the same effect Chron' Mailros, and Matth' Westm', and Flor' Worc'.

† Sancti Patroci Confessoris monasterium. Chron' Mailr'.

‡ Iidem et Sim' Dunh.

§ Hoveden 1, p' 428. Sim' Dunh'. Hen' Hunt' 5, p' 358. Bromton p' 882. Saxon Chron' and Chron' Mailros.

‖ *Penwistric* Huntingd'. Bromton.—*Penwithsteord* Hoveden. Sim' Dunh'.—*Penwithsteort* Flor' Vigorn'.

¶ *Ordulfe's mynstre. Tæfingstock.* A Saxon Glossary apud Leland's Coll' 4, 124. I suppose that *Tavistock*, not *Tawstock*, is meant in both instances. Ordulph, earl of Devon, was founder of the Abbey of Tavistock.

" Dorsete without opposition in their usual manner: and having loaded themselves with a great booty they returned to their ships, and spent the winter in the same place." Florence Worc' gives the same account, except the following passage " moreover they burned the monastery of Ordulfus, Primate of Devon, [*Domnaniæ Primatis*], which is called *Teauistoke.*"

§ 46. 'In the year * 1001 an army of Danish Pagans coming from Normandy, entered the river Ex, and attempted to take Exeter; but the citizens drove them from the walls. Exasperated by this repulse they ravaged the whole county, burning the towns, plundering the country, and killing the inhabitants. The men of Devon and Somerset at last met them, and a battle was fought at a place called *Penhou* † [*Penhoe* near Exeter]: but the English being inferior in number were defeated with much slaughter: after which the Danes procuring horses extended their ravages over almost all Devon more cruelly than before, and finally carried off their plunder on board their ships.' Bromton says, that the attack was made on Exmouth; but without success, the inhabitants defending the castle bravely. Then follows the battle at Penho; and after all he adds " then the Danish fleet went to Normandy; but soon returning they assaulted Exeter: from which city being repulsed, they raged more fiercely round the southern coasts of England." The date of this invasion is unsettled: Bromton places it in the 19 or 20 or 21 year of Ethelred's reign, that is probably A' D' 997, or 998, or 999, certainly not so low as 1001.

§ 47. " In ‡ A' D' 1003 the Danes under the command of their king Sweyn, irritated by the massacre lately ordered by king Ethelred, landed in Cornwall, and like a multitude of locusts came to Exeter; where by the treason of Hugh the Norman, whom queen Emma had appointed to be sheriff, they totally destroyed the walls and the city,"

* Hoveden 1, p' 429; and the Chron' Mailr' and Flor' Worc' are almost literally the same.

† Sim' Durh' and Bromton, and Flor' Worc' write the word *Penho.*

‡ Bromton: and Chron' Mailros and Flor' Worc' agree in the date, and the chief part of the transaction.

"and carried away all the spoil with them, leaving nothing but ashes. And they carried away the said Hugh also bound in fetters." "A' D' 1013 * king Sweyn being repulsed by the Londoners, went first to Wallingford, and then to Bath, plundering and destroying every thing in his way, as usual; and there he halted and refreshed his army. In † the last year of king Ethelred's reign, in 1015, while he lay sick at Cossham, Canute sailing along the coast came to Frodemundham, from whence he plundered Dorset, Somerset, and Wilt shires in a miserable manner."

§ 48. This was the last time that the Danes appeared as invaders in our neighbourhood; and from this period little or no mention is made of them by our old historians, as a separate people. Several reasons concurred, why no further notice is taken of them. A' D' 1017 Canute king of Denmark obtained the crown of England, and hostilities between the two nations ceased of course. He was also a Christian, and consequently protected his Saxon and Christian subjects from the violence of the pagan Danes. Moreover the two nations having had great intercourse with each other, either as friends or enemies for many years, must have coalesced in a great degree by intermarriages and other connections: and lastly this King ordained by law, that no distinction should be made between his Saxon and Danish subjects; and in fact both names fell into disuse, and all were thenceforth called by the general name of *English*.

§ 49. The Danes, as they appeared in England for a period of about 200 years, were in some respects a singular people. In making war, they were usually attended by their ships, occasionally landing from them, and retreating to them and loading them with plunder, which they sold to the inhabitants of the next district, where they landed. The following ‡ passage will prove that these invasions were sometimes attended with mercantile objects; that is, with selling plunder and buying goods. When Rollo spent the winter in England previously to his invasion of France, he sent envoys to king Alfred saying "We will not"

* Hoveden ap' Lel' Coll' 3, 191. † Chron' Bromton.

‡ Will' Gemm' lib' 2, p' 224.

"lay waste your kingdom, nor will we take any plunder or carry it to our ships: we only ask permission for both parties to buy and sell *peaceably*." They even brought their ships up the narrow rivers far within land, being apparently entire masters of the country. When they traversed the midland, their marches were surprizingly rapid, oftentimes on horseback, after seizing all the horses they could find. When their armies were defeated, they were not destroyed; the remainder either made a retreat to some place of safety, or obtained good conditions from the conquerors; the population of the country giving them no annoyance, but in some places favouring them; and soon after we hear of another similar army. It will be difficult to account for these singularities, but by supposing, that a great proportion of those plunderers, who desolated the country under the name of Danes, were native inhabitants of England. Companies of them came from Scandinavia no doubt, and their leaders were certainly of that country; but they must have been joined by great numbers of the natives of England: and that their armies did in fact consist of many others, beside those who came in ships, we may certainly collect from the words of the historian,* who in relating a victory gained by the English, says that "they killed many thousands both of the pirates and of the others."

§ 50. The two nations easily assimilated, their language being nearly the same, and they were in fact mixed together through all England, especially in the North. Bromton writes, that in the reign of king Edgar, "there was scarcely a village [*viculus*] in England, where the Danes did not dwell with the English." They are particularly said to have been much favoured by the women, as being more cleanly in their person, than the English. "They † combed their hair every day, they bathed every Saturday, and often changed their cloaths, and set off their person by many such frivolities. King Athelstan favoured them much; they were predominant in the best towns in the kingdom, and all the West-Saxon Kings employed them as mercenaries in the conquest of the other kingdoms, and quartered one Danish soldier on each house capable of maintaining one." Their armies were universally Pagan;

* Flor' Worc' A' D' 918.

† Wallingford.

the cotemporary historians call them *Pagans*, more frequently than *Danes*. In our romances and legendary chronicles, they are often called Saracens, in the same sense as Pagans. Thus Robert Ricart says "Duc Rollo le fort was a Saresyn, come oute of Denmark into France." Asser in his life of Alfred always calls them Pagans: the word *Danes* not once occurring, as I think, in an unsuspected passage: and the English armies being for the most part Christians, and so called by the old historians, the Danish invasions had all the appearance of a religious war. As a further proof of this it may be added, that the Welsh, who were Christians, appear from the preceding accounts to have joined even the Saxons against the Danes, apparently because they were Pagans. It appears probable therefore, that the Danish invaders were always joined by great numbers of Danes resident in England, and by many such native English, who were still Pagans, and marched with them for the sake of plunder, or through hatred of Christianity, as their forefathers *joined the pagan Saxons 400 years before.

§ 50. *b.* If the coinage of money proves the wealth and importance of a town, Bristow must have received a considerable increase in and before the reign of Canute. It was lately mentioned, that in the reign of Athelstan there was no mint in this town or at most only one: but Canute's money coined in Bristol is well known. The author † quoted below says "the first coins bearing the name of Bristol, which I have met with, is a penny of Cnut, of which there are four or five varieties."

§ 51. On the death of Hardicanute in 1041, Edward the Confessor succeeded to the crown. "In ‡ the month of August 1049 some Irish pirates entering the mouth of the Severn in 36 ships, landed at a place called *Wilesceaxan* § and by the asistance of Griffin, ‖ king of the South Britons, they collected plunder about those places and did some mischief. Then joining their forces, the King and they together crossing the river,"

* See above § 5.

† Ruding's Annals of the Coinage of Britain.

‡ Flor' Worc'.

§ Wilsteapam *Stowe.*

‖ Griffith *Stowe.*

"which is called *Weage* [Wie *Stowe*], burned Dunedham, * and slew all persons whom they found there. Against whom Aldred, bishop of Worcester, and some few of the Gloucestershire and Herefordshire men hastily went up [the river]. But the Welsh, whom they had with them, and who had promised fidelity to them, privately sent a messenger to king Griffin, asking him to fall upon the English as soon as he could. He quickly set forward with his own men and with the Irish pirates, and falling on the English at break of day he slew many of them, and the rest escaped by flight."—Bromton dates this transaction in 1047, and says "this year some Irish pirates, having entered the Severn sea, by the asistance of Griffin, king of the South-Welsh, crossing the river at the fords, gathered a great booty in the neighbourhood."

§ 52. The whole reign of Edward the Confessor was spent in a struggle against the famous earl Godwin and his family, whose power and authority were greater than a subject ought to possess, rivalling those of the king himself. 'Godwin † held the earldoms of Kent, Sussex, and Wessex: his eldest son Sweyn held Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Somersetshire, and Berkshire: and his son Harold (afterward king) held Essex, East-anglia, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire.' 'In the ‡ year 1050, a grievous quarrel arising between the King and the Earl, the latter and his three sons raised an army from their several earldoms, as before enumerated, with which they encamped at § Bonerstaner in Gloucestershire, and sent their demands to the King, who was then at Gloucester. Edward, perceiving the danger of his situation, by several messages and pretences protracted the time, until an army raised in the North came to his asistance; whereupon the Chiefs dreading a civil war agreed that each party should submit their claims to a Council to be summoned in London. Godwin's army however began to fall away; and the King so far prevailed at this council, holden at Southwark in 1051, that Godwin and his whole family fled by night, and escaped out of the kingdom, and next morning were proscribed.'

* Dumenham *Stowe*.

† Matth' Westm' and Flor' Vig' A' D' 1051.

‡ Chron' Bromton.

§ Knyghton

§ 53. Florence Worc' relates other particulars. After describing the cause of the quarrel which happened at Dover, and the military preparations on both sides, he proceeds. "Meantime Godwin and his sons with their armies after the Nativity of St Mary [Sept' 8] 1051, coming into Gloucestershire encamped in a place called *Langetrea*, and sending messengers to the King at Gloucester, they demanded that earl Eustace and his companions, together with the Normans and Boulognians, who held the castle on Dover cliff, should be given up, denouncing a battle in case of refusal. The King for a time being terrified, and set in a difficult situation, was wholly at a loss what to do. But when he found that the army of the earls Leofric and Siward and Radulph were approaching, he answered firmly, that he would by no means give up Eustace and the others who were demanded: on hearing which the messengers returned without effecting their purpose. On their departure the army [of the earls] entered Gloucester, so inflamed and with one consent so ready to fight, that if the King would have permitted it, they would immediately have joined battle with earl Godwin's army. But whereas all the principal persons out of all England on both sides were at peace with each other, it seemed to earl Leofric and to some others, a very grievous thing to fight against their countrymen: but they determined that the King and Godwin, giving hostages to each other, should meet in London and plead their cause on a given day."- - - At which meeting the Earl was condemned. Godwin with his wife and three sons Sweyn, Tosti, and Griffin went into Flanders; but Harold and Leofwine, two other of his sons came to Bristow, where they went on board a ship, which their brother Swain, in whose earldom Bristol was, had provided for himself, and crossed over into Ireland. The old * historians give the following account. "Porro Haroldus & Leofwinus filii [Godwini] Bristowam adeuntes navem, quam frater illorum Swanus sibi paraverat, conscenderunt, & in Hiberniam transvecti fuerunt." The Saxon † Chronicle is more particular. "And Harold eorl & Leofwine foran to

And Harold earl & Lewin went to

Brygstowe, on that scip, the Swegen eorl hæfde him silfum ær"

Bristow on board the ship, which Sweyn earl had for him self before

* Sim' Durh', Hoveden, Brompton, and Flor' Vig' all literally the same † Fragm' ap' Lye.

" gearcod & gemetsod. And se Cyning send Ealdred, B. of Lundene
designed & prepared. and the King sent Eldred, bishop of London
mid genge; & sceoldon hine of-ridan, ær he to scip come.
with a company; & they should him out-ride before he to the ship come.
Ac hi ne mihton, oththe noldon: & hi wende tha ut of Afene muthan:
but they not could, or not would: & they went thence out of Avon mouth:
& feng swa stidh weder, that he uneathe aweig com, & him thær
& met with so violent weather, that he scarce away come, & him there
micel forferde. Wend tha fordh to Irlande, tha him weder com."—
much damaged. He went thence on to Ireland, when to him good weather came.
Hereupon the King deprived them of their earldoms: 'that * of Devon, Somerset and Dorset he gave to Odo: and he gave Harold's earldom to Algar, son of earl Lefric.'

§ 54. The † banishment of this powerful family continued a very short time. "Harold and Leofwin soon returned from Ireland" [A' D' 1052 *Flor' Worc'*] "and entering the Severn with a numerous fleet landed on the borders of Somerset and ‡ Devon, and plundered many towns and districts in that neighbourhood. The men of Somerset and Devon assembled and gave battle; but Harold defeated them with the loss of more than thirty officers of distinction' [*ex nobilibus ministris* Flor'. *præstantium Thanorum* Sax' Chron'] 'beside many others; after which he carried off the plunder on board his ships, and sailing round the Land's-end [*Peonwithsteort* Flor', *Pen-with Promont'* Sax' Chron'] 'he joined his father at the isle of Wight.' 'In § this same year 1052 the King was reconciled to Godwin and his family, and restored their honours to them all, except Sweyn, who was now dead. Repenting of the crime he had committed in murdering Beorn, his own and the King's cousin, he went from Flanders to Jerusalem barefooted; and on his return he died in Lycia by a disorder brought on by excessive cold.' 'On || the death of Godwin in 1053 [or ¶ 1054], the King gave his earldom, which Flor' Worc' calls a Duchy, to his elder son Harold; but'

* Hen' Hunting' 6, p' 366.

† Hoveden 1, p' 442, and Flor' Worc' literally: and the Saxon Chron' is nearly the same.

‡ It is *Dorsetanæ* in the original, but certainly an error.—The Saxon Chron' says rightly *Devonshire*.

§ Matth' Westm' and Flor' Worc' and Bromton.

|| Bromton and Hen' H' 6, p' 366 ¶ Flor' Worc'.

'again he gave Harold's earldom to Algar, earl of Chester, son of earl Leofric.'—"Toward * the end of the year 1053, the brother of Griffin, king of the South-Welsh, by name *Rhees*, on account of the frequent plunders which he had made, was slain by order of king Edward at a place called *Bulendun;* and his head was brought to the King at Gloucester on the Vigil of the Epiphany of our Lord" [Jan' 5].

§ 55. "A' D' † 1055 King Edward unjustly banished earl Algar, son of Leofric; who thereupon went to Ireland, and having procured 18 pirate ships, he crossed over into South-Wales, and made an alliance with Griffin. With a large army they invaded Herefordshire, and on Oct' 24 two miles distant from that city they defeated the English under the command of duke Radulph, king Edward's sister's son, slew 400 or 500 men and wounded many more; duke Radulph himself with the French and Normans whom he kept about him, being the first to flee. The conquerors entered Hereford, and burned the monastery of St Albert, king and martyr, with all it's ornaments and relics, killing seven of the Canons, who attempted to defend the gates of the Church; and having slain more than 400 of the citizens, and taken prisoners many more, they plundered and burned the town, and retired with a large booty. Hereupon the King raised a large army and appointed earl Harold to the command of it; who marching from Gloucester drove away the enemy, and pursued them into South-Wales; and then returning he fortified Hereford with a broad and deep mound and ditch, [*vallo lato et alto*] gates and locks. Afterwards the three Chiefs, Griffin, Algar, and Harold met at a place called *Bililesleaga*, where they entered into an agreement of peace and friendship. Algar's fleet went down to Caerleon [*Leogecestram*] where it waited for the pay which he had promised: he himself went to the King, from whom he again received his earldom."—Nevertheless 'in ‡ the year 1058 Algar was again banished, and again he sought the protection of his friend Griffin, by which and by the asistance of a Norwegian fleet he again recovered his earldom.' Such was the weakness of Edward the Confessor's government.

* Chron' Mailr' and Flor' Worc'. † Flor' Worc' and Chron' Mailros.

‡ Chron' Mailros.

§ 56. In the latter part of the year 1063 Harold was employed by king Edward a second time to lead an army against Griffin, prince of Wales, who had frequently proved a troublesome and dangerous enemy to the English. "After * Christmas in the year 1063—4 Harold, duke of the West-Saxons, by king Edward's order taking with him a small body of horse, marched rapidly from Gloucester, where the King then was, to Rudelam [or Rudelant or Radelam]. in order to put to death Griffin king of the North-welsh, on account of the frequent ravages which he made on the English borders, and the insults, which he offered to his Lord Edward. But Griffin, being advertized of his approach, fled with his friends on board ship, and with difficulty made his escape: upon which Harold burned his palace, and his ships with their furniture, and immediately returned. Afterward about Rogation days or Holy Thursday, [*& tha to tham gong-dagan* i' e' *et tunc ad ambarvalia*] he set out from Brikestowe [or Bricstowe or Bryestowe] with a body of men on board his fleet and sailed round a great part of Wales [*abutan Bryt-land*]: and his brother Tosti by the King's command joined him with an army of horse, and they began to lay waste the country. The Welsh being pressed by this attack surrendered and gave hostages, promising to pay tribute, and drove their king Griffin into banishment; and on Aug' 5 1064 these traitorous subjects slew him, and sent his head and the head of his ship with it's ornaments to earl Harold, which he soon after presented to King Edward." One † writer adds that 'Harold appointed another Prince of Wales in the stead of Griffin.' Another ‡ says that "king Edward gave the land of the slain king to his two brothers Bloethgent and Rithwalan, on condition that they should be faithful to him; which they confirmed by oath, and by giving hostages."

§ 57. "In § July 1065 duke Harold gave orders to build a large house in Wales in a place called *Portascith* [Portskewith ‖ near Chepstow]; and ordered a large quantity of provisions to be collected there,

* Fragm' Sax' Chron' ap' Lye.—Hoveden 1, p' 446.—Flor' Worc'.—Sim' Dunh' p' 192 literally the same.

† H' Hunt' 6.

‡ Chron' Mailros, and to the same purpose Flor Worc'.

§ Hoveden—Flor' Wore,—Sim' Dunh' all literally the same.

‖ See above II, 31.

" for the use of his lord king Edward, that he might sometimes remain there for the sake of hunting. But Caradoc son of Griffin, king of the South-welsh, came thither on St Bartholomew's day with all the men, whom he could collect, and slew almost all the workmen, and those who superintended them, and carried off all the goods, which had been there collected."—This is the last transaction during the Saxon period, in which Bristol or it's neighbourhood is any ways concerned : in the next year, that is, in Sept' 1066, William, duke of Normandy landed at Hastings, and the Norman Period begins.

§ 58. But since Bristol was a part of the Honor of Gloucester and subject to its Lord, as I have already (*a*) related, and since that connexion continued for some ages afterwards, it is necessary in this place to bring on the history of that Honor to the end of the Saxon period. On the death of Ailward Sneaw soon after the year 980, we are informed by the anonymous author of Tewkesbury quoted above, that he was succeeded by his son Algar. "The lord Aylward ascending to heaven and being honorably buried in the church which he himself had founded, his son, the lord Algar with his wife Algive succeeded by hereditary right." The Latin historian quoted (*b*) by Leland uses the same words adding the date, 17 Calends Jan. It appears from Domesday book, that one Algar held the manor of Lea in Gloucestershire in the time of Edward the Confessor. There were at least two Algars in that age ; but I suppose this to be our Algar, because, as may be seen below, his son Brictric held Lea.—Algar, son of Meawes, is (*c*) said to have been present at a battle fought by Edmund Ironside against the Danes in A' D' 1016, and to have favoured the Danes. This also is probably the same person, because *Meaw* seems to have been a common name in that family.

§ 59. Brictric succeeded Algar as Lord of the Honour of Gloucester, and consequently Lord of Bristow ; but I do not find on what authority the (*d*) Historian says, that he resided much here. Leland (*e*) says " Brictric succeeded Algar, and they enlarged the monastery of Crone-"

(*a*) See above § 40—43. (*b*) Leland Itin' 6, 78 [82]. (*c*) Flor' Worc' and Brompton.
(*d*) Mr. Barrett p' 35. (*e*) Itin' 6, 78 [82].

"burne." He was son of Algar, being frequently so stiled in Domesday-book; for he lived at the time of the Conquest, and had reason to lament that he survived it. He was a Nobleman of great wealth and consequence, and was employed by king Edward the Confessor in an embassy to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, where he had the misfortune to attract the notice of Maud, or Matilda, the earl's daughter; and not making that return of affection, which she hoped to experience, he felt the full effect of disappointed love stimulated into enmity. For she afterwards married William, earl of Normandy: and when the unaccountable success of his expedition into England had raised from obscurity the humble fortune of the Normans, Matilda, now queen of England, adopting the insolence of her countrymen, besought her husband to give up Brictric and his estates to her disposal: whereupon the King following his usual policy of extirpating the Saxon nobility and gentry, threw Brictric into prison, where he died.

§ 60. The following authorities will relate these and other circumstances more at large. The anonymous monk of Tewkesbury, (*f*) quoted above, continues his narrative in these words. "Brictric succeeded Algar. These being proper representatives of the faith and nobility of their predecessors, and induced by the same spirit and disposition, according to the wishes of their parents, magnificently enlarged the church begun by them. Afterward the scene was changed: for in the year 1066, William duke of Normandy acquired England, and brought with him a noble youth named Robert, son of Haymo [*Fitzhaymo*], lord of Astremerville in Normandy. Queen Matildis, wife of the Conqueror, hated that nobleman, Brictric Meaw, lord of the Honor of Glocester, because he did not chuse to marry her, when he was in foreign parts, as Ambassador, about the King's business, she being unmarried. She was afterward married to the lord William the Conqueror; and having found a convenient opportunity, and procured an order from the King, she caused him to be arrested in his manor of Hanley, and carried to Winchester, where he died without issue, and was buried." The Queen took possession of all his estates.

(*f*) § 40, 41.

§ 60. *b.* Leland's Latin (*g*) account rendered into English, is as follows. "Brictric, when embassador in Normandy, refused the marriage of Matildis, who was afterward wife of William the Conqueror. Brictric, lord of Glocester, was taken in his manor of Hanley, and carried to Winchster, where he died without children. On his death queen Matilda received the Honour of Glocester. She died A' D' 1083 in the month of April, and then the King reserved to himself that Honour." Leland's own English account is thus. "After, (*h*) in the latter reign of the Danes and Edward (*i*) the Confessor, was Æilwerdus Meaw, Erle of Glocester, and he was counted as founder of Craneburne. Æilwerdus had a (*k*) son [a grandson or great-grandson] called Brictrice, earl of Glocester about the time of the coming of duke William of Normandie into England. Matildis, wife to William Conqueror, asked Brictrice, in gift, of her husband: and having him, put him in the castle of Hanley beside Sarisbyri, and there he died. Some say, that Matildis would have had him, afore duke William, to her husband; but refusing it, had after hard favour at her hands. King William gave the preferment of the county of Glocester unto his wife Matilda."

§ 61. Brictric's possessions were very great, as enumerated in Domesday book. The name very frequently occurs in that Record, and therefore I insert only those lands, which either certainly or almost certainly belonged to the son of Algar. "These Manors in Dorset were possessed by Brictric in the time of Edward the Confessor, and afterward by queen Mathildis;" (*l*) Devrel, Litelfrome, (*m*) Creneburne, and Aishmare; all of great extent and value, particularly Cranbourne. He possessed also Winburne in Dorset; and Winescombe in Somerset, which last he held of the Abbey of Glastonbury, from which abbey he also held the church of St Andrew in Givilchestre: and he had possessions in Curry in Somerset. The following lands in Devon Brictric

(*g*) Itin' 6, 78 [82.] Ex libello de antiquitate Theokebiriensis Monasterii.

(*h*) Leland Itin' 6, 91 [93 or 96.]

(*i k*) These are evidently mistakes made by Leland, and are in opposition to what he himself has before quoted.

(*l*) Domesd' b' fo' 68, 3. (*m*) Id' 75, 3.

held, and after him queen Mathildis held them: Levia, Halgewelle, Clovelie, Bedeforde, and a fishery adjoining to this manor, Liteham, Langtrev, Edeslege, Wincheleie, Aisse, Slapeford, Bichentone, Morchet, Holcumbe, Halsbreton, and Aisbertone. These fifteen etates, most if not all which were manors, were part of Brictric's great estates, seized by queen Matilda on his imprisonment. He also held Sanforde in Devon, which the Queen gave to Roger de Busli with his wife; and Mochelsberie in Devon. The four following Manors in Cornwall belonged also to Brictric and were afterward possessed by queen Mathildis; Conarditone, Gudiford, Bennartone, and Melledham: he also possessed a manor in Cornwall called Carewrge. But Gloucestershire was the county, where his possessions chiefly lay, all which at the time of the Domesday Survey belonged to the King, and the greater part had previously been possessed by Queen Matilda. The manor of Tewkesbury with it's very great dependencies was the chief; with Hanley, Turnberie, Sopebury, Aveninge, Fareford &c &c; to reckon up and appreciate all which, would require a seperate treatise, and not a short one. In Worcestershire I observe only two parcels of land holden by him, *Biselege* and *Burgelege*. Of all these lands Brictric, son of Algar, lord of Bristow, was the possessor; and out of 80 other passages in Dom' book, which I have examined, it is probable that in three-fourths he is the person meant. Brictric *unus liber homo*, and Brictric *presbyter*. and Brictric *teignus* are neither of them our Brictric. And whereas it is well known, that a great part of the property above-mentioned belonged to the Honour of Glocester some few years afterward, it is from hence certain, that Brictric possessed this whole Honour, as entirely as the Norman earls afterwards held it.—His name is variously written; Brictric and Brihtric occur in Domesday-book; there are found also Brightric, Brithric, Brichtric, and in the next § we shall find him called Brictan. Similar names are found in Domesd' book: Brictninus, Bristuin, Brictnid, Briestui, Bristuard, Bristive, Brisnod, Brictuold, Bristoaldus, Bristualdus.

§ 62. Only one historical circumstance has reached our knowledge, which positively marks Brictric's connection with Bristol. The following

miserable Latin verses, if *verses* they may be called, are printed by Dugdale immediately after the Tewkesbury History quoted above § 40, being apparently contained in the same MS. The several Founders and Benefactors of the Abbey are supposed to give each an account of what he did for the benefit of that church.

" Ego Dux Odo apud Theok' Prioratum fundo.
Atque ego Doddo Stanwey cum membris addo.
Abbatiam fundo Aiłwardus Meaw dictus ego.
Algarus dico hæc omnia ibi confirmo.
Et Bictanus [*sic*] ultimus ante Conquestum Dominus
Hoc templum fundo; mihimet vere corde jucundo
Bristow construxi, honor ut fiat Crucifixi." &c &c.

It appears to me certain, that the writer of these lines intended to say, that Brictric built some kind of religious house in Bristow dependent on the church of Tewkesbury: a fact so probable in itself, as to require but little proof, and very likely to have been done by him, who was apparently a religious man; it being recorded in a passage (*n*) already quoted, that he and his father Algar enlarged the monastery of Cranborne: he also translated the body of king Æthelbert to Hereford as Leland relates from the life of Ethelbert, king, saint and martyr, written by Giraldus Cambrensis. After mentioning his murder and burial on the left bank of the river Lugge, where now is the parish church of Maurdine four miles from Hereford, he thus proceeds. " Ethelbert appeared (*o*) by night to one Brichtric, a very rich man, and ordered him to dig up his body, and carry it to a place called *Status waie*, and to bury it honourably near the monastery situated at that place. Egmund was Brichtric's companion in translating the body. Thus going on to the place appointed they honorably interred the body of this very holy saint, in the place which is called in English, *Fernley* i' e' the field of fern, but in our days it is called by our countrymen *Hereford*."—What or where the religious house was, which he built in Bristow we have no information; but Mr. Barrett's (*p*) conjecture is probable, that Brictric's foundation was a cell at St James's annexed to Tewkesbury, which might have been the original of the Priory afterward built there by

(*n*) See above § 60. (*o*) Itin' 8, 59. (*p*) Hist' of Bristol p' 36.

by Robert earl of Gloucester.—It may indeed be said, that the line quoted above *Bristow construxi* means that this Brictric was the founder of the town of Bristol. The words may bear that meaning; but the fact is so contrary to evidence, that it is needless to say more on the subject.

§ 63. The Chronology of these three ancient lords of Bristow labours under a little difficulty. If we may credit the Tewkesbury MS quoted above, (*q*) Aylward Sneaw was born about 907; there seems no good reason for questioning it: and yet the birth of Brictric may be set down with tolerable confidence at about 1027: which computation gives 120 years between the births of the grandfather and the grandson, which is an unexampled length of time, particularly since both son and grandson were probably the eldest children as being the heirs. I set down the birth of Brictric at about 1027, because it is the year of William the Conqueror's birth, and it is not probable that Matilda would have (*r*) wished to marry him, if he had been much older than him, whom she afterwards married in or about the year 1054. But suppose him to be ten years older than the Conqueror, 110 or even 100 years between the grandfather and grandson under the preceding circumstances is quite improbable: and therefore it may reasonably be conjectured, that one generation is dropped out of the account; that Aylward had a son, called perhaps *Meawes* (*s*) or *Meaw* or *Mean;* and that Algar was Aylward's grandson, not his son.

§ 64. The conclusion of the Saxon period presents a convenient opportunity for describing the then state of Bristow, as far as our scanty documents will permit. The annexed Plan represents what may be considered with little or no doubt to be the extent and form of the town about the end of the Saxon Era: in laying down which no very material error can be committed, because the streets still remain as at that time, or at least did so within our own memory, and the walls also in a great degree; inasmuch as Bristol never since the Saxon age suffered any overwhelming calamity, either from fire or an enemy, to obliterate its

(*q*) See III, § 41. (*r*) See above § 60. (*s*) See above § 58.

ancient form. It will be observed, that a second or outward wall is added, which I suppose to have been done in the time of William the Conqueror, when the Pithay was taken (*t*) in. Supposing therefore the whole area in this age to have been inhabited, as represented in the plan and the number of houses to be the same, as it was about 60 years ago, in which suppositions there cannot be any considerable error, there will appear to have been about 480 houses, which at the rate of seven or eight inhabitants to a house, will give a population of about 3500 persons. The references in the Plan are as follow:—*a*. High-street—*b*. St. Maryport-street—*c*. Wine-street, with a well in the middle for the use of the market—*d*. Broad-street, with the Guildhall.—*e*. Small-street—*f*. Corn-street—*g*. The Pithay bridge—*h*. Bridewell-bridge.—*i*. Froome-bridge —*k*. Site of St. Stephen's-church, not then built—*l*. present site of St. Peter's church—*m*. Castle built by William the Conqueror (conjectural)—*n*. A bridge at the bottom of Corn-street (conjectural but certain)—*o*. Baldwin's-street, with its mill—*p*. A Bastion; afterwards Newgate.

§ 65. The original walls of Bristow, the bounds of the ancient burg, contained only the four cross streets in the middle of the town, and two others connected with them. That the walls, both the outward and the inward, were as they are laid down in the annexed plan, there is abundant evidence. I say nothing of the plan given by Mr. Barrett p' 51, because he does not inform us from whence it came; and it seems to bear the mark of Chatterton's pen: but the fact is certified by the universal tradition of the townsmen, particularly of those, whose houses touch the walls; and by the remains of them still to be found in many places. The same thing appears from the view or plan of the town, drawn by R' Ricart, representing his notion of it, when first built by king Brynne: it is here presented to the reader, very exactly copied from the original. But Will' Worcester's information on this point is the most material. I begin from St John's-gate, at the lower end of Broad-street; premising that the wall was attended all round by a void space both inside and outside, kept free from any building or encroachment for the purpose of

(*t*) See above § 43.

defence; that void space was called in Latin *Pomerium*, as being *post murum*, and was usually a narrow lane on the inside, and a rampart or mound of earth on the outside.

§ 66. It is not probable, that there were originally any churches at the gates; they would have prevented the defence of the walls. From St John's-gate the wall passed along what is now called *Bell-lane* on the right hand: it is still to be seen, or rather the walls of St Lawrence and St Giles's churches, which were built upon it. At the bottom of Small-street was St Giles's-gate: it is called by that name by Leland and W' W', and in the Chamberlain's accounts 1655-6, at which time it had a tenement over it; and was so called till its demolition about sixty or seventy years ago. From hence the wall passed in the same manner along St Leonard's-lane, "where (*u*) it may be seen embattled still at the top next to St Giles's-gate," until it came to St Leonard's-gate, called (*v*) also *Baldwin's-gate*, which stood at the bottom of Corn-street; and from thence along St Nicholas-street, still on the right hand: about the middle of that street it is very visible, and there the modern houses begin to project beyond the wall, so that the wall is hidden, being midway between St Nicholas and Baldwin-streets, separating the houses of each street, where (*w*) it may be still seen in many places; and most of the inhabitants know it as the old town wall. Rob' Ricart has represented it in this place between St Leonard and St Nicholas-gates very plainly; and midway between the two gates he has placed a strong round tower, of which there is no other account.

§ 67 From thence the wall proceeded to the site of St Nicholas-church, the northern wall of which was afterward built on it, or very near to it; and then the town-wall crossed the lowest end of High-street by means of St Nicholas-gate, "of old (*x*) called Warburgh's-gate," and thence continued towards St Peter's, nearly parallel to the river. On this supposition, which is unquestionable, the wall stood on the south side of that narrow-lane afterward called *Worshipful street*, or *the Shambles*, which was exactly opposite to the present entrance of St

(*u*) Barr' p' 52. (*v*) Barr' p' 56. (*w*) Barr' p' 52. (*x*) Barrett, p' 56, but he quotes no authority.

Nicholas-street, and not wider. From this wall to the edge of the river must have been about 70 or 80 feet; a breadth not at all disproportioned to its use; for during the whole Saxon era, this was the (*y*) quay of the port: and it must be supposed, that there was even in the earliest age a low wall, to confine the river, and prevent it from washing away the bank; and to afford a ledge for the landing of goods. From the upper end of the Shambles the wall went to the (*z*) Old-gate of the town wall, which was, as W' W' (*a*) says, on the western side of Newgate, viz. in Narrow-wine-street, opposite to the lane which leads to St Peter's church (now called *Chequer-lane.*) He calls it the very ancient gate of *Old-gate*, now (*b*) destroyed; and the ancient wall, he says, was situate in this lane, which, also he calls the most ancient wall of Bristol; and Old-gate, he says, was at the (*c*) beginning of this lane, 120 (*d*) steps from New-gate. W' Worcester's evidence concerning Old-gate and 'this most ancient wall' deserves the more credit, because (*e*) his father possessed two tenements, formerly belonging to Agnes Randolph, adjoining to this wall and gate, then (in 1480) inhabited by a goldsmith, who had rebuilt them. On his evidence, which I think cannot be discredited, I have drawn the town-wall, as passing along Chequer-lane. At the same time there is a considerable difficulty attending this position. If the wall be continued in a strait line from Chequer-lane across St Peter's-street, it would pass through the middle of the present church. There is no way to avoid this difficulty, but by supposing, either that the wall made two bends in order to avoid the church; or that St. Peter's church in the Saxon age did not stand exactly where it does at present: and that it did not occupy its present site until after the building of the castle, and the consequent demolition of the old town-wall, of which we are now speaking. And to that opinion I am inclined.

§ 68. From Oldgate the course of the wall is uncertain for some distance. It must have passed either as represented in the plan, at the back part of the houses in Narrow-wine-street; or possibly under the

(*y*) W' Worc' p' 237. (*z*) W' W' pp' 182, 247. (*a*) Itin' ibid'. (*b*) Id' p' 183.
(*c*) Id' p' 182. (*d*) Id' p' 178. (*e*) W' W' p' 182.

front of those houses, close to the street: but the present inhabitants know nothing of it: and no wonder; for this part of it was probably taken down, when the castle was built. In Wine-street in the fourth house westward from the corner of Union-street [lately, in 1820, burnt down], and in the next, it is to be seen six feet thick, 19 yards distant from the street, distinct from the wall by the side of the river: and again a piece of it appears just before it reaches the Pit-hay: the intermediate space may therefore be taken for certain.

§ 69. The next gate in the wall is the Upper Pithay Gate (*f*) or the Old Pithay Gate, on the top of the Pit-hay, close to Tower-lane; which in another place (*g*) W' W' calls "the Old gate in Tower-street wall on the upper part of the Pithay hill;" and says that it (*h*) was a very ancient gate: it had no house or chamber: (*i*) a quoin of this gateway still remains. From this gate the wall passed along Tower-lane, on the line of the houses on the right hand, under the shops or front-rooms, where many of the inhabitants used to give some account of it.

§ 70. A short distance before you come to St John's churchyard, is still to be seen a semicircular tower (but mutilated) projecting outward from the wall, and now forming part of a house in Tower-lane, probably so called from this very tower. The stone of division between St John's and Christchurch parishes is fixed in the wall of the tower, by which circumstance it may easily be found. Within this tower is a deep well, for the security of which perhaps the tower was built. The well lies under the front shop, close to the town wall, which is even hollowed out in a small degree, to make room for it. A former possessor about 60 or 70 years ago after clearing it out to a considerable depth came to a wooden floor, which he was unwilling to disturb, and therefore covered up the well. At St John's churchyard are the steps going down toward Bridewell, the gateway (*k*) at which steps was one of the old town-gates

(*f*) Will' W' p' 251. (*g*) W' W' p' 236. (*h*) W' W' p' 176. (*i*) W' W' p' 255.

(*k*) W' W' pp' 176, 182, 184, 204, 236, 251.—There is also in the Chartulary of St Augustin's fo' 192, a grant of land to the Abbey situate *juxta portam cæcam Bristolli*; but since it has no date, and there was at least one other gate so called, it cannot be determined, whether this be the gate intended.

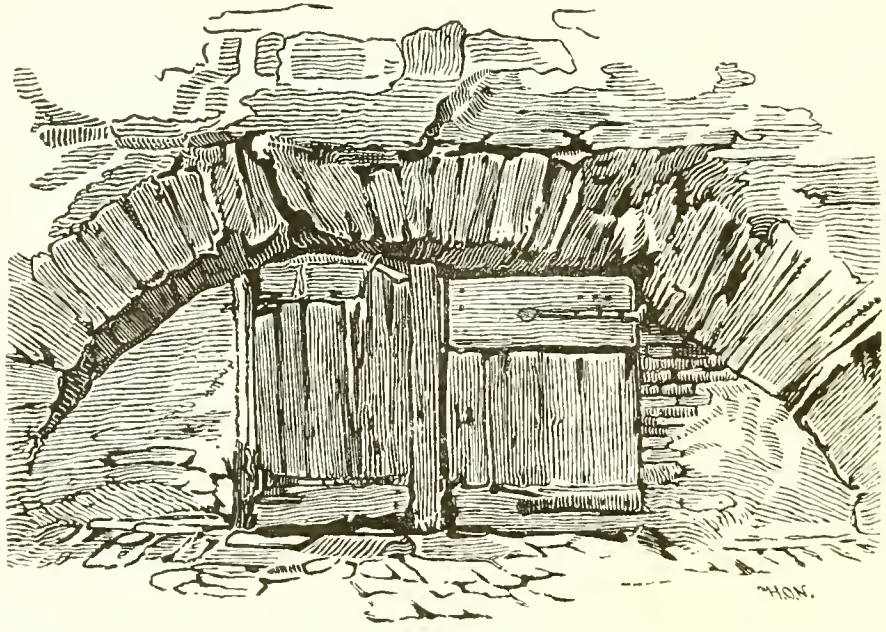
called *Blind-gate;* and over it is a Tower traditionally called *Dove-tower.* It had a small turret at the western angle, i' e' at the bottom of the steps, on the left hand, as you go down; some part of which turret was to be seen until the present year, 1821, when the Diocesan school was built. The original facing of the gateway on the top of the steps is still visible, strong and regular, and the wall appears to have been ten feet thick. W' W' says (*l*) that there was a large square tower near St John's churchyard; and in the Chamberlain's accounts A' D' 1655-6, there is mention of *Nightingale's tower* and *Nightingale's wall* in Tower-lane: the former is probably what was called *Dove-tower.* From Blind-gate to St John's church was formerly called St John's lane; the wall passed on the right hand, where the front of the present houses, and of the church now stands, and then to St John's church, from whence we set out.

§71. The wall and gates just described W' W' (*m*) calls the *ancient wall and gates;* because there was another Line of Wall erected afterward, which extended from Froome-bridge in Christmas-street to Newgate, following the course of the river Frome, and inclosing an additional space. I proceed to describe it, as represented in the Plan, with it's bastions; and because there is some uncertainty at the beginning and the end of it, the description shall commence at the Pithay-bridge, which is an unquestionable point. Leaving this bridge and proceeding southward, you have the town-wall, skirting the river, close on the left hand. This wall is much decayed, and probably reduced from it's original thickness; but still capable of standing an unlimited time. W' Worcester (*n*) says, that sixty paces distant from the Pithay-gate and bridge there was a square tower in the town-wall, having rooms in the upper part, inhabited (in 1480) by a respectable person [*honesto viro*]. Exactly at that distance from the Pithay-bridge, stands a house, called the Compasses, close to the river. It is easily found by going down from Union-street to the Pithay, being only very few yards from the bottom of the steps. That part of the house, which is nearest to Wine-street, is the square tower mentioned by W' W': it is built across the lane

(*l*) W' W' p' 255. (*m*) Pp' 176, 182. (*n*) P' 255.

which accompanies the town wall, so that passengers walk through the tower under the first floor. Within the tower, which is about twelve feet in diameter, is a large pointed archway in the wall, on the right hand, as you go towards Union-street: it was apparently the entrance into some large adjoining room, but is now walled up. Attached to this square tower is a semicircular bastion, projecting into the river, and on this bastion a part of the house is built, being made square by help of short beams or stanchions, resting on the bastion, and projecting upwards; so that the semicircular form is almost hidden, and the whole appears, as one square house, projecting over the river. It seems that even W' W' did not observe the semicircular part.

§ 72. From the bastion just mentioned the town wall as you go toward Union-street, is on the right hand, leaving a passage 7 or 8 feet wide between itself and the river: the wall on the left adjoining the river was built in late years, when Union-street was opened. In the town-wall, some few yards distant from the square tower, is a very ancient and



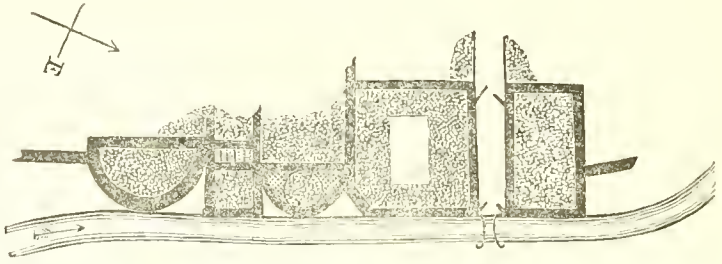
uncommonly rude gateway, 12 or 14 feet wide, so singular, that it was judged worth a representation cut in wood. It now opens into a cellar,

but originally, as it seems, it was a gate in the wall leading from the town above to the water-side; and if so, there was probably a bridge opposite to it. From hence the wall must have gone to the next bastion across the present Union-street: I can find no trace of it, but the bastion itself is still almost perfect, projecting to the edge of the river; the brass workshop of Mr. W' is built upon it, and it is visible from the windows of that house and the adjoining, but more so from the opposite side of the river. From this bastion the wall went to another bastion at Newgate, which portion of the wall was partly visible, until that prison was taken down in the present year 1821. The bastion itself was much enveloped by some later, but very ancient additions, made, as I suppose, by the Consul of Glocester at the building of his Castle: and now, in 1821, the whole is destroyed. But fortunately a delineation was previously taken. The bastion at Newgate communicated with the Castle, and was the eastern termination of this outward line of wall. We now return to the Pithay-bridge.

§ 73. Here was formerly the (*o*) *Nether Pithay gate*, called also *Aldrych gate*, or *Derych gate*, which latter is perhaps only a literal error for *Alderych*. It was four yards wide, and stood nearly opposite to you, in going down the Pithay, on the hither, or western end of the Pithay-bridge; which bridge, having houses on it, is not to be distinguished from a street. This small district called *the Pit-hay* seems to have been a field, so named on account of it's low situation; and to have belonged to Aylward Sneaw, because either the upper or the nether Pithay gate, (it is not clear, which is (*p*) meant) was called *Aylward's gate;* and the street which we now particularly call the *Pithay*, was (*q*) called *Aylward-street*. From this bridge there is certain evidence that the wall was carried by the side of the river, as far as Frome gate at least. Between the Pithay gate and Bridewell (*r*) were two round (that is, semicircular) towers, the one opposite to Broadmead, of which I find no trace, it having been destroyed perhaps, when Nelson-street was opened; the other was opposite to St James's Back.

(*o*) W' W' p' 251. (*p*) W' W' p' 182. (*q*) W' W' p' 184. (*r*) W' W' p' 255.

§ 74. Next comes Monken-brigge, that is *Monk's bridge*, so called probably, as being the way by which the monks of St James went into Bristow: it is now called *Bridewell bridge*. W' W' says, that there was a very principal square tower at that place with many chambers belonging to it, where was formerly, he says, a very strong place for keeping prisoners. (*s*) This was without doubt the present prison of Bridewell. Beside this there are still standing by the side of the river, higher up the stream, some other buildings, at present separate from Bridewell, but touching it's walls, and appearing to have been originally united to it, and with it to have formed one large fortress. The wooden Plan subjoined will give a sufficient representation of it. It may be described thus.



Immediately above the bridge is the present Bridewell: next stands a small semicircular building, about twelve feet diameter, the corners of which have been filled up with brickwork and the interior formed into an oven, eight or nine feet in diameter: but whether it was originally an oven, or made one only of late years, cannot be determined, the upper work of the roof having disappeared. The next portion of the building is a small tower, nearly square, the walls of which and of the room last-mentioned are about three feet thick. And last is a semicircular tower, about 22 feet diameter on the outside. The wall of the ground floor is eight or nine feet thick, and the ceiling is stone, arched and groined without ribs: above which are two stories; and a stone staircase at the back of the small square room leads up to the first story. The roof is at present of tile with common eaves; but formerly no doubt was finished with a parapet and battlements. It may perhaps be the round tower opposite to St James's Back mentioned above. The town wall joined this tower, leaving a space between the wall and the river of about 18

(*s*) W' W' 176, 255.

feet: it was lately taken down; the place where it joined the tower is visible. Behind these three buildings are others connected with them; but they are so dilapidated or altered for modern purposes, that nothing certain can be said of them. It is evident however that the fortress taken altogether was of considerable size and importance, and perhaps usually occupied by a garrison detached from the castle. I suppose, that at first it was a mere bastion, like the others already mentioned: and that the upper part was added afterward.

§. 75. In the Cooper's yard adjoining to the dwelling-house of Bridewell, the town-wall may be seen eight feet thick and ten feet high, about ten feet distant from the river. It is in the last state of dilapidation, many forcible breaches having been made in it. From thence it passes on the back part of Hallier's lane, now Nelson-street: in one place where it had been lately taken down, it was about eight feet thick. 'In this part were (*t*) two towers: the one nearest to Bridewell was round and not large, situate opposite to the Choir of the Franciscans in Lewin's Mead; the other, opposite to the church of the same monastery, was square, long and broad, in which lived a person, named *Bagot*; of these no remains are discoverable.—The next observable place in the wall is a square tower, built in the corner of the end of Christmas-street, close to Frome gate, near St Laurence's church-yard. It was erected on a small covered arch, which was over a set of 30 steps leading down to the river. A freestone cross was placed over the arch or vault. A reputable person [*honestus vir*] dwelt in the tower.' This square tower must have been, where is now the opening to St John's bridge.—W' Worcester says, (*u*) that the whole length of this wall from the nether Pithay gate to Frome gate was 1000 steps. Where or how it terminated we are not distinctly informed. W' W' (*v*) speaks of it's beginning at Frome gate, and so it is represented in the Plan: but surely it must have joined the old wall somewhere; otherwise at low tide an enemy might have had access into the new inclosure by this unguarded pass. Either the wall continued from Frome gate by the side of the river, till it came opposite to Small-street, and then crossing Key-lane ended at St Giles's gate: or it went

(*t*) W' W' 256. (*u*) Pp' 204, 205. (*v*) W' W' p' 205.

from Frome gate on one side of Christmas-street, and joined the old wall at St John's gate. Of the two, the former supposition seems the more probable; and it may be, that this part of the wall either was destroyed in the time of W' Worcester, or being concealed by houses had escaped his observation. It appears by the Chamberlain's account in 1655-6, that the inhabitants of Christmas-street paid a quit-rent to the city for back doors and windows through the city-wall: but this will not settle the difficulty, until it be ascertained to which side of the street this account belongs.

§ 76. The time, when these fortifications were built, deserves some enquiry. The first and inward wall, described above § 66 &c was certainly built before the conclusion of the Saxon Era, (*w*) and it follows that the second wall last described was not built until the Norman Conquest; for it is the work of a people improved in the military art, beyond those who constructed the plain wall round the original town. This secondary wall and it's bastions may therefore be attributed either to the (*x*) Conqueror, when he built the Castle, or to Robert (*y*) Fitzhaymo in the reign of William Rufus. If it be said, that the names *Aylward's gate*, and *bridge*, and *street* point out Aylward Snow as the builder of this wall; it may be answered, that these names only shew, that he was owner of the land; and he might have made the bridge and the gate and the street a hundred years before the wall was built. This second wall moreover, as it was not built before the Conquest, so it cannot well be dated later than the time of the Consul Robert in 1135 or 1140: for the later work mentioned above, (*z*) which almost enveloped the older part of the bastion of Newgate, was probably construced by him when he made his final additions to the castle, and connected Newgate with it. It appears therefore, that this bastion of Newgate, and consequently the other bastions, and the wall of which they are part, were erected soon after the Conquest, and not later than 1135 or 1140.

§ 77. Frome gate I suppose to have been built at the same time

(*w*) See below, Chapt' IV, 1, 2.
(*x*) See below, Chapt' V, 2.
(*y*) See below, Chapt' VII, 3.
(*z*) See Chapt' III, 72, and V, 2.

as the outward wall last mentioned; the one without the other would have been useless. Our Historian says, (*a*) that "it was of old a grand and noble structure, consisting of two arched ways adorned with the heads of Brightric and Robert earl of Gloucester." If we judge by the attention paid to it's defence, it was considered as an important place. It consisted of two (*b*) separate gatehouses, built on Frome bridge, the nearest gate of one being eight yards distant from the nearest gate of the other. These two gatehouses with the interval between them occupied the whole length of the bridge, which has the appearance of a street with houses on each side, and must always have had that appearance. The inner gatehouse, which is the nearest to St John's church, was eight yards long; it was ceiled with a stone arch, and there was a chamber over it; both its gates were secured with chains. The second gatehouse was close to the entrance of Lewin's mead; it was six yards long, and had a chamber over it.

§ 78. It appears from the following account dated 1655-6, that beside what is mentioned above out of W' W' there were also a cellar and a porter's lodge to each gatehouse.

"*Item*, a seller under Froome gate paid by Mr. George Gibbs - - - - 0 6 8

Item, a great tenement over Inner Froome gate in the tenure of William Hixe - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1 0 0

Item, a quitt-rent out of a tenement next within Froome gate goeing into Lewin's Mead; for the beams standing in the arch of Froome-bridge, paid by Mr. Caroe - - - - - - - - - 0 4 0

Item, a tenement and porter's lodge, formerly paid by the Sheriffs of Bristoll - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1 0 0

Item, the great tenement and sellers betweene the two gates on the south side, in the tenure of Thomas Watkins, chirurgion, for his life time - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 0 4 0"

Both these gatehouses have disappeared long ago; folding gates close to Lewin's mead were standing about 1765: they were shut perhaps

(*a*) Barr' p' 55, but he quotes no authority.

(*b*) W' W' pp' 195, 200, 229, 238, 246, 256.

for the last time, at the riot of the Colliers in 1752.—And here terminates my account of the walls and gates of Bristow in the Saxon age.

§ 79. From the authority of Domesday book, in which the Burgesses [*Burgenses*] are mentioned, we know that Bristow was a Burgh or Borough [*Burgus*] before the Conquest. This word originally signified a *fortified place*. In Ballet's Celtic Dict', after a mass of Etymological matter to this point, is the following summary remark. "On voit par tout ce, qu' on vient de dire, que *Bourg* etoit un nom commun aux Germains & aux Gaulois, aussi ancien dans leurs langues, que ces nations meme. Il signifioit parmi ces peuples une habitation fermée, defendue, fortifiée par la nature ou par l' art.—*Burg* en Arabe, *forteresse*.—*Burgh* en Albanois, endroit, où l' on retient quelqu'un; lieu sur; prison.—*Buri* forteresse, en Turc." It seems from the latter part of this quotation, that the word is oriental, and from the East transmitted to the German and Celtic nations; and into the Greek language also, where πύργος is *a tower of defence*, pronounced βύργος by the Macedonians and Thracians. The commander of the burgh was called *Burgrave*, as *Landgrave* is the commander of the country; *Gravius* being a Latino-Teutonic word, signifying *Præses* or *Commander*.

§ 80. Such a burgh was Bristow during the Saxon period, fortified, and enjoying of course certain (*c*) privileges; having a magistrate of it's own, called in Domesday book *Præpositus*, who governed it under the authority of the Lord. For the town, that is, every house and all the land within it, belonged to the lords of the honour of Gloucester; being in fact a manor of theirs, and the inhabitants their tenants, and the magistrate their bailiff: and not only so, but the land which surrounded the town up to the walls was theirs also. Magn' Rot' 31 Hen' II mentions (*d*) Bristow, as belonging to the earl of Glocester. If we begin at the river Avon on the East of the town they possessed the manor of Barton (afterward called *Barton-regis*) and all its dependencies, together with the site of the castle, and the parishes of St Philip and St Peter.

(*c*) See more on this subject Chapt' IV, 49 and X, 8. (*d*) apud Madox F' B' p' 17.

Next the land on the north and north-east of the town was theirs; that is, the ground on which the Priory of St James was afterward built, and it's immediate neighbourhood; together with the district called *the fair of Bristow* [*feria de Bristow*], comprehending the horse-fair and Broad-mead: to which may be added the manor of Ashley, which was afterwards granted to the monastery of St James. Further on, there is good reason for believing that Lewin's mead was part of the Fair of Bristow, and consequently belonged to the same lords. On the west was the manor of Billeswic, containing the college Green and its neighbourhood, together with the marsh of Bristol and Canon's marsh; all which at and before the Conquest must have belonged to the lords of Gloucester, for Robert the Consul sold it to Fitzharding. That part of the marsh, now called Queen's square, must have been theirs; for it was a common, where the townsmen i' e' the Lord's tenents had a right of walking at their pleasure; which right the covenant made in the year 1240 says that they always had. And Clifton was theirs also being a Manor dependent on Barton. On the Redcliffe side of the river, the case was the same: the manor of Bedminster, containing that parish, and the present parishes of St Mary, Temple and St Thomas of Redcliff was all theirs. It appears therefore that the town and all the land around it at the time of the Conquest belonged to the lords of Gloucester.

§81. As a seaport we have already seen from two instances, that it was a common place of embarkation to Wales and Ireland; it must therefore have possessed trade and wealth proportionably to the measure of that age: and accordingly, when Domesday survey was made about 1086, it paid a rent to the King amounting (*e*) probably to £85. per annum, equal to most in the kingdom. Moreover, only two years after the Conquest, we shall find the townsmen able to defend their walls against an invading army; and seventy or eighty years afterward there will be abundant proof of it's wealth and consequence, which could not have grown up suddenly in that space of time, if great progress had not been made during the preceding period. Under these

(*e*) See Chapt' IV, 50.

circumstances, protected by it's Lords, the Lords of the Honour of Gloucester, who without doubt occasionally resided here, and secured by it's walls, Bristow attained a degree of trade, wealth and strength, which rendered it one of the principal towns of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom.

§ 82. Before we quit the Saxon age, I must remind the reader, that although I have stated my own opinion (*f*) to be, that the origin of Bristow, as separated from Caer-odor, was Roman-british, yet others have considered it to be purely Saxon. Camden (*g*) thus writes: "at what time and by whom it was built, it is hard to say, but it seems of a late date, since in all the Danish wars it is not so much as mentioned in our histories. For my part I am opinion, that it rose in the declension of the Saxon government; since it is not any where taken notice of before A' D' 1063." [He should have said 1051]. Many objections however may be made to this opinion of Camden. We may be assured that numberless events of that age were never noticed by any historian; and many memorials then written have perished before they reached our age; which alone is sufficient to overthrow Camden's argument. Moreover there is a strong probability for political reasons, that Bristol subsisted during the Saxon age. That a district so fruitful as this neighbourhood, and a river so commodiously situate, as the Avon is, for the navigation of the Severn, should continue without a town and a port for 300 or 400 years, the West of England being populous and under a tolerably regular government, is incredible: it is a situation which the common sense even of barbarians would choose for a settlement. Moreover the Avon during some part of this age was the frontier between Mercia and Wessex; and it cannot be suppossed, that from Bath to the Severn it would be left without a fortified town. But Camden himself, notwithstanding what he here says, must have doubted the Saxon origin of Bristow; for in another place (*h*) he allows that Nennius's *Caerbrito* means *Bristol:* whereby he gives up the former opinion.

(*f*) See above II, ult. (*g*) Camden's Brit' Somersetshire.

(*h*) Camden's Brit' Somerset'. See the passage quoted below in § 84.

§ 83. I suppose the case to have been nearly thus. Bristow was founded in the Roman-british age, as related above. (*i*) Together with Abona, it was ruined either in A' D' 577 by the irruption of the West Saxons, or when conquered by the Mercians in 603-675. Abona was never rebuilt; or if rebuilt, was again destroyed by the Danes, as being nearer to the Sea: Bristol might have been rebuilt by the Saxons, and might have continued a precarious subsistence during their whole period, with various and humbled fortune; but it's walls, when rebuilt, gave it some degree of security and importance. Toward the latter end of the Saxon period, i' e' about A' D' 950, when the violence of the Danish wars began to abate, and tranquillity was in some measure established, it's local advantages rapidly produced their natural effects, commerce and prosperity; so that about the Norman Conquest in A' D' 1066 it was equal to most cities in England.

§ 84. It remains to enquire into the Etymology of the name of Bristol. It is possible, that some of those who considered Bren or Brynne to be the Founder of this city, may have supposed that the name was derived from him, *Bristow*, as if it were *Brinstow*. Having met with no author, who mentions this derivation, obvious as it is, I pass it over. A second derivation is from Brictric or Brightric, king of the West-Saxons. In one of Chatterton's papers, said by him (*k*) to be written by Turgot about A' D' 1100, it is related that Brightric walled Brightstow, and the writer seems to mean, that it received it's name from him, *Brictricstow*, shortened into *Bricstow*. But this derivation, depending on Chatterton only, I pass over. The third derivation is Camden's who writes the name *Brightstow*. "In the catalogue of ancient British cities [it is called] *Caer Brito*, by the Saxons *Brightstow*, q. d. *the famous place*." This derivation does not gain much probability from the circumstances of the town; it was not particularly *famous*. But a greater objection is, that it is unsupported by ancient authority. I do not find it so written in any author earlier than Leland: and his orthography being in every page strange and uncouth, it is not

(*i*) See Chapt' II, 104, 105. (*k*) apud Barr' p' 32.

improbable that *Brightstow* is of his own fabrication. Camden must have taken it from Leland; and from them it came into our Calendars, where it sometimes occurs.

§85. Gibson in his Index to the Saxon Chronicle gives a fourth derivation of the word, which has much probability. He finds it sometimes written *Brigstow* and *Brygstowe* and the like; and he therefore conjectures that it is derived from the Saxon word *brig*, which is a mere variety in the pronunciation of the English *bridge;* to this day half England pronounces it so: and there can be no doubt, that when the the author of the Saxon Chronicle (*l*) uses the word *Brygstowe*, he means it precisely in the sense in which we at this day should use the word *Bridge-town*. If this etymology be admitted, it must be enquired in what sense Bristol was called *Bridge-town*. It may mean the town of bridges; for there must have been several, small and made of wood, over the Frome in the earliest times: or it may have been so called from a bridge over the Avon. It is true we have no historical proof of such a bridge in the Roman or Saxon age; yet it is not improbable that the *Trajectus* might have been superseded by a wooden bridge, before the Romans quitted the country; and then the Saxons on their arrival would be very likely to call the place *Brigstow*.—While I am writing, a learned friend suggests a fifth derivation of *Bristow:* it is new and ingenious, and deserves consideration. 'It is probable, he says, that the Saxons in giving a name to the town would attempt a translation of the original. *Caer* they would express by *stow; Odor* they would translate into *Bric;* as in (*m*) Lye's Saxon Dictionary, *Bric*, *Brica. ruptura*, *fractio* [*a break*, or *breach*]; so that *Bricstow* would be an exact translation of *Caer odor:* it being the practice of the British language to prefix *Caer*, and of the Saxon to suffix *stow.*' If this hypothesis be admitted, and it has an apparent probability, it gives an additional proof that the original settlement of Bristow was at Caer-odor, or Cliff-town, as mentioned above. (*n*) The sixth and last derivation is, that *Bristow* is contracted (*o*) from *Brito-stow*. Here then we have six

(*l*) See above § 53. (*m*) See also Somner. (*n*) See Chap' I, 53.

(*o*) See Chapt' II, 104, 111.

derivations of the name of our city, the three last of which have an appearance of probability. It took it's name either from *Brito-stow*, because it was a settlement of Britons; or from *Brig-stow*, as being a town with a bridge or bridges; or from *Bric-stow*, as being originally built on the *breach* of the rocks, the *Cliff-town*. I prefer the first, *Brito-stow*, as being most ancient and having historical support. But possibly more than one may be right: it is not unlikely that when the Saxons had translated Caer-brito into Britostow and Britstow, the pronunciation might insensibly slide into Brigstow or Bricstow, words of similar sound and quite appropriate to the situation of the town.

§ 86. The word *stow* is common to all these derivations. "*Stow*, *stol* and *stold* (*p*) are all German words for a settlement or town:" to which must be added *stal* and *stald*, for it will be seen below, that our town is sometimes written *Bristallum*, as Chepstow is latinized *Chepstall.* (*q*) But *stow* is the usual orthography, and *Bristow* was the common English name of the place until the middle of the 17*th* century or thereabout: for which reason it is usually so written in the early part of these Memoirs. The introduction or omission of the letter *l* is very common after the diphthongs *ou* and *au;* as *Chauvin* and *Calvinus*, *Saumez* and *Salmasius; Soudan* and *Sultan*, *fault* and *faute*, *pseanme* and *psalm &c*: thus *Bristowa* became *Bristolia;* and then by continual practice of cutting off the termination of Latin words, it was written *Bristoll*, which in modern times was transferred into the English language, and exclusively prevailed, the single *l* having been adopted almost within our own memory.

§ 87. This uncertainty of derivation may perhaps be the reason, why the name of this city has been remarkably liable to uncertainty of spelling. I have observed the following variations; and there may be some others, which have escaped my notice.

(*p*) Baxter's gloss' voc' *Stodium.*

(*q*) Recorda 7 Jac' I rot' 93 apud Jones's Index Vol' 2. It signifies therefore *a market town*, *Chepe* and *Chipping* being the Saxon word for a market; as in Wickliffe's Translation of the N' T', *And bearns sat in chipping, an l cleped to their fellawes.*

Brygstowe. Sax' Chron' ap' Lye.

Brigstow. Snelling's Coins of William.

Brigetstow. Snelling's Coins of William.

Bricgstowe. Saxon Chron' 1087.

Brigestou. Sim' Dun' 1164.—Hen' Hunt' 1148.

Bricstowe. Sax' Chron' 1126.

Bricstouc. Hoveden 1204, and Sim' Dunh'.

Brigston. Cart' Hen' I ad Tewkesb'.—Dugd' Mon' Vol' 1, p' 162 bis.

Brightstow, Brightstowe. Leland.

Brickstou. Vita Wlstani in Anglià Sacrà.

Bricstow. Hen' Hunt' 1148.—Flor' Worc' 1114.—Snelling's coins of William.

Brikestow. Hoveden 1064, p' 446.—Matth' Westm' 1377.

Brightstoll. Camden's Saxon Coins tab' 7, N° 37, quoted by Mr. Barrett, p' 40, but I cannot find it.

Bricton and ***Brictou.*** Barrett p' 517, from a Deed, which he quotes. But see *Bristo* below.

Bristow, Bristowe. Saxon Chron' 1140.—Chart' Hen' II, 1172.—Wm' Thorn 1380—Hen' Knighton 1395.—Coin of Edw' IV ap' Barr' 42.—A Title Deed 13 Hen' VII.

Bristou. Sax' Chron' pp' 193, 230, 241. ap' Barr' p' 6.—Sim' Dunh' 1164.—Domesd' Book 1086.—Magn' Rot' 31 Hen' II, ap' Madox F' B' p' 17.—Ric' I ibid.—In Mr. Beck's copy of Will' E' of Glocester's grant of Ashley &c, it is written two or three times *Bristoy*, that is, *Bristou*.

Briston. W' W' p' 176, but probably an error for *Bristou*.

Bristohw. Matth' Westm' 1377, but probably an error.

Bristowe. Will' Malm' 1140.

Bristo. Coins of Hen' I and Edw' I apud Barr' p' 40.—Mag' Rot' 13 John ap' Madox F' B' præf.—In a title-Deed in my possession (about 1130) it occurs four times, and once *Bristou*, without any mark of contraction anywhere; a remarkably clear MS. This is the Deed, wherein Mr. B' reads *Bricton* and *Brictou*.

Bristoe. Robt' of Gloc'.

Bristowa. Sim' Dunh' p' 185.

Bristoa, and ***Bristoenses.*** Gesta Steph'.

Bristovia. Gervas 1138.

Brystoe. Charter of Edw' Confess' ap' Barr' p' 33. But quære.

Bristallum. Carta Johan' Com' in the original in the Council-house.—Title-Deed in my possession (about 1240).

Brystallum. Annal' Willelmi W.

Bristollum. Rot' Johan' and Hen' III ap' Madox Form' Angl' p' 57, 26.—Edw' I apud Madox Hist' Ex' p' 157 —Hen' III, apud Madox, Vol' 1, p' 333.

Bristoldum. Title-Deed in my possession, 1270.

Bristollium. Mag' Rot' 7 Hen' III apud Madox F' B' pref.

Bristollia. Coin of Edw' I apud Barr' p' 42.—Coin of Edw' IV ibid.—Edw' I ap' Madox H' Exch' p' 157.—Edw' II ibid p' 537.

Bristoll'. This is the contracted form of *Bristollia*, and *Bristollum*, and *Bristollium*, and is the prevalent form in Latin.

Bristolia. Coin of Edw' I ap' Barr' p' 42.—Coin of Edw' VI ibid'.

Brystoll', that is ***Brystollia.*** Title-Deed in my possession, 1270.

Brestollia. Annal' W' Worc'.

The following are the French forms of writing the name.

Bristuit. A petition in French apud Prynne On the Institutes p' 383.

Bristuyt. In two French Title-Deeds in my possession, 1365.—Petition in French apud Prynne p' 79. This and the former are very common.

Bristut. A French Title-Deed in my possession, 1365, in the Indorsement it is *Bristuyt*.—Another in my possession, 1350.

Bristued. A French Title-Deed in my collection, 1310.

Bristoit. Apud Barr' p' 6, from French Deeds.

Bruist'. (Which must be a contraction for some of the preceding words.) In a Latin Title-Deed about 1160, in my collection.—In another Deed about the same time and by the same man it is written *Bristoll.*—*Bruist'* occurs many times in a Latin Title-Deed in my collection, about 1180: but in another copy of the same Deed it is always *Brist.*

Brestud. Rolls of Parl^{t} in French, Vol' 1, p' 312, 8 Edw' II.

Of all these ***Bristow*** is the most common name in English from the Saxon period to the age of queen Elizabeth and later: ***Bristollia*** is most usual in Latin; from the contracted form of which, Bristoll' our present name arose.

End of Chapter III.

CHAPTER IV.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

1. *Insurrection in Devonshire. Attack on Bristol*—2, 3. *Attack on Bristol continued. Death of Ednoth.*—4. *Ednoth Stallar.*—5. *Sons of Harold invade Devon.*—6. *Insurrections.*—7, 8. *Harding, the Prepositor, and his Office. Harding, a Dane.*—9. *Harding continued.*—10. *Origin and Arms of Harding.*—11. *His descent from a king of Denmark.*—12—17. *Objections and Answers.* 18. *Harding not the son of a Danish king of England.*—19, 20. *Harding is said to be the son of Sweyn III k' of Denmark.*—21—26. *Objections to that hypothesis.*—27. *Harding is said to be son of Ednoth.*—28, 29. *Landed Property of Ednoth and Alnoth.*—30. *Ednoth and Elnoth different persons.*—31. *Landed Property of persons called Harding.*—32. *Other Hardings.*—33. *Harding fitz-Ednoth's Property &c.*—34—36. *He was not the Harding of Bristow.*—37. *Harding fitz-Elnoth.*—38. *Harding of Bristow a Danish Sea-king.*—39. *Piracy and Merchandize among the Greeks and Scandinavians.*—40. *Two Hardings, father and son.* —41. *Harding said to be Ednoth's grandson.*—42. *Conclusion and uncertainty of this question concerning Harding.*—43. *King William's tyranny over the English. Ill treatment of Brictric.*— 44. *Earldom of Glocester. William Fitzosbern. Queen Matilda takes the Honour of Glocester, and other of Brictric's Estates.*— 45. *Death of the Queen.*—46—48. *Slave-trade in Bristol; Slaves exported from England to many Countries.*—49. *State of the Burgh of Bristow at the Conquest: it's Lord and Prepositor: Revenues of the Lord.*—50, 51. *Rent of Bristow and Barton, and of some other Towns.*—52. *Domesday Book.*—53. *Hides and Carucates.*—54. *The King keeps his Christmas at Glocester. His Death.*

§ 1. ALTHOUGH William the Conqueror by the event of a single battle, fought near Hastings Oct' 14, 1066, had contrary to all probability acquired the crown of England, yet four or five years elapsed, before it could be said that he was master of the whole kingdom: during which time the warfare, carried on against him by the discontented English, rendered his continuance here as king of England very precarious. Bristow with the West of England had it's share in these commotions. The King alarmed at the progress of discontent among his English subjects (*a*) returned from his visit to Normandy on St Nicholas day [Dec' 6,] 1067. Soon after there was a revolt or insurrection in Devonshire; to quell which he marched in person against Exeter, of which *Gith*, mother of the late king Harold, and many English officers [*nonnulli Angĭici ministri*] had taken possession. He besieged that city for eighteen days in the midst of winter, and lost great part of his army: nevertheless it was at last surrendered to him by the treachery of the Thanes; whereupon he built a castle there, and left a garrison; but the Queen escaped to Flanders.' Ordericus Vitalis gives (*b*) a very particular account of this affair at Exeter. After describing the previous movements, he says that the Elders of the city [*Majores*] came out to meet the King, begging for peace, assuring him that the gates were open, and delivering up as many hostages as he required. On their return they found their fellow-citizens determined on various pretences to resist him, whom they called a foreign King [*regem alienigenam*]. "On hearing this the king, who had halted at the distance of four miles from the city, was filled with rage and surprize, and immediately rode forward with 500 horse to examine the walls and the situation of the place, and to discover what the enemy was doing. The gates were shut fast, and great numbers stood forward on the bastions [*propugnaculis*] and on the whole circuit of the walls. By the king's order the army advanced to the city, and one of the hostages was deprived of his eyes near the gate. The obstinacy of this"

(*a*) Fragm' Chron' Sax' ap' Lye.—Hoveden 1, p' 450.

(*b*) Orderic' Vital' anno 1067, p' 510.

"furious people was not bent by fear or by pity for the remaining hostages, but was rather rouzed to defend themselves and their households with their utmost force. The King bravely besieged the city, attacked the citizens with military violence, and for many days assaulted them above, and undermined the wall below. At length the citizens pressed by the vigour of their enemies took prudent counsel, and submitted to intreaties. The handsomest of their youths, and the old men, accompanied by the Clergy carrying the sacred books, and appropriate ornaments, went out to the King. The Prince kindly spared them seeing them prostrate before him, and pardoned the people who confessed their guilt; although he knew well how impudently they had opposed him, and that they had cruelly and insolently treated some soldiers, whom he had sent out of Normandy, and whom stress of weather had driven into their port. The Exonians were rejoiced, and gave God thanks, because they were reconciled to this foreign king better than they expected after such terrible wrath and threatenings. The King spared their property, and secured the gates of the city with a strong and trusty guard, lest the common soldiers should suddenly break in, and seize the money of the citizens: and he fixed on a situation within the walls for building a castle, and he left there Baldwin de Molis, son of Earl Gislebert, and other good soldiers, to finish the necessary business, and remain there for a garrison: he himself went further on into the horn of Britain [Cornwall]. The insurrection being every where quieted, he dismissed his army, and returned to Winchester, to spend his Easter vacation there" [A' D' 1068]. Again, early in the year 1069 while the King was engaged in quelling the great insurrection and invasion in the North, three sons of Harold hoping to recover their father's kingdom, landed with a body of troops from Ireland at the mouth of the river Avon, and having plundered the country on the Gloucestershire side they assaulted Bristow. But the townsmen stoutly defended it, and the assailants being repulsed retreated with the plunder which they had collected to their ships, which must have lien either at Shirehampton Ferry or more probably at the mouth of the Trim, the ancient Abona. Thence they went into Somersetshire and advanced into the country, hoping (as it should seem) to produce a general revolt. Here they were opposed by

Ednoth, a Saxon, a person of great eminence, who in the time of the two preceding kings, Harold and Edward, had holden the office of Stallar, or Master of the horse, the principal military officer of the Saxon kings. A battle ensued in which Ednoth was slain, and many brave men on both sides. But the brothers, finding probably that they were not joined by the people of the country, retired to their ships with a large booty and sailed to Ireland.

§ 2. This being the first military transaction on record, in which our city was engaged, I shall by transcribing the original historians give a more particular account of it. The Saxon Chronicle quoted in the last § is, so far as I know, the only authority for the attack on Bristow; but being written probably within twelve years of the event, there can be no question of the fact. As a specimen of the language of this Chronicle, (*c*) the English of that age, the original of the passage is here literally copied. "And amang this an cume an Haroldes suna of Yrelande mid sciphere into Afenan muthan unwar, and hergode sona ofer eall thone ende. Foron tha to Brygestowe, and tha burh abrecean woldon: ac seo burh-waru heom heordlice widh fealht. And tha hi ne mihton on wære burh naht gewinnan, hi foron tha to scypan mid than the hi gehergod hæfdon. And swa hi foron on Somersæton, and thær up-eodon. And Eadnoth Stallere heom widh gefeaht, and weardh thære ofslagen, and manege god menn on ægwere healf. And thanon aweig foron the thære to læfe wæron." In the printed edition the date of this event is 1067: but those figures are not to be depended on, and were certainly added long after the book was written.

§ 3. Many writers mention the latter part of this expedition, when Ednoth was slain in Somersetshire. The Continuator of Bede, who wrote as far as A' D' 1110, relates the affair thus. "*Contra quosdam &c.* Against certain persons, who after the first unsuccessful battle had escaped into Denmark and Ireland, and having collected a strong body of men had returned in the third year, king William exposed an English army and English general, leaving his Normans to do nothing [feriari],"

(*c*) See above III. 49.

"foreseeing a great relief to himself, which soever should conquer. Nor was he deceived in this supposition: for both parties of English having fought with each other for some time left the King a victory without any exertion of his own. The strangers were driven to Ireland; the King's army purchased the empty name of victory by a very great slaughter of their men and by the loss of their general, whose name was Ednoth, a person famous in the time of the English at war and at home, the father of Harding who still lives." (*d.*) Holingshead says that "Goodwine, and Edmund surnamed the Great, the sons of king Harold came from Ireland, and landing in Somersetshire fought with Adnothus, that had been Maister of their father's horses, whom they slew with a great number of others." And Stowe's words are nearly the same. "William Malmesb' has the same account copied from the original writer, excepting one or two verbal variations. Another historian writes thus. "While these things were doing, the sons of king Harold, Godwin, Eadmund, Magnus, returning out of Ireland landed in Somerset, where Eadnoth, who had been king Harold's Stallar, met them with an army, and fighting against them was slain with many of his men. Harold's sons, having gained the victory, carried away much plunder out of Devon and Cornwall, and then returned to Ireland," Hoveden's words are literally the same, except that he calls the sons of Harold *Godwinus* et *Edmundus magnus*, making them only two.—From all these narratives, however varying in minute particulars, it appears that the army, which landed at the mouth of the Avon, was large, and it is creditable to our townsmen, that they forced them to retire. It is evident, that Bristow at that time was not a place of yesterday.

§ 4. Ednoth is said above in the Saxon Chronicle to have been *Stallere*, which is translated by Florence of Worcester and in Domesday book *Stallarius*: in the Historia Eliensis *Constabularius* i' e' *Constable*; and in the translation of the Saxon Chron' *Aulæ Præfectus* i' e' *Mayor of the Palace*. It means *Master of the horse*, in which sense the word

(*d*) The whole passage is as follows: *Vocabatur is Ednodus, domi belloque Anglorum temporibus vita* [alii *juxta*] *insignis, pater Hardingi, qui adhuc superest, magis consuetus linguam in lites acuere, quam arma in bello concutere.*

Stall-master was used in modern warfare. The writer of the Swedish Intelligencer after relating the death of Gustavus Adolphus tells how the trooper, who killed him, was himself shot. "Lucham, who was Stall-master (Master of the Horse) unto the duke of Lawenburg, shot him dead presently." The word *Stallard* has been used in English for the same: we had in Bristol a *Stallard's Cross*.—Ednoth is said in Domesday to have been *Stallarius* to Edward the Confessor; and in Florence of Worcester, to king Harold. Asgar, written also *Esgar* in (*e*) Domesday and in the Historia Eliensis, had been Stallarius to Edward the Confessor: probably there were more Stallars than one at the same time; for in Domesday book may be found not only Ednoth and Asgar, but also Ralph, (*f*) the Stallar.

§ 5. But the sons of Harold were not yet inclined to give up their pretensions: 'they returned from Ireland about Midsummer of the same year 1069 (*g*) with 64 ships, and landed at the mouth of the Taw [into Taw muthan], which must be near Barnstaple or Bideford. But earl Beorn came on them unexpectedly with a large army, and slew their bravest men: the few who remained escaped to their ships, and Harold's sons again returned to Ireland.' Florence Worc' gives the same account. "A' D' 1069 the two sons of Harald about the Nativity of St John Baptist [June 24] coming again from Ireland with 44 ships landed at the mouth of the river Taw, and fought a severe battle with Beon, earl of Britain [*cum Beonâ Britonico comite*]; after which they returned from whence they came." Other historians represent the landing to have been at Exeter. Both accounts seem to be true; that they landed first at the mouth of the Taw, and then went round the Land's end to Exeter. Ordericus Vitalis, (*h*) a cotemporary writer, gives the following relation. "Two sons of Herald, king of England, lamenting their father's death and their own expulsion, fled to Dirmet, a king of Ireland. By him and the Chiefs of his kingdom they were asisted; and having collected a fleet of 66 ships and put an army on board, they landed at Exeter, and going forward up the country, they began boldly to waste the country, and"

(*e*) Domesd' B' fo' 132, 1: 134, 3: 137, 2 and 3.
(*f*) Fo' 121, 3.
(*g*) Saxon Chron' ubi supra.
(*h*) Lib' 4, p' 513.

"raging with fire and sword they endeavoured to commit the utmost possible mischief. Brien, son of Eudo, which Eudo was earl of lesser Britain, and William Waldi [*Guillelmus Gualdi*] immediately met them in arms; and in two battles fought in one day, they reduced this terrible multitude to so small a number, that the remainder made their escape in two ships, and filled Ireland with mourning: and if night had not put an end to the battle, not a single person would have escaped to report the defeat. During these events Gith [*Gisa*] the wife of Godwin and mother of Herald privately took with her a large treasure and for fear of king William crossed over to France, never to return." Will' Gemmetic' gives nearly the same account: in the two battles he says that the sons of Harold lost 1700 men, and many Nobles of the realm were slain.

§ 6. The same Historian who was quoted above, unless it be another incorporated into the same book, which is more likely, gives a more extended view of these commotions in the West of England. "At (*i*) that time, [while the King was employed against the Danes in the North, A' D' 1069] the West-saxons of Dorset and Somersetshires, with those on their borders, assaulted Montacute; but by God's will they were disappointed. For the people of Winchester, of London and of Salisbury, under the command of Geoffry, bishop of Coutance, came upon them, killed some, took prisoners and maimed others, and drove the rest to flight. The Welsh and the Cheshire men besieged the King's garrison at Shrewsbury; and they were assisted by the inhabitants of the city with Edric Guildas a powerful and warlike man, with other fierce Englishmen. The inhabitants of the earldom of Exeter did the same at Exeter, aided by a multitude collected from various parts out of the horn of Britain: for the extreme borders of the English toward the West and toward Ireland are called the *Horn of Britain* i' e' Cornwall. The citizens of Exeter favoured the King, remembering the evils which they had formerly suffered. As soon as the King heard these things he ordered the two Earls William and Brien to assist the besieged: but before they could arrive at Shrewsbury the enemy had burned the city and departed: the defenders also of Exeter had made a"

(*i*) Order' Vit' lib' 4, p' 514.

" sudden sally, and attacking the besiegers had driven them off. William and Brien meeting them in their flight, had punished their rashness with a great slaughter."

§ 7. At this time lived in Bristol a person of great celebrity and wealth, named *Harding*, a Dane, or at least of Danish origin; who superintended the government and the revenues of Bristow, as *Præpositus*; for by that name the chief, and as far as we know, the only Magistrate of this town was called before and after the Conquest; which Latin title the inhabitants of Bristol, as long as the office lasted, always called in English *Prepositor*. His name is variously written. John Smith, the historian (*k*) of Berkeley, says that " he is stiled in writings *Hardig*, *Herdig*, *Hardine*, *Herdine*, but more usually *Herding*, *Hardingus*, (*l*) and *Harding*. This Harding having settled himself in Baldwin's street in Bristol, the Conqueror conferred on him the government of that town, which he held by the name of *Patricius*, *Maior*, *Alderman*, *Præpositurus*, [probably he means *Præpositus*] *Consul* and the like attributes, as several writers have diversly stiled him and his place of office in several (*m*) ages." He adds that by *Patricius* he understands, not a nobleman of Bristol, but of England also; and by *Consul* he understands *Earl*, for which sense of the word *Consul*, he quotes sufficient authority.

§ 8. The time of Harding's appointment to this office is doubtful. The more usual account is, that he was placed here by the Conqueror; and if so, it was probably in consequence of the tumults in the West just mentioned. Others give an earlier date to his appointment. One of our MS Calendars says thus: " 1041. This year Edward the Confessor was crowned king of England, and reigned twenty-five years. During his reign Harding, youngest son of the king of Denmark, was"

(*k*) See the Preface 5.

(*l*) He quotes in the margin for proof of this, " *Domesday book—Chron' Jherus'—diversæ chartæ in castro de Berkeley—August' Pedigree per Newland—vetus MS in castro de Berkeley—et alii.*"

(*m*) Smith quotes for this in the margin *Stowe—Newland's old MS—Camden—Robert de Ricart et alii.*

"made governor of Bristol." That this appointment took place in the reign of Edward the Confessor, seems to me most probable, and that he was continued in his office by Harold and William; only I add, that it must have been in the latter part of Edward's reign: because we know to certainty from Domesday book, (*n*) that in the time of king Edward one *Sewin* was prepositor of Bristol: unless there were more than one at the same time. His office of Prepositor was, as I suppose, wholly civil, being in fact that of a Bailiff, with authorities and extent greater than those of a common Bailiff, *a High-bailiff*, as we should stile him, yet still a bailiff. I find unquestionable proof, that in A' D' 1290 prepositors and bailiffs in Bristol were the same persons: but that it was not always so in earlier times may be proved from a charter of William, earl of Glouc', in my possession, directed *ballivis & prepositis suis de Bristoll* about A' D' 1170. Madox (*o*) accounts the *Prepositus* to be the same as *Custos*: i' e' a King's officer placed in a town, when that town was in his own hands, "to levy the farm or issues and other debts, due to the King, upon the townsmen." Harding's office therefore was to superintend the estates and raise the revenues of the King and the lord; and he must have had sufficient powers of coercion for that purpose, and authority to determine litigations between the burgesses: all which must have constituted an office of honour, trust, and power. His profit must have arisen from many sources; among them probably from the third penny. I observe that the Prepositus of (*p*) Hereford had the third penny of the price of every house sold in the borough. It is probable that the same custom prevailed in many other boroughs, and that he had the third penny in various other sales and payments. A tax of this kind called Alcavala, varying from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per Cent, on the sale of all goods moveable and immoveable, was exacted by the Spanish government through all their American possessions until the late Revolution. That Harding was a Dane, or the son or grandson of a Dane, seems to me to be certain from the authorities already quoted, and which will be produced hereafter, although the reader will find it controverted in the following pages. Persons of that nation were probably not

(*n*) fo' 170, 2. (*o*) Firma Burgi 11, 1.

(*p*) Domesday B' fo' 179, 1.

common in this part of England: for I have chanced to meet with only one (*q*) example of it in Domesday book in the Southern and Western counties.

§ 9. He settled himself in Baldwin's street; tradition even to this time asserts that fact, and the authority of Rob' Ricart is unquestionable: he speaks of "Harding, (*r*) son unto the king of Denmark, which dwelled in Bristowe in Baldewynne-street." He was probably not more than thirty years old at the time of the Conquest, on the supposition that he lived to the age of 80. 'He took to wife one *Livida*, of whom John Smith says that "he knows nothing; and had issue five sons, *Robert*, *Nicholas*, *Elias*, *Jurden* (or *Jordan*) and *Maurice*; and three daughters, *Agnes*, *Maude* and *Cicely*." That he was a person of considerable eminence is proved indisputably by the reference which his sons and grandsons always make to his name, styling themselves in their charters *Fitz-harding*; as thus *Robertus filius Hardingi*, *Mauricius filius Roberti filii Hardingi &c*, which style was never adopted, unless where the father's name might bring honour to the son. That Harding was very rich cannot be doubted; the wealth possessed by his sons is a sufficient proof of it: from his progenitors, whoever they were, he must have received much property; and the revenues of his office, as Prepositor, must have enabled him to encrease it: and it has been said that he was himself engaged in merchandize; and although I know no ancient authority for that report, yet it is probable enough: for altho' that age was almost wholly agrarian, and 'the (*s*) merchants of England were not then princes, nor it's traffickers the honorable of the earth,' yet it is probable that then, as afterwards and even now, merchandize, liberally and extensively conducted, was sometimes found not incompatible with the pride of artistocracy: nor was it's connexion with piratical warfare as yet wholly extinct. "Harding (*t*) died at Bristol the sixth of Nov', in the 16*th* year of king Henry I, anno 1115, or near thereabouts, where he lieth buried."

(*q*) *Johannes Danus tenuit Latune T R E.* Dom' B' fo' 89, 3.

(*r*) Rob' Ric' fo' 27 b. (*s*) Isai' 23, 8. (*t*) Smith.

§ 10. "It is not perfectly known what his arms were, nor what seal he used. But over the vestry door of St Augustine's monastery are four escutcheons standing quarterly; the first and the third with Chevrons only, rather thought his, than the blue lyons · or (as others will) Gules; three Danish axes, Or." This last Escutcheon, viz *Gules, three Danish axes, Or*, is delineated by (*u*) Camden, as belonging to *Hardingus è regiâ Danorum prosapiâ.* "At (*v*) the east end of the south aile [of the church of Wotton-under-edge] are the arms of the king of Denmark, which are three Crowns Or, in a field Azure. The lord Berkeley's arms are likewise in several windows of the church." Wotton being an ancient possession of the Berkeleys, these Arms are some proof, that they claimed descent from the kings of Denmark. Such was Harding, the first personage of consequence and celebrity, who is certainly known to have resided in Bristol; but whence he was, or who he was before he came here, is a question hitherto undetermined. There are several opinions on the subject, and Smith of Berkeley impartially argues them; but he has not so exhausted the subject, but that much still remains to be said. I have therefore endeavoured to collect in one view all which he has written on the subject, and all which I have been able to derive from other sources concerning a question of history and genealogy, which as relating to persons and places of eminence may be deemed national. For Harding and his son Robert were the founders of the noble family of Berkeley in our neighbourhood; and being also the first eminent inhabitants of our city, an enquiry into their original cannot be misplaced in the *Memoirs of Bristow.*

§ 11. There seem to be three opinions on this subject, worthy of mention. The first is that he was a younger son of a king of Denmark, sent by his father to William the Conqueror and by him protected and advanced. The following extract from Abbot Newland's (*w*) Roll as copied by Smith will explain this opinion. "The king of Denmark had a second son named Harding, which he sent unto king William"

(*u*) In his MS Collectanea de antiquitate et cognatione amplissimæ familiæ Baronum de Barkley. See a delineation of this Escutcheon in a succeeding Plate.

(*v*) Atkyn's Glouc'. *Wotton.*

(*w*) See an account of this Roll in the Preface.

"Conqueror; unto whom this William Conqueror gave great riches, and sent him to Bristow there to inhabit, the year of our Lord 1069. The cause of his coming into this land of England was this, as it is written in Polichronicon. There was sometime an ordinance made in Denmark, that if so the king of that land had any more sons than one then should the eldest son and eyre remain within the land, and the younger brethren should be sent with a substance of goods into other lands, and there to live in avoiding all inconveniences of debates that might chance atwixt them within their own land. And for this cause this Herding, a second son of the king of Denmark, was sent into this land, as is before written." And if any confidence can be placed in the inscription over the gateway in the College-green of Bristol, the royal parentage of Harding would be unquestionable; for he is there called *filius regis Daciæ*, son of a [or the] king of Denmark. To this general opinion that he was son of the king of Denmark John Smith evidently leans, thinking "after all that the tradition of the family is most likely."—And as a slight variation of this opinion others have said, that he joined duke William before he invaded England, and accompanied him hither. Smith's words are these. "He was the younger son of the king of Denmark, and being drawn by the fame of the expedition he came from Denmark, and joined duke William, and was at (*x*) Hastings."

§ 12. Many objections have been made to this royal descent of Harding, which objections, and the answers to them may be thus collected.—The first objection is, that Newland's account of Harding's royal descent was apparently feigned by that Abbat in flattery of his patron Marquis Berkeley; or by some preceding abbat for a similar reason.—Answer. There are many other proofs of the same thing in other authors. *First*, Leland records the royal descent of Harding. "*Hardingus*, (*y*) says he, *ex regiâ prosapiâ regni Daciæ oriundus, fuit in tempore Gul' Conquestoris, et Bristolliam inhabitavit A'D'* 1069. *Postea Dns de Berkeley.*" It will be seen below, whence Leland took this Record. In another place he gives a similar account from a

(*x*) Smith quotes no authority for this.

(*y*) Leland Coll' 2, 621.

Genealogia Berchelegorum, excerpted out of a Roll &c. "Robert Fitzharding (*z*) was son and heir to the younger brother of the king of Denmark; which Robert in the time of king William Conqueror inhabited himself in Brightestow, and there founded the priory of St Augustine."

§ 13. In the preceding quotations there are errors no doubt, but Harding's regal descent is affirmed: and Camden himself, who makes the objection, does (*a*) notwithstanding say, "Harding descended from the blood royal of Denmark." Camden however as probably copying Leland, cannot safely be considered as a separate authority.—Again, Smith quotes several MS evidences preserved in Berkeley Castle; viz, "a Latin pedigree, containing the substance of Newland's pedigree, made in the time of Henry 6, the title whereof is *Processus pro habendâ notitiâ &c A Declaration* how Robert son of Harding was made lord of Berkeley, as appears in an old writing preserved in the Evidence-house of the monastery of St. Augustin, and beginneth thus, *Hardingus ex regiâ prosapiâ regni Daciæ oriundus tempore* (*b*) *&c* Harding descended of the royal blood of the kingdom of Denmark, in the time of William the Conqueror inhabited at Bristow, to whom the Conqueror gave great riches in the year 1069; and so proceedeth. To which effect also is another like collection in leather, somewhat more ancient than the former, which is in vellum. And further in the same castle there is a more ancient MS (the last lines whereof, as by it appears, were written in Jan' 1351, being the 31st year of king Edward 3,) which saith, this Harding was *ex regiâ prosapiâ regum Daciæ, of the blood royal of the kings of Denmark:* and this was 138 years before abbot Newland's pedigree, and seems to have been the work of that great learned man, venerable Trevisa, Vicar of Berkeley." "Also Robert de Ricart sometime Townclark of Bristow in his manuscript Register of the memorials of that city, who flourished in the times of k' Henry 6 and of k' Edward 4, expressly (*c*) affirmeth this Harding to be son to the king of Denmark."

(*z*) Leland Coll' 2, 621 [912].

(*a*) Camden apud Smith; see above § 10.

(*b*) This is evidently the same Roll, as that above-mentioned, which Leland must have seen in the Evidence-room of St Augustine's.

(*c*) See the passage quoted above § 9.

"Also Bishop Godwyn in his catalogue of the Bishops of Bristol hath thus; *Robertus &c* Robert surnamed *Fitzharding*, because his father was *Harding*, a son of a king of the Danes, being a citizen of Bristol, and some time Governor [*Prætor*], as they say, of that city, founded the Monastery of S't Augustine near that city, and therein he settled Canons Regular in A' D' 1148. This foundation king Henry II confirmed and augmented with estates: to whom the founder himself was so agreeable, that he caused him to be married to the only daughter of the Baron of Berkeley; from which two the modern Barons of Barkley derive their pedigree in uninterrupted descent." It is evident, notwithstanding the mistakes, that Godwin took this account from some ancient Record.—Smith proceeds thus. "Also industrious Stowe in his Chronicle printed 1582 hath thus; "Robert Fitzharding sometime Major of Bristow, whose father was a Dane, having founded the monastery of S't Augustine in the town of Bristow, this year, viz 1148, placed Chanons there; which foundation was after confirmed by king Henry the second." The tradition of Harding's regal descent is to be found in one of our (*d*) MS Calendars, quoted below. It is therefore evident, that the story of Harding's being a son or descendant of a king of Denmark could not have been fabricated by Newland; nor is it likely by any of the preceding Abbats: it seems to have been a current tradition.

§ 14. A second objection is, that the inscription on the abbey-gate is of too uncertain an age to be depended on.—This objection is unanswerable; that gateway was rebuilt or at least repaired by Abbat Newland himself, and therefore is no evidence in this case: unless it can be proved that the inscription was copied from a more ancient: it was so probably, but there is no direct proof of it.

§ 15. Thirdly, against the report that Harding was with duke William at the battle of Hastings, it may well be objected that no such name occurs in the Roll (*e*) of Battle Abbey: the monks have been

(*d*) See Chapt' VIII, § 59.

(*e*) This Roll contains a List of all the Chiefs who came into England with the Conqueror. It is printed in the *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores*, and in other books.

charged with inserting names of Chiefs who were never there, but not of omitting or erasing names.—And a fourth objection is 'that (*f*) Newland falsely alledgeth Polychronicon for the ordinance of Denmark, as proof of Harding's coming to England, "which is not found in the Latin original MS compiled by Reinulph, monk of Chester in 1357, nor in Trevisa his translator, nor in Winken de Word, nor in Caxton's Supplement, nor in any other: whereupon they infer, that no such younger son of any king of Denmark was sent into England at all; and that it was Newland's or some other Abbot's flattery."—Answ'. It may be, that Harding was not the *immediate* son of any king of Denmark; and the account of that custom in Denmark above-mentioned may be fabulous: but it can scarcely be believed, that a man of Newland's character and respectability would be guilty of so mean a forgery: the passage surely exists, or did exist, somewhere, although Newland may have misnamed the author, or misquoted the place. Moreover (*g*) 'there are passages in the MS copies of Polychronicon, which are not in the printed editions.' This custom is however mentioned in the Chron' of Wallingford. (*h*) "To all these tribes [the Scandinavians] there was for a long time the following custom: that the father should drive away from him all his sons, when they were grown up, excepting one alone, whom he was to leave the heir of his rights [juris sui]."

§ 16. A fifth objection to the royal descent of Harding is this, that neither his son Robert nor any of the family, nor k' Henry II in any of their charters ever mention the royal descent. There are in Berkeley castle deeds of his sons, his grandsons, and his great-grandsons who style themselves respectively *Robertus filius Hardingi*, *Mauricius filius Roberti filii Hardingi*, and *Robertus filius Mauricii filii Roberti filii Hardingi* &c; "for ever (as Smith says) resting on this Harding; and never going one step further, as Abbat Newland's inscription does, *filii regis Daciæ*.—It must be confessed that this is a strong argument against his being the *son* of a king, at least a king of any note. No charter of Harding's remains, and therefore we cannot tell how he

(*f*) Smith ubi suprà. (*g*) Lel' Coll' 6, 296.

(*h*) Apud Gale's XX Script' p' 53[illegible].

styled himself; but his sons would be likely to have taken advantage of such descent and would have inserted it in their style. It has been said, that if his birth were illegitimate, that circumstance would prevent the mention of his descent. The case was otherwise in that age; we have Robert *Fitzroy* and the Conqueror himself *Wilhelmus Nothus*, and all the sons of Sueno III k' of Denmark were illegitimate, four of whom succeeded him, and one of whom is said to be Harding. But although this fifth objection be a strong argument that Harding was not a king's *son*, at least the son of any reigning king, it is no argument that he might not be a king's (*i*) *grandson* particularly by the female line; and succeeding ages might easily fall into such a mistake.

§ 17. Smith's notion cannot be admitted that *Hard-ing* is a patronymic name which shews him to have been the son of king Harold or Hardi-cnute, as from *Penda Pending*, *Harold Harolding*, for the name is common to many persons, and all of them could not be sons of Hardi.

§ 18. The Danish kings of that age are not so many, as to prevent us from ascertaining from which of them Harding sprang, if from any one. Harding who died in 1115 must have been born not earlier than 1030, not later than 1044. We cannot suppose him to be born earlier than 1030; because if he were born even then, he must have been 85 years old, when he died, and 55 years old when his son Robert, the eldest of eight, was born in 1085; we cannot suppose it later than 1044, because in the year 1069 he was governor of Bristol, perhaps was so in k' Edward's reign in 1065-6: I take the probability at 1040 or 1042. Now Sweyn the first Danish king of England died in 1014, he is therefore out of the question: his son Canute the Great died in 1036; but only three sons of his are recorded, Sweyn, Harold, and Hardi-cnute; and if Harding had been a fourth, it is impossible that historians would have passed over unmentioned his title to the English crown, when Canute's sons Harold and Hardicnute died without issue, or if he had been the

(*i*) See above § 12 the passage quoted from Leland Coll' 2. 621.

son of either of the two last mentioned kings. It is most evident therefore that Harding could not be the son of any Danish king of England.

§ 19. We will now turn to the kings of Denmark. Sweno Estrithius, i' e' Sweyn son of Estrith, or Sweyn III is mentioned as the probable father of Harding. A learned (*k*) friend, who warmly espouses the royal descent of Harding, has furnished me with the following extract from (*l*) *Johannis Meursii Historia Danica*. Of Sueno III k' of Denmark he says "*Fuere autem illi &c.* He had fifteen children, thirteen sons and two daughters; Gormo—Harald—Sueno—Omund, called by others I believe, Edmund—Ubbo—Biorno—Benedict—Canute—Olaus—Eric—Nicholas—Magnus—Harding—Syritha—Ingertha. Five of these Harald, Canute, [*the saint*] Olaus, [*the starved*] Eric, [*the good*] and Nicolas, possessed the crown in regular order after their father's death, as he had requested of the Nobles: Benedict was slain with Canute at Othonia: Magnus died on his journey to Rome, where he was sent by his father: Harding fixed his residence in England and there founded the very noble family of Berkeley [*et Barclaiam illic gentem nobilissimam propagavit.*] Sueno wishing to wrest the kingdom from his brother Nicholas, and going to Viburg for that purpose, died of a fever on the journey. - - - Of the rest, as their life was obscure, so their death was uncertain." If this testimony were unimpeachable, the question would be decided; but unfortunately Meursius quotes no authority in this part of his work, and there are some circumstances, which render the information suspicious.

§ 20. Saxo Grammaticus wrote his Danish history A' D' 1180-1190, only 120 years after the times, of which we are now speaking, and he is usually considered as the standard historian of that age. He says, that Sueno, son of Estrith, i' e' Sueno or Sweyn III, had many children, all illegitimate, *è quibus fuere &c*, that is, "of whom were Harald with Gormo, and Omund with Sueno. To these were added Ubbo and Olave, Nicholas, Biorno and Benedict. A similar obscurity"

(*k*) William Shrapnell Esq' of Berkeley; to whose friendship, and intimate acquaintance with the Records in Berkeley Castle I am principally indebted.

(*l*) Folio, Amsterdam, CIↃ IↃCXXXVIII.

"of amour [*copulæ*] produced Canute and Eric, the greatest ornaments of their country; his daughter Siritha also is said to have been born of a concubine." Here is no mention of the two sons last mentioned by Meursius viz, Magnus and Harding, nor of the daughter Ingertha; and from what source Meursius derived his knowledge of them, he has not informed us. The history of Saxo Gramm' was republished in 1644-5 by Stephanius, a learned Danish Antiquary, who illustrated his author with copious notes; but neither does he make any mention of Magnus, or Harding or Ingertha; a thing scarcely credible, if Meursius had derived his information from any Danish writer. Stephanius must have seen his book; for Meursius was his predecessor in the office of Historiographer royal at the Academy of Sora in Zeland, both of them being appointed by Christian IV; and Stephanius's book was printed at Sora, only seven years after Meursius's; yet he never once mentions him. In his Prolegomena p' 7 he writes in praise of several historians and antiquaries of his own nation [*nostrates*], and he gives a long list of authors, who speak of Saxo, but takes no notice of Meursius. From this, and from the mention of the word *nostrates*, and from their being appointed to the same office, it seems that Stephanius was jealous of Meursius, as a foreigner [a Hollander], and that he had determined neither to confirm nor to contradict his facts and opinions.

§ 21. Beside this general objection to Meursius's account, there are also particular reasons, why Harding of Bristow could not be a son of king Sueno-Estrith. Not that the age is incompatible, for Sueno died A' D' 1074 or 1078, as it may be collected from Saxo and Meursius, the only two Danish historians, whom I have had an opportunity of consulting: and these same writers say that he was Regent of England at the death of his uncle Canute the great, in 1036, and continued here till after the death of Hardicnute in 1041: so that certainly he might have had a son, called Harding, born about 1040. The difficulty does not lie in the date, but it is as follows. All the surviving sons of that King succeeded him in the throne, each after the other, in the order of their birth. Saxo says (*m*) merely that it was their custom so to do; Meursius says, that

(*m*) p' 229, 45.

'Sueno prevailed on his Nobles to swear, that such should be the order of succession. In consequence of this agreement Harald Hein succeeded in 1074 or 1078; then St Canute, who began to reign in 1080; then Olave, afterward Eric, and lastly Nicholas in 1101 or 1105.' Will' Malmesb' relates the same story with some variation. "Sweyn (*n*) being near death bound all the Chiefs of his provinces [*omnes provinciales*] by an oath, that whereas he had fourteen sons, they would grant the kingdom to them all in order, as long as his offspring should survive. When he was dead therefore, his son Harold succeeded, [and reigned] three years. Canute [*Cnuto*] succeeded, whom his father had sent into England." - - - 'To him succeeded "Olave, who having reigned in an indolent manner for eight years, left the kingdom to his brother Henry [*rather* Eric]. He living modestly [*modestè*] twenty nine years, went to Jerusalem, and lost his life in the middle of the sea. Nicholas, the fifth of them, is at present (*o*) on the throne." Now at most of these successions there were considerable oppositions and debates, and Harding of Bristow was certainly alive; but not a word is said of him or of his right to the crown. The plain inference is, that there was then no such person as Harding, son of Sueno-Estrith.

§ 22. Our Harding is represented above as a *younger* son of the king of Denmark, and in Meursius's list he is the youngest of all: but since the father of Robert Fitzharding was born about A' D' 1040, he could not be a *younger* son of Sueno Estrith, for that prince was himself a very young man at that time.—Moreover, if there had been a son of Sueno called Harding, he must have died before the year 1105: for on the death of Eric the Good, who died at (*p*) Cyprus either in the year 1101 or 1105, Saxo says (p' 229) "the whole family of king Sueno was now reduced to three sons only, Sueno, Nicholas and Ubbo; for (as it appears from what has been above-mentioned) the sword had destroyed Canute, Benedict and Beorn; and disease had taken off the rest." But Harding of Bristow lived until 1115: he was not therefore the son of Sueno III.

(*n*) W' Malmesb' lib' 3. 1, p' 106. (*o*) W' Malmesb' wrote about 1120–1140.
(*p*) Meursius.

§ 23. Another and still stronger argument, that our Harding was not the son of Sueno king of Denmark, remains to be produced. In consequence of the death of Edward the Confessor, Sueno (*q*) Estrith himself claimed the crown of England against both Harold and William the Conqueror, as being the son of Estrith, sister of Canute the Great, whose sons had died without issue. Connected as this subject is with the history of Harding of Bristow, I shall be excused for entering into it more minutely. "Canute (*r*) the Great died on Wednesday Nov' 12, 1035, appointing his son Swain to be king of the Norwegians; Hardicnute his son by Emma, the Norman lady, to be king of the Danes; and Harold, his son by Elgiva, to be king of the English." Another historian, (*s*) Diceto, says that "he appointed Swein, son of himself and his queen Alfgive to be king of the Norwegians; Hardicnute, his son by the same to be king of the Danes. But Harold said, that he was the son of Canute and Alfgive: although it is by no means true; for they say that he was the son of a shoemaker, and that queen Alfgive adopted him as her son without the king's knowledge, and had him bred up as the king's son. So likewise they say, that Swein was the son of a certain priestess or Nun. [*presbyteræ*]." On the decease of these three sons, Sueno Estrith's title to the crown of England was better than that of any other person of the Danish royal family. Nay if the account of Saxo Grammaticus be correct, earl Harold had only the same title to the crown, as Sueno Estrith: for he (*t*) writes, that 'Harold was the son of one sister of Canute the Great, married to earl Godwin: and Sueno was son of Estrith the other sister,' married to Ulpho: in confirmation of which relationship it may be observed, 'that (*u*) when Harold's sons and daughter were driven out of England by the Conqueror, they went to Sueno in Denmark as being their uncle, and claimed his protection.' It is true that other historians do not allow this title to Harold. William Malms' says that (*v*) Godwin's first wife was the daughter of Canute the Great; by whom he had only one son, who was accidentally drowned in the Thames when a youth.' However, let Harold's title to the crown have been what it might, Sueno Estrith's

(*q*) Meursius. (*r*) Simeon Dunh.' (*s*) in anno 1036.
(*t*) Saxo Gr' p' 196, 27. (*u*) Meursius. (*v*) W' Malm' 2, 13.

claim, as nephew of Canute the Great, was good; and moreover he had been Regent of England, and if Meursius may be believed, Hardicanute at his death bequeathed England to him, at which time he was here present.

§ 24. Under these circumstances, no wonder that Sueno Estrith endeavoured to recover his uncle's kingdom, which he must have considered as his lawful inheritance, 'He (*w*) therefore sent his two sons Harald and Canute with his brother Esbern or Osbern and earl Torchill to England with a fleet of 240 ships, where they were joined by Edgar Etheling and Waltheof. They were however defeated on the Trent, and afterward made peace, and returned home; for which inglorious conduct Sueno banished his brother Esbern.' The following is a plain account of this expedition, and probably a correct one. "In the (*x*) third year of king William, the two sons of Swain, king of the Danes, and earl Osbert his brother, came into the Humber with 300 ships: to whom earl Waltheof and Edgar Atheling came; and the Danes and the English being joined, they took the castle of York; and having slain many of the French [the Normans], they bound the Chiefs, and carried away them and their treasure on board their ships."—A cotemporary historian gives the following account of this same expedition, and of Sueno's claim to the crown of England. "At that (*y*) time Swain, king of the Danes, fitted out a very large fleet, and having put on board an army of Danes and English under the command of his two sons, and his brother Osbern and two Bishops, and three very favourite Earls, he sent them to England. For he had been often tempted by the money and the earnest intreaties of the English to undertake this expedition; and was moved by the destruction of his subjects in the battle with Herald: and moreover he was stirred up by his near relationship to a desire of obtaining the kingdom; as being the nephew of king Edward the Confessor and son of Hardicanute, [*nepos Edvardi regis, Hardecanuti filius*]." where the marginal note alters the word *filius* into *frater uterinus ex Emmâ;* but probably both the author and the annotator are mistaken in these relationships.

(*w*) Meursius. (*x*) Hen' Hunt' 7. (*y*) Order' Vit' 4, p' 513.

§ 25. William Malms' gives the following relation of the same transaction. "*Sed (z) Swanus in regno &c.* But Sweyn [III or Sueno Estrith] being restored to the kingdom of the Danes, impatient of repose, sent his son Cnut twice into England; first with 300 ships, and the second time with 200. With the first fleet went Osbern, Sweyn's brother; with the second (*a*) Bacco: but both by receiving a bribe of money crushed the young King's attempts, and returned home, without doing anything: for which reason they were grievously disgraced by the King, because they had forfeited their fidelity for the sake of money, and were driven into banishment. - - - - When Sweyn was dead, his son Harold succeeded and reigned three years [*successit filius Haroldus annis tribus*]. To him succeeded Cnute, whom his father had sent into England. He remembering his former defeat, as we have heard, prepared upward of 1000 ships against England. His father-in-law, Robert of Freiseland, [*Robertus Friso*] the lord of 600 ships, gave him his asistance. But being prevented by contrary winds for almost two years, he changed his mind, declaring that it was not without the providence of God, that he was unable to cross the sea. - - - - The king of the Danes therefore, as I said before, was alone the obstacle, which prevented king William from enjoying uninterrupted happiness; and to be prepared against him, he hired such a multitude of mercenary soldiers out of every province on this side the mountains, that the kingdom was oppressed by their number."

§ 26. Such were Sueno Estrith, and his son, their claims on the crown of England, and their preparations for asserting their claim. Now it is utterly incredible that under these circumstances the Conqueror would have taken into his service the son of the same Sueno, the most powerful King in the neighbourhood, his competitor for the crown, who had even invaded England for the purpose of prosecuting his claim: that he should place him in a lucrative post, and give him the government

(z) Lib' 3, 1, p' 106.

(*a*) The margin says, that others call him *Haveto:* it is therefore probable, that *Hacco* is the name intended.

of an important town, as Bristol was. On the whole I am of (*b*) opinion that no son of Sueno Estrith could possibly be the same person, as Harding of Bristow. I would by no means deny, that he had a son called *Harding*; it is not likely that a man of Meursius's character would be guilty of falsifying history, of inserting the names of Magnus, Harding and Ingertha without authority and without motive: he found them, it may be, in some ancient author, although they escaped the notice of Saxo Gramm': but they probably died in early life and in obscurity, before they had done any thing worthy of public notice. Still it may be asked, where did Meursius find any ancient or authentic account, that this Harding went to England, and there founded the family of Berkeley? Certainly no where. But he probably saw in Camden, or Stowe, or some other English author, that our Harding, the founder of that family, was the son of a king of Denmark; and without due consideration, he concluded that this must be the son of Sweno; and by that incautious conclusion he has deceived many. If Meursius had quoted his authority, all this uncertainty would have been avoided: at present a cloud rests on this part of the subject; toward dispersing which it might still be worth while to examine the Danish Antiquaries mentioned by Stephanius (Proleg' 7), and particularly Ælnoth's *Libellus de vitâ & passione S'ti Canuti martyris, quem ipsi Nicolao regi inscripsit.* Aelnoth was a monk of Canterbury: his book was republished by Meursius with notes, Copenhagen 1631, 4to.

§ 27. We come now to the second opinion, viz, that Harding of Bristow was the son of Ednoth, the Stallar, who lost his life in a battle against the sons of Harold, and who certainly had a son called Harding, as related above in § 2, 3, and 4: there is therefore no improbability in supposing that k' William employed and honoured the son of a man,

(*b*) The Dean of Bristol, who pointed out many of the authorities used in this chapter, preceded me in the result. He writes as follows. "If there be any foundation at all for the story, which I still very much doubt, the Harding in question must probably have been born, while Sueno resided in England, when he was a very young man, and must for some reason or other have been totally neglected by him: for otherwise I must repeat it, that his holding no military fee, his taking a civil office, his being in the service of a successful competitor of his father, then a reigning king, and the silence of the old historians respecting him, are circumstances altogether unaccountable."

who had shewn such attachment to his cause, although it was not his usual policy to trust an Englishman. I shall endeavour to collect every notice which can be found in Domesday-book in the Counties here mentioned concerning any persons called Harding or Ednoth, who may by any probability be the persons, concerning whom we are enquiring.

§ 28. The name *Ednoth* occurs in the following passages in Domesday book. Ednod Stalre held the manor of Sipene in Berkshire (fo' 58, 3). This is undoubtedly the same person as he who lost his life in the battle above-mentioned. Ednod, the king's Steward [*dapifer*] held land (fo' 69, 1) in Cadeham in Wilts. This was probably a different person from the former. Ednod (without any addition to his name) held land in the following manors and places: Herdicot, and Ogeford in Wilts; Tincladene and Maine and Clistone in Dorset; Tedintone and Alre and Hengesterich in Somerset; in Botintone and Patsole and Wiche and Hocheorde in Devon; Rosminvet in Cornwall; Omenel in Glocestershire. I observed none in Herefordshire or Worcestershire. All these lands were holden by Ednoth TRE i' e' in the time of king Edward the Confessor; but were not holden by him in 1086. One Ednoth held land at Pengelle in Cornwall TRE, and continued to hold it in 1086: this therefore could not be Ednoth the Stallere, who was slain in 1068. This is all, which I can find in any original authority concerning Ednoth. But since it has been suspected, that Elnoth or Alnoth is the same name, I will here add every thing I can find concerning any one of that name in the counties here mentioned. It appears from Domesday-book, that one Alnod without any distinction after his name held land in the following manors and places. Somerford and Kennet and Wertune and Walecote and Ponberie in Wilts: in Dorset, Fifehide, and Pedret which manor he bought from bishop Alwold for his life, on condition that afterward it should be restored to the church; and he held Cateclive in Dorset, which he had bought, as the last; and Brewinstoche and Windelham and Mordone and Nodford and Stour, all in Dorset: and he held in Somerset, Withicombe and Blackford and Bradewei and Gerlintune [Yarlington] and Bredenie and Brunfell and Cloptone [Clapton] and

Ultone and Canole and Altone and Chenolle. And in Devon he held Anestinge and Staford and Landesherg and Gohewis and Meda, and Bera and Hanberie and Hanock and Morley and Lonmine and Come and Blacheberge and Tale and Grismetone and Lege: and he held land in the following places in Cornwall; Polescat, Landelech, Boietone, Bodbran, Legea and Hamet. He held these manors and lands in the time of Edward the Confessor, and did not hold them at the time of the survey in 1086; either he died or was deprived of his lands before that time. The name does not once occur in Glocestershire.

§ 29. One Alnod held the following lands at the time of the survey, and therefore he was a different person from the preceding. Pilton and Brai in Devon; Talgolle, Trescau, Disart, Trewderet, and Ullavestone in Cornwall. A person called Elnod held Draicot in Wilts, Elsangtone in Dorset, and Cantocheve [Quantockshead] in Somerset. These lands he held TRE, but not in 1086, and therefore he was probably the same person, as Alnod first-mentioned above. The name of Elnod occurs three or four times in Herefordshire, and doubtless in other counties. I think it does not occur in Glocestershire.—One Ælnod held land in Bocheland in Devon and Wermeslai in Worcestershire.

§ 30. I consider Elnod, Alnod, and Aelnod in Domesday book to be the same. With regard to the final *d*, it is in fact the Saxon *d*, which the Norman scribes ought to have translated into Latin by *th* or *dh*. A and E at the beginning are continually put one for the other in proper names, and so are ea and Ae, as Eadgar Edgar, Athelstan Ethelstan. Eadward Edward, Aelfred Alfred, Ælcclesia for Ecclesia, &c &c. Alnod, Elnod and Ælnod I suppose to be contracted from Agelnod, the Saxon *g* in this place having the sound of *y*. The word is so written in the following passage: "King (*c*) Wm' Conq' took with him into Normandy in 1067 nobilem satrapam Agelnothum Cantuarensem." And Stowe says that he took with him Egelnoth, abbat of Glastenbury. The writer of the life of Elnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, gives many variations of his name; and so does Godwin in his account of the same Archbishop.

(*c*) Flor' Worc'.

But I see no reason for supposing that Ednoth is the same name; *d* and *l* are not convertible; if ever a man named Ednoth is called Elnoth, or the reverse, I should suppose it to be by an error of the copyist. In D' book (fo' 80, 1) Ednoth occurs between three or four Elnoths; which would scarcely have been done, if the same name and person were intended in all those places: and the same thing occurs in fo' 124, 3. If I am right in this statement, Ednoth is the only name, which belongs to this question, Elnoth or Alnoth are wholly out of it.

§ 31. We now come to the name of Harding. In Domesday book we find that one Herding held land in Burlei in Berkshire, which he held from queen Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor, and continued to hold in 1086. This was probably the same man, as Herdingus, who 'in a (*d*) grant of Edward the Confessor to the Abbat of Waltham in 1062, is a witness together with Eadgitha [Edith], that king's wife.' He signs his name *Herdingus, Reginæ pincerna*. One Harding (without any addition to his name) held in TRE an estate at Bichenestoch in Wilts, which (*e*) belonged to the nunnery of St Mary at Shaftesbury: this estate he voluntarily restored to the Convent, although he had a right to it for his life. Harding (perhaps the same as the preceding) held land at Wintreslei in Wilts. Harding held land also in the six following places in Wilts; Contone, Derintone, in Wintreslei again, Alboldintone, Cheltre, and Tedrintone. One of this name held land in Wenistetone, in Fisgledene, in Ocheburne, all in Wiltshire. One Harding also held land at Bridie in Dorsetshire. In all these places (except perhaps Burlei) it is probable that the same Harding is meant: and he held these lands in the time of Edward the Confessor, and many of them he continued to hold at the time of the survey in 1086. One Harding (*f*) without any addition to his name, held Crenemelle in Somerset from the Abbey of Glastonbury: he held it in TRE and continued to hold it at the time of the survey. This must be Harding

(*d*) Quoted by Smith out of Dugdale in *Waltham*.

(*e*) Domesday book, Vol' 1, fo' 67, 3.

(*f*) Domesday book, fo' 90, 4.

Fitz-Ednoth: for we read in William Malm', that Herlewin, (*g*) Abbat of Glastonbury, who began his abbacy in A' D' 1101, recovered Milne and Lim from the hands of Harding Fitz-Eadnoth, then a very powerful man and a lawyer. The same words, except that the places are called *Melles* and *Lyme*, are given in a short fragment printed by (*h*) Dugdale, in the Records of Glastonbury abbey; Crenemelle, and Milne, and Melles apparently mean the same place. Harding Fitz-Alnod held lands in Somersetshire as follows; in Lopen, Brade, Capilande, Meriet, Bochelande, and Dinescove. He held about half of them, as King's Thane; all were in his possession in 1086; but other persons held them in TRE. One Hardinc at the time of the survey held five hides of land at Witenhert [probably *Wheatenhurst*] in Glocestershire, from one Brictric, in mortgage; which land Brictric possessed in the time of Edward the Confessor. Whether this Hardinc be one of the Hardings above-mentioned cannot be ascertained; but this Brictric cannot be the (*i*) son of Algar, the lord of Bristow, because he is mentioned immediately before in two places, (fo' 170, 3) as being alive, and holding land at the time of the survey in 1086; whereas long before that date the lord of Bristow was dead, or at least was deprived of his estates: and the same page of Domesday book contains other proof, that Brictric of Witenhert, was not Brictric, lord of Bristow.

§ 32. Other Hardings are mentioned in history as living about this time. Stephen Harding, an English man, surnamed (*k*) *Stomps* in his youth a monk of Shireburne, was the founder of the Cistertians (a reformed order of Benedictines) in France, some time in the reign of William Rufus; a full account of whom may be seen in (*l*) Will' Malmesb': Sir Rob' Atkyns dates (*m*) the foundation of the Order in 1096. And another Harding is (*n*) mentioned, as being in the Holy land about this

(*g*) W' Malmesb' de Antiq' Glast' Eccl' p' 333. His words are "Milne et Lim de manibus Hardingi, Eadnothi filii, potentis tunc admodum et Causidici extorsit."

(*h*) Monasticon Vol' 1, p' 18.

(*i*) See Barrett's Hist' p' 47.

(*k*) Quidam Herdingus *Stomps* nomine, natione Anglus. Knighton p' 2370.

(*l*) Lib' 4, 1, p' 127.

(*m*) Page 1.

(*n*) Smith of Berkeley refers to Chron' Jhorus' 9, 11 and 9, 12, and 10 in princip'; and to Hacluit fo' 15; but he does not quote the words.

time. Now the question is, whether Harding of Bristow, who died in 1115, is either one of the persons mentioned above.

§ 33. Harding, son of Ednoth, the Stallar, shall be considered first. It has been shewn already, that he did not follow the profession of arms, as his father had done, being (*o*) a Lawyer, or an Advocate. He held estates, called Milne and Lim (*p*) from the Abbat of Glastonbury; "which (*q*) probably on the expiration of his lease he refused to surrender: for we read that Abbat Hurlewin some time between 1101 and 1120 forced him (by legal process, as it should seem) to give them up." He might be the possessor of many or all of those eleven manors or estates, in Wiltshire, and of Bridie in Dorsetshire mentioned above; and he might be the person who held Wheatenhurst in mortgage. These estates, together with his father Ednoth's great property above recited must have made him, what the historian expressly calls him, *a very powerful man*, and what is chiefly to our present purpose he must have been of great consequence in the counties bordering on Bristol, and therefore likely to have had influence and authority in this town. He must likewise have acquired wealth and importance from the practice of the Law; and his own and his father's local influence and knowledge, wealth and power, might have been the causes, which determined the Conqueror to place him, or continue him in the office of Prepositor of Bristow. Moreover, the age of Ednoth and his son is sufficiently reconcileable to that of our Bristow Harding. Ednoth is said to have been "far (*r*) stricken in years," when he was slain in 1069; and our Harding must have been of man's estate at the same time. Thus far therefore it seems probable that our Bristow Harding was Harding Fitz-Ednoth the Advocate: and to this conclusion the Dean of Bristol finally assents.

§ 34. Against this opinion however some arguments have been, and may be, advanced, which ought to be fairly represented. Will' Malmsb' writes, (*s*) that Harding, son of Ednoth, was alive when he wrote (about 1140); and if this be correct, he could not be the same

(*o*) See above § 3. (*p*) See above § 32. (*q*) The Dean of Bristol.
(*r*) John Smith; but he quotes no authority. (*s*) See the passage above § 3.

person as Harding of Bristow, who died in 1115. This particular passage however might have been written as early as 1115, although the history was not compleated until 1140; but in fact Will' Malmesb' copied it from the Continuator of Bede; who wrote in the beginning of Henry I's reign 1110, or thereabout; and several proofs might be produced, that these old historians in (*t*) transcribing earlier writers did not always make the alterations, which their own case required.—Another argument is this. Harding Fitz-Ednoth was a person of great power and influence: but he was an Englishman, the son of an English Chief of very great property in the neighbourhood and of high military character; and it is not likely, that the Norman Usurper, a jealous tyrant towards all his English subjects, would give to such a person the government of a strong and important town. This argument however is one of probability only, and not to be depended on. We know to a certainty that the Conqueror employed Ednoth the father; and he might have employed Harding the son, for reasons which we know not; here the arguments on each side seem evenly suspended.

§ 35. Other arguments remain to prove that Harding Fitz-Ednoth was not our Bristow Harding. Of all the manors and estates abovementioned, as belonging to Ednoth, or to Alnoth or to Harding, it does not appear that Robert Fitzharding, or any of the sons of Harding, ever possessed any, except Fifehead in Dorsetshire, which belonged to Robert: such has been the result of a search made for this purpose in the Records of Berkeley castle, where evidence of the property possessed by the family from Robert Fitzharding downward is still preserved. Mr. Shrapnell writes to me as follows. "In all the deeds which I have seen of Robert, I find no trace of lands descended from his ancestors; all seem to have been purchased by him, as if his father possessed money only. Thus the manor of Billeswiek was purchased of Robert, earl of Glocester; the manor of Bedminster of the same; the manor of Bray in Devon of Will' de Braiosa; the manor and advowson of Portbury in Somerset of Richard de Moreville; the manor and"

(*t*) See a strong proof of this carelessness in the next Chapt' § 10: "which I could scarcely have believed &c."

"advowson of Were in Somerset of Julian de Borton; and various others."—I am however reminded, (*u*) that landed property was not in that age so uniformly descendible as to justify this argument. Beside which, it is possible that Harding might be a younger son, and possess little or none of his father's land. Here again it is doubtful on which side lies the preponderance of probability.

§ 36. The last argument against the opinion, that Harding of Bristow was the son of Ednoth, is this; his posterity never mention it in their style. Ednoth the Stallar was a man of consequence, and his descendants would willingly have taken advantage of it, as mentioned above § 16. This argument seems to have great force.

§ 37. Thus much concerning Harding Fitz-Ednoth: but there is mention in Domesd' B' of Harding son of Elnoth, or Alnoth, or Aelnoth. If this Elnoth were the same person as Ednoth, enough has already been said concerning him and his son. If he be a different person, as I suppose, he might have been the owner of much of the land above-mentioned: but we know nothing of him, which can give us any reason for supposing, that he either was or was not the father of our Harding.

§ 38. The third opinion concerning the origin of Harding remains therefore to be mentioned, and I esteem it preferable to any other. Very good authority has been (*v*) quoted, to prove he was a Dane and of royal descent: and this tradition current not only in the family of Berkeley, but also among our ancient historians, seems to me an argument so strong, that it must have had it's foundation in truth. Now although it has been sufficiently proved, that he could not be the son of any reigning Danish king, either in England or Denmark, yet he might

(*u*) The Dean of Bristol has pointed out many examples of lands in that age, which did not descend to what we now call the heir at law; thus, [see above § 20 &c] a person or persons named Harding held twenty estates in Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and Gloucester shires, not one of which had previously belonged to Ednoth or Alnoth or Elnoth. And in like manner out of fifteen estates in the same counties holden by Ednoth, and out of 52 holden by a person or persons called Alnoth or Elnoth, not one appears to have come into the hands of any Harding. In that age property changed it's owner very frequently.

(*v*) See above § 12.

very probably have been the son or grandson of one of those maritime Chieftains of Norway, called *Vickengers*, or Sea-kings (such as Rollo was) who were for the most part of royal families, and roamed the sea at the head of piratical fleets, plundering by sea and land, and carrying back their spoil to the coast of Scandinavia and the Baltic. Similar situations will produce similar habits. Among several resemblances, which may be traced between the Scandinavians and the more ancient Greeks, is that of piracy. "When (*w*) the Greeks began to hold communication with each other by ships, they betook themselves to piracy, for the sake of gain to themselves and of sustenance for the weak: and this they did under the command of certain powerful leaders. And falling on towns, which were unwalled, and whose inhabitants were scattered, as in villages, they plundered them; and from thence procured the greater part of their subsistence. And this practice brought with it no disgrace, but rather honor. This appears from the ancient poets, who relate that it was the universal custom to ask navigators, whether they were pirates; those, to whom the question was put, not denying the practice; and those who asked, not reproaching them with it."

§ 39. It is true, the (*x*) kings of Denmark, had before this time suppressed piracy as far as they were able, as Minos did among the Greeks: but in both countries the attempt was ineffectual: instances of it in Denmark are to be found in Saxo Grammaticus later than this time: and in Norway and other more retired places, it was still a common practice: and one of these Sea-kings coming from any part of Scandinavia or the Baltic, in the common language of the Saxons would have been called a Dane. Some of these Sea-kings to their occupation of piracy added that of (*y*) merchandize, carrying their plunder to various countries, where they exchanged or sold what was not suitable to their purpose. Harding, or his father, was as I conjecture one of them: who after having frequented the port of Bristow for the purpose of selling his"

(*w*) Thucyd' 1, 5.

(*x*) See Turner's Hist' of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol' 2, Ch' 8, p' 116 &c.

(*y*) See Turner's Hist' last quoted p' 120 &c where will be found authority for this union of piracy and merchandize, and many examples of it.

plunder, growing rich settled here, perhaps under the protection of his countryman Canute the Great, and quitting his piratical habits, retained his merchandize. One solitary passage in the Annals of Margam shews, that these practices were carried on, and in Bristow, much later than the time of which we are now speaking, even in the time of Robert Fitzharding. "1124. *Gens Noricorum veniens in autumno hiemavit apud Bristollum:*" which may be thus translated. "1124. A large body of Northmen [or Danes] arriving in autumn spent the winter in Bristol:" and I think, it may be thus interpreted. 'A fleet of piratical merchantmen from the Baltic came to Bristol in the autumn of 1124, as they had often done in former years; and staid here during the winter, long enough to dispose of their merchandize, and reload their ships.' Our Harding, it must be supposed, inherited the fortune of his father, and by the same occupation might have acquired great wealth, as tradition records that he did, having little or no connexion with landed property: and his wealth and local influence might have been the reason, why Canute or Edward the Confessor appointed him his Prepositor of Bristol: and since he was not of a Saxon family, William the Conq' continued him in the same office.

§ 40. There is a chronological difficulty in the date of Rob' Fitzharding's birth which affects every hypothesis concerning his father. Harding must have been born about 1040 otherwise he would not have been old enough to be made Prepositor in 1066; and his son Robert Fitzharding was born in 1085. That Harding should have a son, the eldest of eight, when 45 years old is not very probable; and it may therefore be conjectured, either that Mr. Smith's dates in this case are not correct, or that there were two (*z*) Hardings, father and son, the grandfather and father of Robert Fitzharding, who were Prepositors of Bristol successively: the first of whom was a Danish Sea-king, settled in Bristol and made Prepositor about 1050, and was succeeded by his son about 1080, which latter died in 1115. Some notion of this kind must have occurred to others; for Smith says that "some thought the"

(*z*) See above Chapt' IV, § 12 and 16.

"Bristol Harding to be Ednoth's grandson" and Smith himself in summing up the difficulty says at last, that "if Harding was man-grown, before the days of the Conqueror" no son of his could be alive in Henry II's time, but haply another of the same name and alliance." *Harding* appears to have been the family name regularly (*a*) descendible, as in modern days. Harding himself is called Fitzharding, as in this passage; "Robert (*b*) Fitzharding in time of William the Conqueror inhabited Brightestow, and there foundid the Pryorie of St Augustine." If the former part of this sentence be correct, Harding was the son of a former Harding. On the other hand Robert Fitzharding is very often called Harding. "In the (*c*) reign of king Stephen there lived in Bristol one Harding." In the Chartulary of St Augustin (*d*) I find that Robert Harding possessed houses between St Giles's gate and St John's gate; where I suppose Rob' Fitzharding is meant. Robert Rieart, writing of Harding, says "he had to his sonne the lord Robert Harding, lord Berkeley, and founder of St Austen's." Robert of Glocester in the verses which shall be quoted (*e*) hereafter calls the founder of St Augustin's Robert Hardyng. So also Leland (*f*) writes "In the time of king Henry II Robert Erle of Gloucester and Robert Hardinge &c;" he means Fitzharding; and again some few lines further on. Under these circumstances one of the name might easily have been forgotten by succeeding generations.

§ 41. As to the notions mentioned in the preceding §, that Harding might be Ednoth's grandson, and 'that Ednoth's wife was daughter or niece to the king of Denmark,' so that the fame of Harding's royal descent might have arisen from his mother's family instead of his fathers; if any authority had been quoted for these facts or suppositions,

(*a*) The Dean of Bristol on another occasion writes to me thus. "An unaccountable popular error has prevailed among Antiquaries, that Surnames were introduced by the Norman conquerors: whereas it most evidently appears from the Domesday Book and other documents, that before their arrival surnames were at least as common, and probably more common in England than in Normandy." Camden in *Remaines* gave into this opinion, perhaps was the Author of it.

(*b*) Lel' Collect' 2, 912. [621].

(*c*) MS Calend' ap' Barr' p' 247.

(*d*) fo' 208.

(*e*) See Chapt' VIII, 81.

(*f*) Lel' Itin' 7, 94.

they would have well deserved consideration. In the mean time if conjectures be allowed, it is possible in some degree to reconcile the two principal opinions concerning Harding's descent. The Sea-king, who settled in Bristol about the time of Canute's accession, might have been Ednoth's father; and Ednoth's son might have been Harding the Lawyer and Prepositor, the father of Robert Fitz-harding. Thus much for conjecture.

§ 42. Amid these imperfect evidences I have endeavored to give a fair representation of the several arguments on all sides; and here I close an enquiry, which most of my readers will think already carried to too great a length. I rest finally on the opinion expressed above, that our Harding was the son or grandson of a Danish Sea-king settled at Bristow: with some hesitation it must be confessed, as being on a subject of remote antiquity, and having few ancient documents connected with it. It would have been gratifying to curiosity to have been enabled to ascertain with certainty the descent of these illustrious personages, early inhabitants of our city; and perhaps some future researches in the archives of Berkeley castle or the Council house of Bristol may clear up the uncertainty. In the mean time the imperfection of ancient history has one advantage greater perhaps than the evil of unsatisfied curiosity: the origin of Harding like that of the city itself and of other great cities, nations and rivers, by being involved in some degree of doubt and uncertainty acquires by it's very obscurity a portion of dignity and interest, which historic certainty and unquestionable truth might fail to produce. I now return to the public transactions of William the Conqueror.

§ 43. When William assumed the government, he promised to observe an impartial conduct towards all his subjects: but on the one side the many plots and insurrections of the English similar to those which have been already mentioned, and the pride and tyranny of the Normans on the other side produced excessive irritation between the two nations; so that the King notwithstanding his promises and his first

shew of impartiality soon began to treat his new subjects, as a conquered people. And this he did for another reason also, in order to satisfy the rapacity of his army, which was not wholly in his own pay, but was led by Chiefs, who engaged in the expedition, under a promise of sharing in the spoil of the country, the lordships and estates, which they hoped to wrest from those, whom they called the *barbarian English*. For these reasons William not only removed most of the English from places of authority and trust in church and state, placing Normans and other foreigners in their room; but he was continually seizing on the estates of the English on several pretences, as forfeited to the crown, and granting them to his Norman and other associates. Harding however was employed in the service of the Usurper; the more so perhaps, because he was a Dane: and it is probable that his local influence and knowledge rendered him indispensibly necessary for the government of Bristow: and great numbers of Englishmen must have been continued in inferior offices and tenures for the same reason, however willing the Conqueror might have been to remove them. But in the higher ranks, and the more important offices, the English were for the most part set aside; and although Harding and others were continued, Brictric, with almost all the English Nobles, was treated with indignity. This latter was lord of Bristow at the time of the Conquest, as it has been mentioned above. The earldom of Glocester was too important an office, and the honour of Glocester too great an estate to be trusted in the hands of any Englishman: the King therefore seized his person, and shut him up in the castle of Winchester, where he died (*g*) leaving no issue. What pretence was used for so violent an act of injustice, we are not informed: the story related (*h*) above concerning the love and the hatred of queen Matilda may be true and probably is so; yet some other ostensible reason for his imprisonment must have been given to the world. Many of the English lords were imprisoned, or put to death, or banished, and their estates confiscated, because they had fought with Harold at the battle of Hastings; many because they had taken part, or

(*g*) Barrett p' 205 says, that he died 7 Henry I, but he quotes no authority; and it is not likely that he lived so long in prison, after being deprived of his estates. See above § 31.

(*h*) Cap' III § 59.

were accused of so doing, in the several insurrections which happened during the seven or eight first years of William's reign. On one of these pretences Brictric was imprisoned.

§ 44. It does not appear that the Conqueror granted the earldom of Glocester separately to any one: either he kept it in his own hands, managing it by the Sheriff and Prepositors; or he let it to farm; or it was part of the very great earldom of Hereford, granted to Willm' Fitzosbern, his relation. This powerful Norman Chief, who had received a greater portion of the conquered lands of England than any other person, was settled in this neighbourhood, apparently as a barrier against the Welsh. He held at farm the King's (*i*) Demean in Glocester, which was always great, even in the Saxon age: he built the castle of Glocester, on the site of sixteen houses; and what is nearer to Bristol, he built the castle of Estrighoiel or Strigul, that is, Chepstow, and imposed a duty on ships passing by into the Forest. As for the Honor of Glocester, and Brictric's other estates, queen Maude having revenged her disappointed love by his ruin, enriched herself by taking possession of a large portion of his lands. The anonymous writer of Tewkesbury thus (*k*) proceeds; "The King gave Brictric's Honour to the disposal of the Queen, who retained the whole Honour of Glocester, which had belonged to Brictric to her own use during her life." The MS quoted (*l*) by Leland says the same; and Domesday book in many places testifies that she received the rents and profits of Brictric's estates; and thus she became the feudal possessor of Bristow; letting out the profits to farm in the usual manner of that age: which practice of settling the lordship of Bristol on the Queen generally prevailed for many centuries after this time.

§ 45. On the death of queen Matilda, the King kept the honour and the lordship in his own hands, intending it, as we shall afterward find, for his youngest son Henry, then a child. In what year the Queen died, is doubtful: it was either in 1083, 1084, or 1085. Ingulphus says "she died in MLXXXV *two* years before the death of the Conqueror in MLXXXVII." He had been Chaplain or Secretary

(*i*) Domesd' b' fo' 162, 1' (*k*) See above III, 40, 59 &c. (*l*) Itin' 6; 78 [82].

to the Conqueror, and it may be supposed that he was likely to be well informed; but the weight of authority is against him. Ordericus Vitalis, an accurate and well informed writer and a cotemporary, as well as Ingulph, writes thus. "At this time in the 7th Indiction Mathildis, queen of the English grew sick, and being anxious on account of her long disorder, she confessed her sins, and earnestly lamented them, and all things being duly performed, which the Christian custom requires, she died on the 3d before the nones of Nov' [Nov' 3]. After the death of the glorious queen Mathildis, king William for almost four years, which he survived, was very much disturbed." He died in 1087; therefore, Matilda by this account died in 1083. But the 7*th* Indiction was 1084, for we find some few pages further, that A' D' 1087 was the 10*th* Indiction. William Malmesb' says, that she died four years before the Conqueror and was buried with a magnificent funeral; and her husband lamented her for many days with abundant tears. The Saxon Chron' dates her death Nov' 2, 1083. The Annals of Margam and of Waverley, and the Chronicle of Tho' Wikes give the same date: and Stowe says she died four years before the King. There is also a variation in the month of her death. Matth' Westm' writes "Queen Matilda the elder, wife of king William, and daughter of Baldewin, earl of Flanders, died on the ides of April [Apr' 13] in the year of grace 1083, and was buried at Caen in the monastery of St Mary, which she had built from the foundations, and nobly endowed:" where her corpse was lately discovered [in 1819]. Leland (*m*) says the same. "Queen Matildis received the Honor of Gloucester on the death of Brictric: she died in April A' D' 1083; after which the King kept the Honor of Gloucester to himself." The Tewkesbury MS printed by (*n*) Dugdale gives the same date April 1083. Rapin mentions Nov' 1, 1084. Robt' of Gloucester says Nov' 1, 1073.

> "The seventh year of his kingdom, on All-souls day
> The queen Mold, his wife, died, who well-long her sick lay
> In the year of grace, a thousand and seventy and three."

Which must be a mere verbal error, instead of *eighty and three*; as in the first line *seventh* for *seventeenth*. From these authorities it seems

(*m*) Itin' 6, 78 [82].

(*n*) Monast' Vol' 1, p' 154 *b*.

most probable, that on Nov' 3, 1083, died Matilda, queen of England, and Lady of Bristow.

§ 45. *b.* Sometime in A' D' 1080 k' William was at Berkeley; this we learn from the following circumstance recorded by (*o*) Dugdale. Walter de Lacy in that year granted lands to St Peter of Glocester, k' William the Elder permitting and confirming it; which was done at Berkeley.

§ 46. It has been mentioned that the trade and navigation of Bristol was considerable in the Saxon age immediately before the Conquest. It is grievous to observe that the Slave-trade was actively carried on throughout England before and after that event; and unfortunately Bristol appears to have been pre-eminent in that inhuman traffic. Slaves were exported from England in such numbers, that it seems to have been a fashion among the people of property in Ireland and other neighbouring countries to be attended by English Slaves. Earl Godwin's first wife was a sister of Canute the Great. William of Malmsbury writes that she died about the year 1030 by a stroke of lightening, a just punishment for her cruelty: "for (*p*) it was said that she purchased companies of Slaves in England, and sent them into Denmark, especially young women, whose beauty and youth made them more valuable:" and by this shameful traffic "she amassed heaps of wealth."

§ 47. The same writer describing the manners of the English at the time of the Conquest, says 'that (*q*) many of them used to sell their female slaves with circumstances of unnatural barbarity. In the life of Wolstan, who was consecrated bishop of Worcester in A' D' 1062, and died in (*r*) 1095 is the following passage. "There (*s*) is a maritime town [*vicus*] called *Brichtou* [Bristow] from which is a direct course to Ireland, and therefore convenient for the barbarism of that country."

(*o*) Monast' Vol' 1, p' 116.

(*p*) Malmesb' 2, 13.

(*q*) Illud erat a naturâ abhorrens, quòd multi ancillas suas ex se gravidas, ubi lubidini satisfecissent, aut ad publicum prostibulum, aut ad æternum obsequium vendicabant. [lege *venditabant.*] Malmsb' 3, 1.

(*r*) Diceto.

(*s*) In Anglia Sacra 2, 258.

"The inhabitants of this town with other persons from England often sail to Ireland for the sake of merchandize. Wlstan removed from among them a very ancient custom, which had fixed itself so firmly in their minds, that neither the love of God nor of king William had hitherto been able to abolish it. For they carried away into Ireland, in hope of greater gain, men purchased from all parts of England, and young women defiled and pregnant, and exposed them to sale. You might see with sorrow ranks of wretched persons bound together with ropes, and youths of both sexes, who by reason of their liberal form and perfect age might have moved the pity of barbarians, daily brought to market, daily sold. Execrable deed! miserable disgrace! that men, void of the affection even of brutes, should devote to slavery their own relations, nay even their own blood! This custom so inveterate, transmitted down from their forefathers to their posterity Wlstan, as I said, by degrees abolished. For knowing that their obstinacy could not easily be bent, he abode in their neighbourhood often two months, often three months, going there every Lord's day, and sowing the seeds of divine preaching; which so far gained strength among them during the intervals, that they not only renounced this crime themselves, but were an example to others throughout England to do the same. Finally, one of their number who opposed the bishop's exhortations more obstinately than the rest, they drove out of the town, and afterwards deprived him of his eyes; in which instance I commend their devotion but disapprove of the transaction: nevertheless no force of reason can subdue the minds of clownish persons [*agrestium*] when once tainted with vice."

§ 48. William of Malmsbury in another passage divides this honour between Wulstan and Lanfranc. "By (*t*) the earnest entreaty of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury William the Conqueror broke the trade of those rascals, who used to sell their slaves to Ireland: the glory of which deed I cannot certainly determine, whether I shall impute to Lanfranc or to Wlstan bishop of Worcester. Both had great difficulty in persuading the king to this measure, who complied at last"

(*t*) Lib' 3, p' 110.

"reluctantly on account of the profit arising from the duty, which was paid to him on the sale."—English slaves were common in other countries, beside Denmark and Ireland. An historian (*u*) after describing the extraordinary cruelties of the Scots during their invasion of the northern counties in 1069 proceeds to say, that " at last they returned into their own evil country, carrying with them stout young men and maidens, wretched and captive, and condemned them to perpetual slavery: insomuch that there was scarcely a house in Scotland, which was without a man or maid-servant of English race." Even so far as Italy were English slaves transported: it is related by most of our historians, that 'the first thing which suggested to Pope Gregory the thought of converting the English to Christianity was the sight of three English youths of very fair complexion exposed to sale in the market of (*v*) Rome.' That Wulstan vehemently inveighed against this inhuman practice may well be supposed, and that he prevailed on the inhabitants of Bristow to renounce it, I am willing to believe: but the traffic (in that age, as in our own) one way or other was continued long after the prohibition; for 'the Irish had great (*w*) numbers of English slaves among them at the time of the invasion in 1172, sold to the Irish not only by pirates and robbers, but by Traders. " For the people of England by the common wickedness of the nation used to expose their children in the public market, and to sell their own sons and relations into Ireland, even before they suffered any want or any pressure of hunger." And in the ecclesiastical council of Armagh, mentioned by the writer last quoted, the only Resolution which he records is one for the liberation of English slaves: and one of the pretexts used by Henry II for the invasion of Ireland was, that the Irish had landed in England, and had carried away some English as slaves.

§ 49. It does not appear that the Conqueror made any alteration in the civil condition of Bristow, or of any other English town. It has been already (*x*) mentioned that Bristow was a burgh or borough, and

(*u*) Bromton Chron' A' D' 1069.

(*v*) Chron' Thorn 1, 1 & alii.

(*w*) Giraldus Cambr' Hibern' Expugn' 1, 18.

(*x*) See Chapt' III, § 80: and Chapt' X, § 8.

the burgage-tenant or possessor of each house in the burg was a Burgess. Each burg was subject to it's lord, who no doubt appointed it's magistrate, or *Præpositus:* the Prepositor of Bristol in the time of king Edward the Confessor was named (*y*) *Sewin;* he held the manor of Clifton from that King, which manor in the time of the Survey (1086) was part of the land of Roger Fitz Ralph, a different person from Roger de Berkeley, probably his nephew. In many instances the king himself was Lord of a town: either because it was part of the ancient Demean of the Crown, which many of the old Roman cities were, as Glocester, Bath &c; or because it had fallen to him by escheat or otherwise. This was the case of Bristow (*z*) at the time of the Survey, for it is (*a*) there inserted as part of the King's own land: and in those instances the rights and revenues belonged to the King. Part of these revenues arose from the reserved rents of the lands and houses, and fines for renewals: for the burgesses were the lord's tenants; holding their lands and houses by rents and services of different kinds, as mentioned above. (*b*) Other sources of revenue were licences for trade, customs on merchandize, the third penny, toll of mills &c &c; which revenues either wholly or in part the King or the lord usually let to farm at a rent certain.

§ 50. Domesday book informs us, what was the rent of most of the towns in England at that time, but unfortunately the rent of Bristow is joined with that of the manor of Barton-regis, and it is not expressed how much belongs to each. The (*c*) passage is this "In Barton at Bristou were [heretofore] six Hides; in demean three carucates and 22

(*y*) Domesd' B' fo' 170, 2. In other places are mentioned *Sewinus, Sewi, Sawin, Sawinus,* by all which it is probable that the same name is meant.

(*z*) See Chapt' V, § 4. (*a*) Domesd' B' 163, 2. (*b*) See Chapt' III, § 80.

(*c*) In *Burtune* apud *Bristou* erant sex hidæ. In dominio tres carucatæ et 22 villani, et 25 bordarii, cum 25 carucatis. Ibi 9 servi et 16 coliberti, habentes 14 carucatas. Ibi duo molini de 140 solidis. Quando Rogerus recepit hoc manerium de Rege, invenit ibi duas hidas et duas carucatas in dominio, et 17 villani, et 24 bordarii cum 21 carucatis. Ibi 4 servos et 13 colibertos, cum tribus carucatis. In uno membro ejusdem manerii *Maucgodesfelle* 6 boves in dominio. De eadem terra tenet æcclesia de Bristou tres hidas, et una caruc' habetur ibi. Unus Radchenistre tenet 1 hidam et habet 1 caruc', et 4 bordarios cum 1 caruc'. Hoc manerium et Bristou reddunt Regi 110 markas argenti. Burgenses dicunt, quod Episcopus G. habet 33 markas argenti, et unam markam auri, præter firmam regis. fo' 163, 2

countrymen &c. But when Roger [de Berkeley] received this manor from the King, he found there [only] two hides and two carucates in demean, and 17 countrymen &c. Of this land a [*or* the] church of Bristow holds three hides. - - - This manor and Bristou pay to the King 110 marks of silver [£73 6*s* 8*d*]. The Burgesses say, that bishop G. [Geoffrey or Godfrey] has 33 marks of silver, and one mark of gold, beside the King's rent." A Norman (*d*) mark of silver is 13*s* 4*d*, and a mark of gold was worth 120*s*; the sum therefore paid (*e*) to the Bishop is 13*s* 4*d* multiplied by 33 = 440 + 120 = 560*s*, that is £28.

§ 51. But the difficulty lies in finding what was the sum paid by the manor of Barton exclusive of Bristol, and the accurate researches of the Dean of Bristol into Domesday-book enable us to approximate to the truth. He observes that "on a comparison of the annual values of estates in this district with the number of carucates cultivated, it seems that the medium proportion in this district was from ten to twelve shillings per carucate. In Barton-regis there were 28 carucates cultivated, which gives £14 or £16 for the annual rent of Barton." It is true that no firm dependence can be placed on this calculation; for the annual value of estates in Gloucestershire compared with their population or with the quantity of land under tillage in them, as represented in Domesday book, is very widely different in different estates beyond any disproportion of fertility: no doubt because in some cases lands were held by unimproveable and low rents, and in some the profits of manorial courts, woods &c were added to the rents of the cultivated lands: and it appears that the manor of Barton had declined both in extent of cultivation and in number of inhabitants. Nevertheless since we are not likely to gain any further information on this point, let us take £16 as the rent of Barton-regis; which sum being deducted from £73 6*s* 8*d*, there will remain £57 6*s* 8*d* for King's rent; to which add the sum paid to the bishop £28, and the whole rent paid by Bristol will be £85 6*s* 8*d*; which cannot be far from the truth; no contemptible sum, if"

(*d*) Leake on English money p' 18.

(*e*) On what account this payment was made, will appear in the next chapter.

" we consider the high value of money, and the small size of the town, and compare the rent with that of other towns at the same time. It is probable that not more than London, York, Lincoln and Norwich were either more extensive or more opulent, so far as may be inferred from the Domesday-book, where neither Winchester, nor Canterbury are valued. York paid 100 lb *ad pensum:* Lincoln £100 *ad numerum:* Norwich about £96: Bristol about £86. It is not probable, that any other paid above £60." I observe that Oxford paid £60 *ad numerum;* Glocester £60; Langport paid £79 10*s* 7*d*; Exeter paid only £18, but it was much decayed, 48 houses being wasted, since king William came into England. Chepstow paid £12.

§ 52. In the latter part of king William's reign, when the conquest of England was compleatly effected, insomuch that probably three fourths of all the lands had received new possessors, most of them foreigners, whereby the very language (*f*) of the English was strangely altered, the King sent out Commissioners into the several counties, for the purpose of making a survey and valuation of all the property in the kingdom. This is the famous Domesday Survey, the substance of which was collected into Domesday Book, and kept at Westminster until A' D' 1783, when it was most accurately printed by order of the King in Parliament. It is a national Record of inestimable value, not merely on account of it's local information, but because it contains a perfect exhibition of the territorial policy of our Saxon and Norman Ancestors. Historians give the following account of it. Ingulphus writes thus. " King William being returned into England ordered the whole land to be described: nor was there a hide in all England, but he knew it's value and it's owner; nor a pool nor a place, which was not described in the King's Roll, and it's rent, produce, tenure and tenant exhibited to the King's knowledge, according to the conscience [*fidem*] of the Taxers, who being chosen out of every district described their own territory." Florence of Worcester is as follows. " A' D' 1086 k' William caused all England to be rated; how much land each of"

(*f*) " No such words were known," says the Abbat of St Alban's 6 Edw' III, " till the coming of the Normans, *quando idyoma nostrum fuit corruptum.*"

"his barons possessed, how many feudatory knights [*feudatos milites*], how many carucates, how many villans, how many animals, yea how much ready money each person possessed in all his kingdom, from the greatest to the least, and how much rent each possession could afford to pay: and the land was harassed with many grievances [*cladibus*] arising from thence." Several (*g*) historians concur in the date 1086; which date is written at the end of the book in a large coæval (*h*) hand: but the Annals of Waverley, a very good authority, say that he *began* sending his Justiciaries in 1083; and so says (*i*) Rob' Ricart: "A' D' 1083, 17 Will' I Dame Mawde, the old quene, wife unto W'm Conquerour deceased: the same yere king Will'm sent his Justices" to make the survey. Robert Glocest' immediately after the Queen's death adds, that in the same year the King made strict enquiry, what number of plough-lands and hides &c there were in all England. From these authorities it is plain that the work began in 1083; perhaps it was not finished until the next reign; for it is mentioned by a cotemporary historian, (*k*) that Ralph Flambard in 1089 persuaded king W'm Rufus to make a fresh measurement of the lands. "By consent of the King he measured with a cord all the carucates, which the English call *hides*, and wrote them down in a book." The probability seems to be, that the measurement made by king Rufus was the last part of the Domesday Survey.

§ 53. Every estate mentioned in that book is said to have contained a certain number of hides and carucates. Some modern authors have said, that a hide and a carucate are the same. This is Mr. Whitaker's opinion, (*l*) expressed several times. Now on looking over Domesday b' for S' Lancashire, published by that author himself, there are many examples, where hides and carucates cannot be the same: particularly

(*g*) Viz, The Chron' of Melross, Tho' Wikes, Bromton, and Sim' Durham.

(*h*) Madox Excheq' p' 296. (*i*) P' 24.

(*k*) *Annuente Rege omnes carrucatas, quas Angli Hidas vocant, funiculo mensus est & descripsit.* Order' Vit' lib' 8, p' 678. The passage is curious; for it is not clear, whether *the old measurement*, of which he there speaks, is that which was made *jussu Edvardi Regis*, or the Domesday measurement itself; and whether the new measurement be that of Domesday, or a new one made by Rufus.

(*l*) Hist' Manch' Index *Hide*.

this decisive passage, (*m*) *in unâquâque hidâ sunt sex carucatæ terræ.* Ancient (*n*) authors have however said the same. But from Domesday book it is evident that the Hide was an ancient Saxon measurement of *value*, not of *quantity;* so that a hide of bad or barren land contained far more acres than a hide of good land, and all the hides were consequently though of different extent, yet of equal value, and paid equal geld, or tax: it is frequently said, that 'an estate contained — carucates, but how many hides it contained is not known, because it never paid any geld.' Bede says that a hide is as much as will maintain a family; and Bromton (*o*) says nearly the same: "a hide in English is as much land, as is sufficient for the culture of one plough by the year." On the other hand the Carucate or plough-land was a certain quantity of acres, 240, 220, 160, according to different authors. But very soon after the Conquest the distinction between the hide and the carucate was confounded.

§ 54. King William (*p*) kept his Christmas, as usual, at Glocester in the monastery: and again with great splendor in the 20*th* and last year of his reign; and repaired and enlarged the monastery, which was then in a ruinous condition.—He died Sept' 9, 1087. His eldest son Robert ought to have succeeded him; but the second son Willm Rufus seized the crown in his brother's absence.

(*m*) Ibid p' 575. (*n* As Orderic' Vital' in the last §. Hoveden Pars post' p' 778.
(*o*) Chron' A' D' 1008, and so say H' Huntingd' A' D' 1008, and Ann' Waverley A' D' 1083.
(*p*) Atkyns p' 65, 68.

End of Chapter IV.

CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM RUFUS.

1. *Bishop Godfrey holds the Castle of Bristol for Duke Robert.* —2. *Building of the Castle.*—3. *Statues of the Founders.*—4. *Godfrey, Constable of the Castle.*—5. *His name, and property.*—6. *His actions.*—7. *Robert de Mowbray and others rebel, and store the Castle of Bristol, and plunder Bath and Berkeley.*—8, 9. *Continuation of the same.*—10, 11, 12. *History of bishop Wulstan.* —13. *He successfully defends Worcester.*—14. *Robert de Mowbray and the other Insurgents are defeated. Death of Wolstan.*—15. *The King grants the Honour of Glocester to Robert Fitzhaymo.*—16. *His exploits: he is lord of Bristow.*—17. *Bristow, not Glocester, the* caput honoris.—18. *Fitzhaymo present with the King, when he was slain. Omens.*—19. *Omens and warnings: his Death.*—20. *King once lay sick at Alveston; a royal vill, belonging to king Harold.*

§ 1. ON the death of the Conqueror Godfrey, bishop of Coutance or Constance in Normandy, and at the same time bishop of Exeter, and said (*a*) to be Sheriff of Glocestershire, who then held the Castle of Bristol as Constable, declared in favour of Robert, the late King's eldest son; and having furnished it with a garrison and provisions, he held it out against the power of William Rufus: and in this enterprize he was particularly aided by his nephew Mowbray, earl of Northumberland.

(*a*) Barrett's Hist' p' 206.

§. 2. This being the first time, when the castle of Bristol is mentioned by historians, the time of it's foundation claims our notice. I have already given an opinion, that the castle built by Edward the Elder at the mouth of the Avon, was not the castle of Bristol: in fact the practice of adding a castle by the side of a town was not a part of Saxon polity; perhaps their government was not strong enough to admit it. It would be difficult to find any example of it, except Dover, which can scarcely be called an appendage to that town. A cotemporary historian attributes the ease with which William conquered England to the want of such fortresses. "King (*b*) William the Conqueror (he says) carefully examined the places of retreat in the kingdom, and fortified convenient situations against the excursions of his enemies. For there had been very few fortresses, which the French [*Galli*] call *castles* in the English provinces, and for that reason the English, although they were warlike and bold, were yet found to be weak in resisting their enemies." Whereas when the Normans began to treat the English as a conquered people, they adopted this policy to a great extent. The Conqueror built castles at Hastings, Pevensey, London, two at York, Nottingham, Exeter, Winchester, Warwick, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Durham, Chester, Stafford &c; and some of his great feudatories did the same as Robert D'oily at Oxford; — Crevecoeur at Leeds in Kent; Willm Fitzosborne (*c*) at Glocester &c: and this they did evidently for the purpose of securing the obedience of the towns. Hence I conclude without hesitation, that the Conqueror, or some one by his authority, (and no one was so likely to be employed as the bishop of Coutance) built a castle at Bristow, very near to the walls of the town, on the same ground or part of it, where Robert, earl of Gloucester, afterward built the great castle. In what year of his reign this was done can only be conjecture. The repeated movements in the West, which happened in the year 1067 and the two following years, as already mentioned, must have made the King desirous of securing a town of so much importance as Bristol was; and therefore the building of the first castle may with the greatest probability be set down to A' D' 1069 or 1070 or thereabout. It is singular however that this castle is not mentioned in Domesday

(*b*) Ord' Vil' 4, p' 511. (*c*) Domesd' b' 162, 2.

book, as existing in 1086, as Arundel and some others are; and therefore it was probably of no great extent or importance; and when we find it called some few pages onward *a very strong castle*, it may be that the Historian thought of it, as it was in his own time, not aware how much it had been strengthened since the reign of William Rufus. The removal and imprisonment of earl Brictric must have taken place before this date, because no castle would have been built, while he continued lord: he was therefore deprived of his lordship, and the castle erected to overawe his tenants.

§ 3. It was said above that the bishop of Coutance was probably the builder of the first Castle of Bristow. There were formerly two stone statues standing in niches, one on each side of the gateway of Newgate on the face without the town, part of one of the niches is still to be seen: the statue on the right hand held the model of a castle; and was probably intended for the Consul Robert, the builder of the second Castle: that on the left was (*d*) a man of venerable aspect with a long beard and held a chalice in one hand, taking off the cover with the other; and was therefore an Ecclesiastic, and was probably intended for this Godfrey, of whom we have been speaking; if it could be *certainly* affirmed, it would go near to prove Godfrey to be the builder of the first castle, as it was conjectured above: the probability however is great. When this gatehouse was taken down in 1766, instead of being placed in some other conspicuous situation within the city, these statues were given to Mr. Reeves, who set them up on the gateway of his stables which he was then building at Arno's vale in the parish of Brislington, where they are still (1822) to be seen. That of Robert Fitzroy was much mutilated; but being now tolerably perfect, it must have been repaired. "It was (*e*) formerly preserved in the inner afforciaments of the Castle," then at it's demolition fixed up at Newgate on the right hand, opposite to the bishop of Constance." Two other statues were also set up on the other side of Mr. Reeves's gateway, which were

(*d*) Barrett p' 201.

(*e*) Barrett p' 211, from some author not named.

brought from Lawfords's gate, when taken down in 1776: we have no means of discovering who they were. All four are represented in the accompanying Plate.

§ 4. Bishop Godfrey held the Castle in 1088, as mentioned above. This he could not have done by any right of his own, because the lordship was in the hands of the queen and, after her death, of the king; (*f*) and therefore Godfrey could only be Governor or Constable appointed by the Crown, as Mr. Barrett supposed: and accordingly it appears from Domesday-book, that when that part of it was compiled (A' D' 1083-1087) he received a Constable's salary. The passage from Domesday-book, quoted (*g*) above says that he received an annual payment from the rent of Bristol equivalent to £28 sterling. Now this is "within a few shillings the annual sum paid to the constables of the castle, and reserved to them in (*h*) after grants," which makes it almost certain that the £28 paid to the bishop was his salary as Constable. A learned friend thinks otherwise: he writes to me, as follows. "From this instance of the occupation of Bristol by the military bishop of Constance, connected with the account in Domesday-book, I think it clear that he held Bristol as Shires were usually held by paying two thirds of the revenue to the King and receiving one third for his own use. It does not follow that he was earl or reeve of Bristol, as of a Shire; because there are other instances in which the third penny of a Hundred &c belonged to some Manor, having been separated from the revenue of the earl or reeve of the shire in which it lay." £28 is certainly the third or nearly so of the whole rent of Bristol and Barton, and that might have been the reason for fixing the salary at that sum; but it does not seem to me likely that Godfrey held Bristol by the third penny: if he had done so, his receipts would have varied every year, and the amount would not have been known to the burgesses, who in that case would have returned that bishop G' had the third penny. It is evident that Bristol was at that time let to farm at a *certain* rent; who it was, who held it at farm, we are not told; it might have been (*i*) Roger de

(*f*) See IV, 49, and VIII, 89.

(*g*) See IV, 50.

(*h*) Barrett pp' 201, 202.

(*i*) See Dom' book, Vol' 1, p' 163, 2.

Berkeley who held Barton-regis, or Harding the prepositor, or perhaps the burgesses themselves, as in succeeding reigns: whoever he was, he paid the bishop his £28 per ann', who therefore could not be the farmer at the same time. What Mr. Barrett asserted, that Godfrey was Constable of the castle of Bristow, with a salary seems to be proved undoubtedly.

§ 5. This bishop is called by various cotemporary writers Galfridus, Godfridus, Gosfridus, Goisfridus, Goffridus, Godfrith, Gaufridus, and perhaps by other variations; and his bishopric is always in Domesd' B' and other cotemporaries called Constance, now pronounced Coutance. Orderic' Vitalis (*k*) gives the following account of him. "Gaufred bishop of Constance, sprung from the noble race of the Normans, was present at the battle of Senlac [i' e' the battle of Hastings], as an active abettor and encourager, and was afterward Commander of the cavalry [*magister militum*] in other battles, which crushed both foreigners and natives. He obtained from the grant of king William 280 farms [*villas*], which we commonly call *manors* from being places of abode [*a manendo*]; all which he left at his death to his nephew Robert de Molbray, who by reason of his wickedness and rashness did not keep long possession of them:" of which 280 manors more than 100 were in Devonshire, above 70 in Somersetshire, and 9 in Glocestershire; and the following are in the neighbourhood of Bristol: Hutton, Harptree, Clutton, Timsbury, Norton, Farmborough, Weston, Sandford, Easton [St George's], Portishead, Weston, Kenn, Backwell, Butcombe, Berrow, Portbury, Wraxall, Twerton, Littleton, Cameley, Acton, Hambrook, Wapley and Alveston: his local authority and influence rendered him therefore the most proper person to command in Bristol.

§ 6. The following memorials concerning this Constable of the castle have been preserved. "In the year 1072 (*kk*) when the great cause about the primacy of Canterbury over York was determined at Windsor in the presence of the King and his Nobles, the instrument was signed"

(*k*) Lib' 4, p' 523. (*kk*) Anglia Sacra apud Barrett p' 206.

"there by all present, among whom is *Ego Gosfrydus Constantiensis Episcopus unus ex primatibus Angliæ consensi.*" Another circumstance of the same kind follows. "*Placito* (*l*) *inter &c.* In the plea between bishop Lanfranc and Odo, bishop of Bayeux. At this plea was present Gosfrid, bishop of Constance, who was in the King's place, and held this court of Justice." He was also present (*m*) in 1080 with Odo bishop of Bayeux and Haymo the King's sewer [*dapifer*] and others the King's commissioners [*legati regis*] at an assembly at Kentford, to enquire into the lands belonging to the church of Ely." 'He was (*n*) specially commissioned by the King, and joined with Urso, Sheriff of Worcestershire, to try the great cause between Wlstan bishop of Worcester and Aegilwine Abbat of Evesham, concerning 15 hides of land in Hamtone and four in Benencwyrth, which was determined *judicante et testificante omni vicecomitatu.*'—He and Odo bishop of Bayeux, and William bishop of Durham were all three barons (*o*) of the Exchequer.—In the year 1079 he asisted at a Council at St Paul's: among the (*p*) witnesses to a grant made by William Rufus to the church of St Mary at York in the last year of the Conqueror's reign, appears "Godfrey bishop of Coutance, who at that time governed the Consulship of the Northumbrians." We have already seen something of his military prowess in 1069: in 1074, when the King was in Normandy, he and Odo, bishop of Bayeux, at the head of an army, crushed the rebellion of Roger earl of Hereford and Radulph earl of East-anglia: for these two bishops, notwithstanding their Order, were turbulent and warlike; they (*q*) accompanied the Conqueror in his expedition to England, and were present at the battle of Hastings. In 1087 he asisted at the King's funeral. From these premises it appears that he was a chief of great ability, and inferior to none in the King's esteem. How this rebellion, if it may be so called, in which the castle of Bristol was deeply concerned, was carried on against k' William Rufus, the original historians can best relate.

(*l*) Thorp's Registrum Roff' p' 28 ap' Barr' p' 206.

(*m*) Bentham p' 106 and app' p' 5.

(*n*) Hemingi lib' p' 75, apud Hooke.

(*o*) Madox Exchcq' p' 743. ibidem.

(*p*) Leland's Coll' 1, 26, [22].

(*q*) Gesta Guill' Ducis.

§ 7. Ordericus Vitalis, a cotemporary, shall be the first. "Robert (*r*) son of Roger de Molbrai, being possessed of great power and wealth, and proud of his military ferocity, despised his equals and disdained to obey his superiors. In his person he was large, strong, black and rough; he was bold and crafty; in his countenance melancholy and severe. He aimed at thinking more than talking, and scarcely ever laughed in conversation. He possessed 280 manours [*villas*] in England, which king William the Great had given to Goifrid, bishop of Coutance. For that bishop was distinguished for his nobility, and was more eminent for military than for clerical knowledge: and therefore he knew how to instruct mailed soldiers in warfare, better than vestured clergymen in singing. He was often present in battles against the Danes and the English; and after the enemies were subdued, he obtained vast possessions, which at his death he left to his nephew Robert, earl of the Northumbrians."—Another writes thus. "A' D' 1088. This (*s*) year great discord arose among the Chief men of England: for a part of the Norman Nobles, but the lesser part, favoured king William; but the greater part favoured earl Robert, wishing to introduce him into the kingdom, and either to deliver up William alive to his brother, or to put him to death. The principal persons concerned in this execrable affair were Odo" ["a (*t*) brother of the late King, who having been imprisoned for turbulent behavior, had been released by him when on his death-bed, and was come into England"]: "he was bishop of Bayeux, and earl of Kent: and with him was his brother Robert, earl of Moreton; and Geoffry bishop of Coutance and of Exeter, with his nephew Robert, earl of Northumberland;" [and (*u*) Roger Consul of Moreteil] "and Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury; and even William, bishop of Durham, the King's prime minister, was engaged in the plot; and so were the chief Princes of all England, except Lanfranc, the Archbishop. They treated of this vile affair privately in Lent; and immediately after Easter they began every one to lay waste, to seize, to plunder every thing around him, to fortify their castles with a ditch, and furnish them with provisions. Geoffry,"

(*r*) Order' Vital' lib' 8, p' 703.

(*s*) Rad' de Diceto: and Bromton's account is the same, almost literally; and Will' Malmb' and others.

(*t*) Knighton, 2. (*u*) Bromton.

"bishop of Constance and his nephew Rodbert de Mulbrei went to Brycstoue, where they had a very strong castle, and they laid waste every thing, as far as the place which is called *Bathan;* which they burned; and they plundered Somersetshire, and laid siege to Ilchester; but were there repulsed." Their purpose was evidently to store the castle of Bristol with provisions and other necessaries, that it might be the head of their party in the West, or if necessary, might be able to endure a long siege: and in this way they seem to have prepared themselves for the civil war which was about to commence, with activity and confidence. Radulph de Diceto calls (*v*) it the Bishop's own castle [*in castello suo Bristoâ*].

§ 8. Florence Worc' after giving an account of the proceedings of the other conspirators, thus proceeds. "Gosfrid, bishop of Constance had with him in the castle of Bricstow, as the companion of his conspiracy and perfidy, his nephew Robert de Mulbray, a man skilful in war: who having collected an army invaded the royal city of Bath and set fire to it; and after having plundered it, he passed on into Wiltshire, and laying waste the country places [*villas*], and killing numbers of men, at length he came to Givelceastre [Ilchester], besieged it and prepared to take it by force. Those without fought in hope of plunder, and through a desire of victory: those within resisted valiantly for their own, and their people's safety. At last between the two, the cause of necessity prevailed, and Robert retired repulsed and sad, having failed of victory. William de Owe invaded the county of Gloucester; he plundered the royal town Beorkenlai [*Berkeley*], and did great mischief to the whole of it by fire and sword." The Saxon Chronicle relates these transactions at large in the same manner as the other writers here mentioned. That part which relates to Bristow is as follows. "Bishop Godfrith, and Robert de Mowbray went to Bristow, and committed spoils, and brought their booty into the (*w*) castle." Hoveden writes thus. "In the year 1088 Geoffry bishop of Constance and Robert de Mubrai went to"

(*v*) Abbrev' Chron' p' 489.

(*w*) Gosfrith biscop, and Rodbeard amundbræg ferdon to Bricgstowe; and hergodon, and brohton to tham castele tha hergunge &c &c. Edit Gibson p' 193.

"Bristolhw, where they had a very strong castle, and they laid all waste, as far as the place called Bathan." Henry Huntingdon tells the same story: "Geoffry coming out from Brigestou destroyed the city Badhe and Berchelai, and the places in the neighbourhood." William Malmsb' says "Bishop Geoffry with his nephew laying waste Bath and Berkeley, a part of Wiltshire, [*pagi Wultensis*] deposited the spoils at Bristow." Robert of Gloucester (*x*) gives the same account.

> A byssop, that het Geffray, and othere heymen mo
> (that the eastel wuste of Brustowe, sueh castel as was tho),
> Bathe and al the contreye hii robbede myd her route,
> and in the other alf Berkeleye, and the contreye al aboute,
> and the castel of Brystowe astorede vaste ynou.

Berkeley was plundered, because it was a royal estate: and no doubt because Roger de Berkeley the lessee or military tenant maintained the cause of king William Rufus.

§ 9. The other conspirators did the same. "The bishop of Bayeux having fortified Rochester, sent to Normandy inviting Robert to come over to England; which that indolent prince delayed to do, but sent a body of men, whom the bishop admitted into Rochester, and then attacked and burned the towns belonging to the King and the archbishop. Roger, consul of Moreteil, fortified his castle at Pevenes-hyll [Pevensey]. William de Owe plundered Gloucester: Robert Fitzbaldwin de Exeter plundered Devon: William, bishop of Durham, a man powerful in secular affairs, and of great readiness and volubility of speech, did the same in his neighbourhood: Hugh de Grentemaisnil plundered Leicestershire, and Roger Bigot East-anglia. Bernard de Newmark, Roger de Lacy who had already seized on Hereford, and Ralph de Mortimer, with the men of Roger earl of Shrewsbury, raised a body of English, Normans and Welsh, and marched to the gates of Worcester, wasting and burning every thing before them. They thought also that they should be able to take the castle and the church; because at that time the castle was entrusted to the venerable bishop Wulstan, a man of great piety and dove like simplicity:" and they probably sup-

(*x*) Chron' Vol' 2, p' 385.

posed, that from such a character no great opposition was to be expected. But they were disappointed.

§ 10. Mention was (*y*) lately made of Bishop Wulstan, and of his pious and honourable exertions towards rescuing Bristow from the iniquity of the Slave trade; he was likewise bishop of the diocese, in which Bristow stood; which two connections may be a sufficient apology to the reader, for inserting here some memorials of his life. "He (*z*) was born of religious parents in Warwickshire, and received instruction in letters and in ecclesiastical duties in the monastery of Burgh [*apud monast' de Burgo*]. Being of a religious disposition he became, when a youth, a monk in the monastery of Worcester, where his father had served God before him. Here he entered on a life of severe religious discipline; he ate no flesh, and became remarkable for watching, fasting and prayer, and all other Christian virtues. He was ordained Deacon and Priest; and on account of the strictness of his manners, first he was appointed Master and Guardian of the children; and next on account of his skill in ecclesiastical duties, he was made Chantor and Treasurer of the church. And now having gotten an opportunity of serving God more freely, because the care of the church was entrusted to him, he gave himself up entirely to a contemplative life, in it day and night attending either to prayer or reading the Scriptures, continually wasting his body by a fast of two or three days: so much given to holy watchings, that he sometimes spent not merely a day and a night, but even four days and nights without sleep; which I could scarcely have believed, if (*a*) I had not heard it from his own mouth. And finally when by the force of nature he was obliged to sleep, he did not indulge his limbs on a bed or a couch, but laid himself down for a short time on any bench of the church, supporting his head on the book in which he was praying or reading. After some time the Prior of the Monastery being dead, this reverend person was appointed Prior and Father of the congregation by Aldred, bishop of Worcester."

(*y*) Vide Chapt' IV, 47.

(*z*) Simeon Dunhelm' and Bromton, and Flor' Worcest', literally.

(*a*) All three historians use this same expression. See a similar case in Chapt' IV, 34.

§ 11. "After some years Aldred being elected Archbishop of York, there was an unanimous consent both of clergy and all the people, that Wulstan should be elected in his place, king Edward [the Confessor] consenting, that they should choose whom they would to be bishop. Aldred also was very desirous of the same, (*b*) for he thought that he might screen his own rapine through the simplicity of Wulstan. But this latter defended the church by means of his virtue more than of his learning; although he was not so ignorant of learning, as was supposed, since he understood other necessary parts of knowledge, beside the fables of the poets and tortuous syllogisms, which perhaps he did not even deign to know. It happened also, that two Legates of the apostolic See were present at this election, who having been sent by our lord Pope Alexander to king Edward by the King's order, spent almost all Lent at Worcester waiting for an answer. These observing Wulstan's laudable behaviour, not only consented to his election, but encouraged the clergy and people to it, and confirmed it by their authority. But he most obstinately refused, declaring himself to be unworthy; and affirming even with an oath, that he would much rather submit to lose his head, than to receive so high an ordination. But although after being sollicited by many religious and venerable persons he would by no means be persuaded to consent, yet being sharply rebuked for disobedience and obstinacy by a man of God called *Vulsius*, an Incluse, who was known at that time to have led a solitary life for more than 40 years, and being also frightened by a divine miracle, he was at last compelled to consent with great grief of heart, and was consecrated bishop of Worcester on Sunday, on the Nativity of St Mary A'D' 1062."

§ 12. After his appointment he was obliged to alter his manner of life in some outward respects. "He (*c*) continued his usual abstinence in food and drink, although in his hall the company sat drinking for whole hours after dinner according to the custom of the English. Sitting with them he repeated the psalms privately to himself, [*psalmos ruminabat*] yet pretended to drink in his turn, and invited the guests to be merry,"

(*b*) Knighton. (*c*) Knighton.

" complying with the custom of his country in this respect more than with the judgement of his own mind. Neither did he omit the pomp of the Normans, but went every day to mass, guarded by soldiers. He was so far present at the repast of the monks; that he made the general profession with the rest, and gave the benediction; and afterwards retired to his own dining room. When riding on horse-back he repeated the psalter [*psalterium frequentabat*]. He never omitted, not even at the King's table, the blessing which the English say over their cups. If at any time he was obliged to go to a court of law, he denounced a curse on all false witnesses, and a blessing on the good."—Although an Englishman, yet Wulstan submitted to the Norman government, and advised others to do the same: and " when (*d*) the English complained, he said to them; *it is a scourge; endure it:* and when they said that the Normans were worse than ever the English were, he answered; *God is just in using their vices against you, and by means of unworthy men exercises his vengeance on those who deserve it: so also the Devil by his own wicked will, but by God's good will, punishes the wicked in hell, himself about to be punished with them: in the same manner, as if you were angry with a person, and should strike him with a stick, you would not much care for breaking the stick:*" an attempt this, to explain one of the deepest mysteries of metaphysic, such as few persons would expect to hear from a monk of the eleventh century. Notwithstanding his submission to the Norman government 'the Conqueror was not pleased that an Englishman should remain in such a situation, and wished to deprive him, that he might introduce some Norman in his place; and Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, was employed for this purpose, setting up as an excuse " his insufficiency of learning, and his ignorance of the French language. It is reported that on this occasion he caught up his pastoral staff, and going to the feet of St Edward the king, who had been buried there not long before, he fixed it in the solid stone so firmly that no one could remove it, saying to the King, *a better than you gave it to me, to whom I deliver it again; take it out if you can.*" At the King's request he afterwards resumed it.

(*d*) Knighton.

§ 13. I now return to the insurrection against king William Rufus. The Insurgents, when they expected easily to win the castle of Worcester out of Wulstan's hands, mistook the character of the man: with all his simplicity and piety 'he (*e*) was of a very intrepid spirit: he himself often affirmed that he knew not what fear was, and the historian gives as a proof, his frequent practice of riding over a broken bridge, and walking on the tops of high and narrow buildings.' And on one occasion he had even taken up arms; for 'during (*f*) the rebellion in 1074 he raised a large military force, and being joined by Agelwi Abbot of Evesham, and by Urso sheriff of Worcester, and by Walter de Lacy, each with a company of men, he prevented Roger earl of Hereford from crossing the Severn, and joining his fellow-conspirator Radulph earl of East-Anglia. On the present occasion when (*g*) he heard of the progress of the Insurgents, he was much grieved, but like another Moses he prepared himself to stand up manfully for his people and his city, offering up prayers to God, and beseeching him to protect his church and his people oppressed by their enemies; and exhorting his subjects not to despair of God's aid, who does not fight with sword nor spear. Meanwhile the Normans besought the bishop to remove out of the church into the castle to them, affirming that they should be safer with his presence, for they loved him much; and he according to his fealty to the King assented to their prayer. Wherenpon the bishop's family boldly put themselves in arms: and the garrison and the citizens by his leave went out to meet the enemy. To whom he said, *Go forth, my sons, go in peace, go in security with God's and my blessing; I confidently promise you in the Lord, that the sword shall not hurt you this day.* All therefore with eagerness passed the bridge, which they had repaired, and they see the enemy at a distance hastening on; among whom a great madness began to ferment: for contumaciously despising the bishop's mandate, they had set fire to his land: whereupon being forced by those who were about him, he struck them with a violent anathema. The event was wonderful, and so was God's mercy and the goodness of the man: for immediately the enemies were struck with"

(*e*) Knighton. (*f*) Knighton. (*g*) Flor' Worcest'. Stowe.

"such weakness of limbs and blindness of sight, that they could scarcely hold their arms, nor distinguish friends from foes. The foot-soldiers are killed, the knights are taken prisoners, the rest having escaped, the King's loyal men returned to their own, without any diminution of their number, giving thanks to God and the bishop. Five hundred of the enemy were slain." According to Bromton's account, the number slain was much greater: he says "thus the prayer of St Wulstan with his anathema overcame the enemies, and killed or took five thousand of them, the rest scarcely escaping by a weak flight."

§ 14. The other insurrections in favor of duke Robert had the same event as that at Worcester; they were dispersed by the valour and activity of the King and his friends, chiefly by the assistance of his English subjects. Odo bishop of Bayeux was forced to abjure the kingdom: 'Robert (*h*) de Mowbray retired to his castles in the North, where in fleeing from one to another, he was severely wounded in the leg, and taken prisoner at Tinemouth; and by his capture the rebellion was finally subdued. He lived in prison about 30 (*i*) years, and grew old suffering the punishment of his crimes.' On his (*k*) capture the earldom of Northumberland was no longer governed by an Earl, but was kept by the King and his successor Henry I in their own hands. As for bishop Geoffry, the governor of our castle, he must have abandoned Bristow, from whence he probably retired to his bishopric in Normandy: it is said, that he died (*l*) in 1093. Wolstan survived according to some (*m*) authors until 1094; another (*n*) quoted by Leland says that "he rebuilt the Cathedral church from the ground; and died in 1095, 9 Will' Rufus, aged 90;" to which date (*o*) others agree. 'His (*p*) bones according to the custom of that age were considered as holy Relics; and removed with great reverence into a more costly receptacle, when the church of Worcester was consecrated at Whitsuntide A' D' 1218: and the death of the bishop of Worcester, which happened forty days after the consecration, was usually considered as a punishment for having treated St Wolstan's bones at that time with great disrespect.

(*h*) Order' Vit' 8, p' 704.—Lel' Coll' 1, p' 129.
(*i*) Order' Vit' lib' 7, 649, says *almost* 34.
(*k*) Lel' Itin' 7, 60.
(*l*) Barr' p' 207.
(*m*) Tho' Wikes and Ann' Waverl'.
(*n*) Lel' Coll' 1, 119.
(*o*) Ann' Margam.
(*p*) Ann' Waverl'.

§ 15. William Rufus, being now in peaceable possession of the kingdom, A' D' 1089 granted the royalty or Honor of Gloucester, of which the town and castle of Bristow were a part, to his cousin, Robert son of Haymo, usually called *Robert Fitzhaymo*. His father Haymo was lord of Corboyle in Normandy: but is called by the writer quoted above (III, 60) Herman, lord of Astremeville in Normandy. The Latin MS quoted by Leland (*q*) is thus; "Robert a young man, son of Haymo, lord of Ascreville [others write it *Astreville*] in Normandy, came into England with William the Conqueror." The same author says, "In process of time William Rufus gave the Honour of Glocester to Robert Fitzhaymo with all the liberty, with which Brictric held it. He took to wife Sibylla, sister of Robert Belesme, earl of Salop, and had by her four daughters, Mabile, Hawis, Cicely and Amice." His father Haymo was (*r*) Steward [*Dapifer*] to duke William his Uncle, one of the principal officers of the kings and barons of that age, and accompanied him in his invasion of England, allured no doubt by the hope of plunder and a settlement in England, as all Normandy, and the neighbouring provinces then were. He had two sons, Robert and Haymo: they are both witnesses to a charter (*s*) granted by Henry I, to the abbey of Tewkesbury, A' D' 1100. Of the latter we have little information; but Robert Fitzhaymo, being lord of Bristol and a chieftain of high renown, necessarily makes a figure in our annals. The anonymous historian of Tewkesbury quoted above gives this account of him. "William the Conqueror dying in the year 1087, his son William Rufus succeeds him. This William some time afterwards gave Brictric's Honour to Robert Fitzhamon freely and entirely as his father or Brictric ever held the same: and this he did in reward for his great labours and perils, which he had undergone for his father." Leland's Tewksbury MS says the same. Leland's own words (*t*) are these: "king William gave the preferment of the county of Glocester unto his wife Matilde. After, it came to Robert Fitzhaymo of the blood of duke Rollo, nephew unto king William Conqueror." Robert Ricart thus relates the history of Robert Fitzhaymo, attributing the grant to Will' the Conqueror. "Be"

(*q*) Leland Itin' 6, 78 [82].

(*r*) Madox Exch' II, 6.

(*s*) Atkyns p' 388.

(*t*) Itin' 6, 91 [96].

"it remembered, that K' William Conqueror after the decease of his queen, dame Mawde, by assent of his son Will' Rufus, that succeeded him King, in the year of our Lord God 1084 thonnour of Berton freely he gave unto the lord Robert, son of Haymon, who came with him out of Normandy into England."

§ 16. He was a man of very great military prowess, which he displayed on several occasions, particularly in an expedition to South-wales, where at the head of his own forces, and attended by twelve of his own knights, he conquered Glamorgan, a track of country larger than the present county of that name, which he held during his life, almost, if not wholly, independently of the crown of England, and transmitted securely to his successors. The history of this expedition and of the twelve knights and their families, may be seen in (*u*) Lloyd's Cambria. Being Lord of the Honour of Gloucester, he was consequently Lord of Bristow also. Leland is no bad authority for this assertion: he writes (*v*) thus from the little book of the Calendaries: "Robertus Consul, son to Hamon, was Earl of Glocester and lord of Brightstow, and founder of the abbey of Tewkesbyry." There remains moreover direct testimony of it: for 'king Henry I, in a (*w*) charter granted to the abbey of Tewkesbury dated 1106, confirms what Robert Fitzhamon and others had given to it; among other things the church of St Peter of Brigston [f. *Brigstou*] and the tithe of the rents of Brigston.' Simon bishop of Worcester in an original deed in my possession written soon after 1130 confirms to the abbey the same things, particularly the tithes of the lord's rents of Bristol [*cum decimis dominicorum reddituum de Bristo*]. And lastly William Earl of Gloucester in another original deed in my possession grants to the abbey of Tewkesbury all the churches, which had before been granted to it by his grandfather Robert Fitzhaymon; first the church of St Peter of Brist' &c. There can be no plainer proof that Robert Fitzhaymon was feudal lord of Bristol.

(*u*) Lloyd's Cambria, by Powell, late edition, p' 89, 90 &c.

(*v*) Itin' 7, 94.

(*w*) Dugdale Monast' Vol' 1, p' 161.

§ 17. Moreover the castle of Bristow must have been his principal residence when in England; for it was the *caput Honoris*, the head or chief place of the Honour of Gloucester, the residence of the lord or baron. For the habits of the military chiefs of that age were averse to a residence in towns; no great man lived in a town, and therefore "a city or town," as Madox says, (*x*) "could not be the head of a barony. When a town was part of a barony, it was only part of the demesnes of a barony; but if there was a castle there, the castle was usually the head of the barony. For example the town of Richmond in Yorkshire was part of the demean of the honour of Richmond, but the castle was the *Caput honoris*;" and the case of Bristol was the same. Lord Lyttleton's (*y*) opinion is somewhat differently expressed, but comes to the same meaning. He thinks that the residence of the Baron, wherever it might be, was the Head of the Barony. It might be expected, that Gloucester should be the Head of that Honour, and that Fitzhaymo and his successors should have made that place their residence. But Gloucester was always a royal possession, and seems to have been at that time a part of the earldom of Hereford, or at least in the possession of the earl of Hereford. The Conqueror granted the earldom of Hereford to his kinsman (*z*) William Fitzosborne. Fitzosborne (*a*) built the castle of East-bridge-hotel at Gloucester; his successor Walter, Constable of England, about A' D' 1122 built (*b*) the present castle on his own demene land, and his son Milo succeeded him in the government of the castles of Gloucester and Hereford. The earl of Hereford therefore had possession of the castle of Gloucester, either in his own right, or as constable of the Crown, and therefore the Lords of the Honour of Gloucester were obliged to make their residence in some other place. Holme Castle near Tewkesbury was the first seat; and afterwards they chose the castle of Bristol.

§ 18. At the time when king William Rufus was accidentally slain in the New-forest, Robert Fitzhaymo was with him at Winchester,

(*x*) Baron cap' 1.
(*y*) Hist' Hen' II, Vol' 2, p' 346.
(*z*) See above IV, 44.
(*a*) Atkyns p' 45.
(*b*) Idem pp' 266, 269, 272.

holding the office of Secretary or some other similar. "The King (*c*) after having holden his court gloriously and with his father's honour at Christmas in Gloucester, at Easter in Winchester, and at Whitsuntide in London, went to hunt in the New-Forest Aug' 2." Will' (*d*) Malms' and others say, that in the "night before his death the King was much frightened by a dream, and "calling on St Mary he awoke and ordered a light, and bade his chamberlains remain in the room. Just before the day broke, a certain monk, who came from beyond sea, related to Robert Fitzhamo, a principal man among the Nobles, a strange and horrid dream which he had seen that night concerning the King: that he had come into a certain church looking down on the bye-standers with a proud and insolent gesture, as he used to do: and laying hold of the Crucifix with his teeth, he gnawed it's arms, and almost tore off it's legs; that the Crucifix bore it a long time, but at length kicked the King, so that he fell backward; and that from his mouth, as he lay, issued so great a flame, that the volumes of smoke reached even to the stars. Robert Fitzhamo thinking that this dream ought not to be neglected, as being the King's Secretary or Privy-counsellor [*quòd ei à secretis erat*] immediately went in and related it to him. But he laughed loudly and repeatedly said, *he is a monk, he dreams for money, as monks do, give him an hundred shillings.*" Nevertheless, being much moved, he hesitated a long while, whether he should go into the wood, as he intended; his friends advising him not to make trial of the truth of dreams at his own cost."

§ 19. Ordericus Vitalis (*e*) tells the story thus. "In the month of July 1100, while the King's fleet was getting ready with great pomp of furniture, and he himself, having collected immense quantities of the precious metals, was waiting near the sea, horrid visions relating to the King were seen in monasteries and cathedrals [*Episcopiis*] by persons of both orders; from whence public conversations were every where spread about among the people in the markets and the churchyards, and were not concealed from the King himself. There was a certain monk of good character and better life in the monastery of St Peter of"

(*c*) Hen' Hunt' 7. (*d*) Lib' 4, p' 126. (*e*) Lib' 10.

"Gloucester, who reported that he saw in a nightly vision the following dream. I saw, said he, the Lord Jesus sitting on his throne" &c. after which he said that he saw the church in the form of a splendid virgin supplicating for protection against the wickedness and oppression of the King and his companions; and that Jesus Christ promised a speedy punishment to be inflicted on him. "The venerable Abbat Serlo having heard this indited a letter of admonition, and directed it to the King from Gloucester as a friend; in which he inserted at large what the monk had been told in his vision. - - - Next morning [Aug' 2] king William ate with his favourites [*cum parasitis suis*]; and after dinner he prepared himself to go hunting into the New forest. And while he was merrily rejoicing with his dependents [*cum clientibus suis*], and was putting on his boots, a certain smith came there and presented him with six heavy arrows [*catapultas*]. - - - - Lastly while they were conversing vainly on various subjects, and the King's domestic dependents were collecting about him, a certain monk of Gloucester came up, and offered to him his Abbat's letter. The King having heard it burst into a loud laugh, - - - and despising the admonition of his elders, not remembering that *the heart is lifted up before destruction*, he said concerning the letter which he had heard; *I wonder that my lord Serlo should choose to relate such things, who is really, I think, a good Abbat, and a prudent lord* [*maturus Senior*]. *Out of great simplicity he relates the dreams of dotards to me, who am busied in so many affairs, and intends to spread them over the country by setting them down in writing. Does he think that I shall follow the custom of the English, who put off a journey or their business on account of the dreams of old women?* So saying, he rose up quickly, and mounting his horse hurried into the wood. His brother earl Henry, and Will' de Briteuil, and other illustrious persons were there, who all went into the wood, where the hunters were duly scattered in different places. And when the King and Walter Tirrell with a few companions were placed in the wood, and being armed were eagerly expecting their prey, a beast suddenly running between them, the King quitted his station, and Walter shot an arrow, which grazing the hair on the back of the beast flew rapidly on and mortally wounded the King, who stood opposite. He presently fell to the ground, and died immediately."

§ 20. We have no account that William Rufus ever came to Bristol. From the following passage it appears that he was once at least in the neighbourhood. "In (*f*) the year 1093 (*g*) being attacked by a violent disorder in the royal town of Alvestan, he went in haste to the city of Gloucester, and there lay sick all Lent. When he thought that he should soon die, his Barons suggested to him, that he ought to amend his life, no longer to sell churches, nor set them to rent [*ad censum ponere*], but to protect them by the royal power, to abolish bad laws, and set up good ones: all which he promised to God, that he would do." But he broke his promise and continued in his evil practices till his death Aug' 2, 1100. Alvestan is stiled above a *royal* town [*regia villa*]. It was part of the (*h*) property of *him*, whom the Normans chose to call *Earl* Harold, although his title to the crown was at least as good as that of the Conqueror. After the battle of Hastings, Harold's property was confiscated, and merged in the King's lands.

(*f*) Flor' Worc'—Sim' Dunh'—Diceto, and the Saxon Chron'.

(*g*) In 1092 Anon' ap' Lel' Coll' 2, 418.

(*h*) Domesd' book fo' 163, 1.

End of Chapter V.

CHAPTER VI.

HENRY I.

1. *King Henry I. Rob' Fitzhaymo's allegiance.*—2. *His misfortune.*—3. *He founds Tewkesbury. His piety, death and burial.*—4. *His daughters. Robert earl of Glocester marries Mabile.*—5. *Robert called Fitzroy, and Rufus, and Consul.*—6. *His birth, and*—7. *His marriage.*—8 *to* 13. *His property.*—9. *The Earldom of Glocester.*—10, 11. *The Barony and Honour of Glocester.*—12. *The Lordship of Glamorgan. His possessions in Kent. All this property intended for king Henry.*—13. *His estate in Normandy.*—14. *Castle of Marlborough. His ready money. His qualifications.*—15. *His religion.* 16, 17, 18. *The King visits Bath. Battle of Tinchbrai. Imprisonment, blindness and death of duke Robert.*—19. *Death of Harding, and succession of Robert Fitzharding.*—20. *Grant of Robert Fitzharding.*—21, 22. *His places of abode.*—23, 24. *His marriage, and his Wife's relations.*—25. *Earthquakes.*—26. *The King at Berkeley. His death.*

§ 1. ON the death of William Rufus, his younger brother Henry, who was on the spot, took possession of the crown to the prejudice of his elder brother earl Robert, who was in Normandy. In this disputed claim, Robert Fitzhaymo gave his allegiance to king Henry, and continued stedfast in it, when almost all the other Nobles deserted him, and

went over to Robert. 'He (*a*) was in Normandy in 1104; and when king Henry crossed over into that country, he and most of the other Nobles, who held lands in both countries, joined him. When the King returned to England, and a war between him and his brother duke Robert appeared likely to happen, the partizans of the Duke took Fitzhaymo prisoner, with many other of the King's friends, and Gunher de Alney kept him in the city of Bayeux, until king Henry appeared before it with an army in the spring of 1106, when he was set at liberty.'

§ 2. He was miserably unfortunate in the latter part of his life: for while in Normandy, whether at the battle of Tenchbrai or elsewhere I know not, "he (*b*) received a blow on the temple with a pole, which deprived him of his senses, and he lived a long time insane." He (*c*) died in 1107; in (*d*) which year six more of the King's Councillors [*Conciliatores*] died.

§ 3. Nor was this military Chief inattentive to the interests of religion, as will appear from the following extract. The anonymous historian of Tewksbury above-mentioned thus concludes his account of him. "This honorable person Robert Fitzhamon after having founded this famous monastery, and performed many great actions died and went to heaven in the month of March [on the (*e*) ides of March] in the year 1107, and in the seventh year of the reign of king Henry I, and his body was buried in the Chapter-house of Tewkesbury, as was then the custom of many venerable and noble lords [as (*f*) many of the principal persons of Mercia had long done]. His body was afterward removed by the care of Robert the third Abbat of blessed memory into the church, and was honorably interred between two pillars, on the right hand of the Presbytery. (*g*) This was done about the year 1241; and"

(*a*) Order' Vit' lib' 11.

(*b*) *Robertum filium Haymonis, qui conto ictus tempora, habetatusque ingenio, non pauco tempore quasi captus mente supervixit.* Will' Malms' 5.

(*c*) Sim' Dunh'—Ann' Marg'. (*d*) Flor' Worc'.

(*e*) Leland's Tewkesbury Latin MS; which in other respects agrees with Dugdale's.

(*f*) Anon' apud Atkyns.

(*g*) Leland's Tewkesb' Latin MS has *coemeterii* instead of *presbyterii*.

"afterward in process of time, Thomas Parker the 18*th* Abbat in the year 1397 caused a chapel of stone admirably carved [*tabulatam*] to be erected over him, and appointed a mass for the dead to be celebrated every day with the collect for the founders *Have mercy on us Lord &c* in perpetual memory of their founder and his wife." The Tewksbury Latin MS copied by Leland gives the same account. Leland's own words are to the same effect; only he says, that the body was translated into the north side of the Choir in a (*h*) chapel; and he adds the epitaph on the ceiling of the chapel [*in camerâ sacelli*]; *Hic jacet Robertus filius Haymonis, hujus loci fundator.* And he adds that Robert Fitzhaymo newly made the buildings in the monastery and church with the tower; and the Consul Robert his son-in-law built the spire on the tower. Rob' Ricart gives a similar account of this foundation; "Robert Fitzhaymo (he says) at thinstance and exeitation of his wife Dame Sibill, bi grace of the holy Goost he founded of the newe and newe billed, to the worship of God and of his Blessed Modre Seynt Mary, the churche of Tewxebury, with all the houses of office of the same."

§ 4. He married (*i*) Sibylla, or as others called her (*k*) Isabella, daughter of Roger Montgomery, earl of Arundel, and sister of Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had no son, but four daughters. This great Fief therefore came again into the hands of the King, who according to the law of that age, must have taken the administration upon himself, as guardian of the daughters until their marriage. The historian (*l*) of Tewksbury gives the following account of these ladies. "King Henry I being unwilling that so great a lordship as the Honor of Glocester should be divided among sisters, preferred Cicely to be Abbess of Shaftsbury, and Hawis to be Abbess of (*m*) Winchester, and gave Amice in marriage to the earl of Bretagne; reserving Mabile, the eldest sister, for his bastard son Robert, to whom he gave"

(*h*) A view of this chapel may be seen in Gough's Sepulchral Mon' Vol' 1, p' 19, with some account of the Founder.

(*i*) MS ap' Lel' Itin' 6, p' 78 [82].

(*k*) Id' p' 79 [83].

(*l*) Ap' Dugdale Tewkesb' Vol' 1, p' 155.

(*m*) Leland corrects this account, and calls her Abbess of *Wilton*. See Itin 6, 79 [83]; and 92 [97].

"her in marriage, together with the entire Honour belonging to her father, Robert Fitzhamon, creating him the first Consul and Earl of Glocester after the Conquest." Rob' Ricart (p' 26) tells the same story. "Rob' Fitzhaymo (says he) begat on Sibylle his wife four daughters, whose names are these: first Cecilia, that afterward was Abbess of Shaftesbury; and Hawisia, the same wise Abbess of Wilton; Mabilia was wedded to Robert, son of king Harry, being Erle of Gloucester; and Amicia was married to the erle of Little Bretaign: - - - and after the decease of the said Robert, son of Haymon, king Harry the first thonnour of the same Robert held and kept the space of ij yere: and for that it should not be impaired nor abused with wrong sewtes, usages and customs, by good advice of his council the said king Harry gave the said Robert Haymon's daughter unto Robert his son, called *Robert Consull*, and made him erle of Gloucester. The forsaid Robert son of Haymon lived after the decease of Will' Rufus *vij* yere, reigning king Harry the first. The foresaid Robert Consull, erle of Gloucester built the tower and castle of Bristowe, and the Priory of St James of the said town, and the Castle of Kaerdyff. And the foresaid Robert Consul, erle of Glouc' lived in his erldom *xl* winters, and much in the time of his father Harry the first." Leland's Tewksbury MS says the same; but afterward Leland in his own words (*n*) says, that "he left three daughters, whereof the two elder were Nuns, the one at Sheaftesbyri, the other at Wileton. King Henry the first kept the third, and she was after married to Robertus Consul." Afterward he writes *Hawisia, uxor Roberti Cons'*. Her name however was certainly *Mabile:* she is so called in a (*o*) charter of earl John, which is unquestionable authority, confirmed by (*p*) Will' Malmesb' and others. *Haweis* was the name of one of her sisters, and also of the next succeeding Countess of Glocester; which might easily have occasioned the mistake.

§ 5. Thus the great estates of Robert Fitzhaymo came into the hands of Robert, illegitimate son of king Henry I, who on that account is sometimes called *filius Regis* or *Fitzroy*. I find it doubted, whether

(*n*) Leland Itin' 6, 92 [97].

(*o*) Chartul' S'ti Aug' fo' 21.

(*p*) Novell' 2, p' 192.

there be good and ancient authority for calling him *Fitzroy*. Will' Malmesb' dedicates his history *Comiti filio Regis Roberto:* and again in p' 1 of Hist' Novellæ. So also Ordericus Vitalis in A' D' 1133 writes *Ricardus Rodberti, filii Regis, filius.* Stowe in reckoning king Henry's children mentions "Robert Fitzroy, whom he made earl of Gloucester." This is surely as good authority for *Fitzroy*, as *filius Hardingi, filius Comitis* &c, for *Fitzharding, Fitzcount* &c. Beside, in the verses quoted below in § 7. the King expressly gives him that name. Leland often calls him *Robert Rufus* or *Rowse*, because he had red hair: but I can find no other authority for this name; and since there was another earl of Glocester, called by Leland also *the redde yerle*, [*rubeus Comes*] one of the Clares, the denomination *Rufus* may be doubted. Robert, when he became *earl of Glocester* was commonly so called; but as frequently he is styled by cotemporary authors *Consul of Glocester*. The title *Consul* appears to have been in common use among the Roman-Britons, and to have been given to all persons of high authority, superseding the title *Cæsar*. Nennius (*q*) writes thus; "the island Britain is so called from one Brutus, a Roman Consul." So also he writes (§ 22) "from the time of the Emperor Maximus they began to be Consuls, and were never after called Cæsars." 'Merlin, (*r*) when asked by king Vortigern who was his father, replied, one of the Roman Consuls.' When the Romans quitted England, the word still remained in common use; and is found in our historians of the Saxon and Norman periods synonymous with *Comes* or *Earl;* the same person being frequently named with both titles indifferently even in the same page; and the earldom is very often called *consulatus*. Henry of Huntingdon for example calls Godwin, Harald's father, *Godwin consul;* so he writes *Baldwinum Consulem Flandriæ; Ricardus, Consul Normanniæ;* and the English earls he generally calls by that title. So it is in Geoffry of Monmouth. A Charter (*s*) of Henry II to the Abbey of St Augustine is directed to all his - - - - *Consuls*. This title therefore, as well as *Dux* and *Comes*, was in common speech from the Roman age to the end of the Norman; it was then discontinued, whereas the other two remained in use. It is probable that this title was given to other dignitaries also, beside Earls,

(*q*) Nenn' § 2. (*r*) Nenn' § 44. (*s*) Chartul' S'ti Aug'fo' 19 or 20.

in those countries where there were such ; for Ordericus, speaking of Robert, duke of Normandy and Drogo, earl of Wolcassin, calls them "the two Consuls." It seems to have been given to Robert earl of Glocester more regularly than to any other Earl.

§ 6. He was the most illustrious person of that age, and being lord of Bristow, the reader must expect to find very frequent mention of him in the following pages. He was born at Caen in Normandy, and on that account he is sometimes (*t*) called *Robert de Caen*. Lord Lyttleton (*u*) says, that his mother was Nesta daughter of Rees ap Tudor, prince of South-Wales. Rapin (or his Annotator) says (*v*) that *Henry* was the name of that son, who was born of Nesta, and he gives further particulars concerning her and her son Henry ; but he quotes no authority, neither does he inform us, who was the mother of Robert. His father king Henry I proposed him to Mabile above-mentioned as a husband, by virtue of that authority which every feudal lord had a right to exercise over the property and children of a deceased tenant. Perhaps also the King was the less scrupulous on this account, because this was the very property, which his father the Conqueror had reserved for him, and which his brother Rufus had unjustly given to Fitzhaymo. Robert Fitzroy was created earl of Glocester and married 1109, being then about 20 years of age, and thereby became at once the most powerul subject in England.

§ 7. The following is the account of this transaction given by Robert of Gloucester. The author was a monk of that place, and wrote a history of England from Brut to Henry III, in Saxon and in rhyme: but his language and his rhymes are so very uncouth, that I have thought it better to translate (or rather *to metaphrase*) his words into plain English prose, particularly since the original is easy to be procured. He is a very circumstantial writer, and when he comes near his own time, he is apparently very correct. 'Mabile the daughter of Robert'

(*t*) By Orderic' Vit' A' D' 1139.

(*u*) Hist' Hen' II, Vol' 1, p' 320, and Sandford's Geneal' Hist' 1, 7, p' 47.

(*v*) Note at the end of Henry I.

'Fitzhaymo was heir of all his land; and the King bethought him of her heritage, wishing to advance the fortune of his illegitimate son Robert by marrying him to her. When he made the proposal that she should marry his son, she was against it, and long withstood it; and when the King often sollicited her, she at last answered like a good and courteous maiden. Sir, said she, I see plainly that your heart is set on me, more for the sake of my inheritance, than of myself. Having such an inheritance as I have, it would be dishonorable to me to have a lord, who had not two names. My father's name was Sir Robert le Fitzhaym, and that inheritance ought not to be any man's who was not of his rank. Therefore, Sir, for God's love let me have no man for a husband, who has not two names, whereby he may be known. Damsel, quoth the King, thou sayest well in this case: thy father's name was Robert le FitzHaym, and I will take care that my son shall have one as fair, for his name shall be *Sir Robert Fitz le Roy*. Sir, said the maiden, that is a fair name and of great repute, as long as he shall live; but what shall his son be called, or any other of his descendants? unless care be taken of that also, they may soon come to have no name. The King perceived that the maiden said nothing unreasonable; and knowing that Gloucester was the chief place of her heritage, Damsel, said he, thy lord shall have a fair, unobjectionable name, for himself and for his heirs: his name shall be *Robert earl of Gloucester*, and he and his heirs shall be earls of Gloucester. Sir, quoth the maiden, then I like this well; on these terms I consent that all my lands shall be his. Thus was made the first earl of Gloucester since the Conquest: it was in the eleven hundred and ninth year since our Lord came down on earth, and in the ninth year after the King's crownment, that Robert, king Henry's son was made first earl of Gloucester by marrying the right heir; a man, who for his good deeds deserves to be ever had in remembrance. And Bristow through his wife was also his, and he brought the town to great honour, as it still is; and there he built a castle with the noble tower, that of all the towers of England is esteemed the flower. He reared also St James's Priory of black monks, a little on the northern side of the town, where his body yet lyeth; for he was'

'buried before the high altar there; that Convent belongs to the House of Tewkesbury. And his son the earl William, who succeeded him, began and reared the abbey of Keynsham.'

§ 8. I shall endeavour to give some account of his property, and authority. First he was earl of Gloucester from the gift of his father. This title *Earl* is usually supposed to be derived from the Saxon *Jarl*, pronounced *Yarl:* Mr. Roberts however (*w*) contends that *iärl* is a true ancient British word. Whether British or Saxon, it is the same office, as that which in Latin and it's derivative languages is *Comes*, *Comte*, *Count:* and although the word *Count* has never been adopted in English, yet the wife of an earl has no other title than *Countess*, from *comitissa*, *comtesse*. From all this the connexion between the Earl or Count and his county is evident; he was *governor of the county*, executing the office of the modern Lord Lieutenant and much more; and the Sheriff was his *Vicecomes*, *Viscount*, or *Deputy earl*. The earldom was, as I apprehend, always annexed to some barony; and the Earl was appointed to it by (*x*) investiture. The form consisted in girding on a sword and belt probably by the hand of the Sovereign himself, and with words expressive of the county or earldom, of which he received the grant. Robert was the first earl of Gloucester since the Conquest. It is true, Leland (*y*) calls Robert Fitzhaymo earl of Gloucester, but he has no authority for it. Mention is (*z*) made of one William Fitzeustace, earl of Glouc' in the time of Will' Rufus: but Camden does not believe there was ever such a man. During the Saxon period of our history, *Jarl* being a common title, earls of Gloucester are mentioned: and whereas

(*w*) Brut Tys'

(*x*) Lord Lyttleton says that the earl was appointed by charter of Creation. Vide *Hist' Hen' II*, pp' 349, 350, but I think the following quotations will justify me. *Quo etiam anno* [1227] *Non' Feb' Hubertus, Angliæ Justiciarius, gladio accinctus est a Rege comitatûs Cantiæ.*—And again *Anno gratiæ* 1240 *rex Henricus tertius tenuit curiam suam ad Natale Domini apud Winton; ubi Baldewinum de Ripariis ipso die Natali baltco cinxit militari & comitatu Vectæ insulæ investivit.* Matth' Westm'—*Joannes rex die Coronationis suæ accinxit Gul' Marescallum gladio comitatûs de Striguil, et Gaufridum filium Petri gladio comitatûs de Essex: qui licet ante vocati essent comites, et administrationem comitatuum suorum habuissent, non tamen erant accincti gladio comitatûs.* Lel' Coll' 1, 293.

(*y*) Coll' 1, 78 [82] and Itin' 7, 94.

(*z*) Lyttl' Hist' Hen' II, Vol' 2, p' 351 and Atkyns p' 380. He is said to have been slain in an invasion of Wales. See *David Powell's Cambria* p' 116.

it is expressed above, that Robert Fitz-roy was *first* earl of Glouc' *since* the Conquest, it is reasonable to infer, that there were such *before* that era. Leland often styles Brictric *earl*, and probably he was so; nevertheless, he is not called by any title in Domesday-book, nor in the anonymous history of Tewkesbury.

§ 9. However this be, Robert was certainly the first *Norman* earl of Gloucester, and to him the government of the county was entrusted: for the earldom was not, as now, a mere empty title of honour: K' Stephen indeed created (*a*) earls merely titular, as in modern times; but Henry II abolished them. Neither was the earldom without it's profits. The Earl received the third penny out of all (*b*) pleas, which Lord Lyttleton supposes might amount to £30 or £40 per ann'. I rather suppose that he received the third penny of every part of the royal revenue, of tolls, customs, &c, paying two thirds to the King; otherwise the amount of the Earl's income would be unaccountable. How much the earldom of Glouc' was worth we are not informed: but I find the value of the earldom of Surry to be £1000 a year; and there is no reason to suppose that of Glouc' to be less. The historian (*c*) writes that "A' D' 1103 William de Warren went in sorrow to Robert, duke of Normandy, and complained that by his means he had suffered a great damage, inasmuch as he had lost the earldom of Surry, which brought him annually 1000 pounds of silver." Multiply (*d*) any sum in the age, of which we are now speaking, by about eighteen, and it will give a sum equivalent for the purchase of necessaries in the money of the present time. Another anecdote related by Leland (*e*) may also assist us in forming an estimate of the value of an earldom in that age. William de Puteaco, who was bishop of Durham at 25 years of age bought the earldom of Northumberland from king Henry I for term of his life: the price was 12,000. It may be conjectured that the earldom produced at least £2000 per annum.

(*a*) Lyttl' Hist' Hen' II, 2, p' 137. and see Ann' Wav' further on in 2 Hen' II.
(*b*) Hist' Hen' II, Vol' 2, p' 349 and 350; and Vol' 3, p' 134. (*c*) Ord' Vit'
(*d*) Vide Fleetwood's Chron' pretiosum: but accuracy on this subject is unattainable.
(*e*) Leland Coll' 2, 333.

§ 10. From his wife he received the Honour of Gloucester, one of the principal baronies in England. A Barony was a large landed estate, usually consisting of many manors, possessed by one lord, who was the Baron. These manors, all perhaps except his own immediate residence, he granted, by what was called *subinfeudation*, to inferior lords, who held them of the superior, as the superior held them of his sovereign lord the King. The baronies therefore were actual territories granted by the King, and holden of him by homage and military service, and the privileges and profits followed the territory of course. Nevertheless it is not quite certain, what constituted a barony. 'It (*f*) was not the quantity of the land, nor the number of knight's fees: for examples occur of baronies which contained no more than three; and on the other hand of persons who held thirty, which did not constitute a barony.' It was however a particular species of tenure *in Chief;* for the Abbat of St Augustin in Bristol was summoned to Parliament, "although he does (*g*) not hold of us by barony or by any other mode *in capite.*"

§ 11. When one of these baronies had been anciently in the hands of the King, it was usual to call it *an Honour*, of which there were numbers in England and Normandy, beside this of Gloucester. Some of the greater of these barons lived in a style of rude magnificence as near to royalty, as their circumstances would admit. The earls of Gloucester had their Chancellor, (*h*) Marshall, Steward [*dapifer*] Seneschall, Prepositor, Constables of castles, (*i*) Sheriff of Glamorgan and the like. Many had even subordinate Barons; as for example Will' earl of Chichester confirms all the donations, which his Barons had granted or should grant to the Canons of Chichester. (*k*) Robert Fitshaymo's Barons are mentioned in a charter (*l*) granted by Hen' I to the abbey of Abingdon: and again "the Barons holding of Robert Fitzhaymo in all Wales" are mentioned in a charter (*m*) granted by Henry I to the abbey of Tewkesbury A' D' 1106. They held courts of all kinds, even with

(*f*) Lyttleton Hist' b' 2 p' 130.
(*g*) Prynne's Records p' 33.
(*h*) Charters of Bristol pp' 6 and 10.
(*i*) Chartul' S'ti Augustina fo' 11, 12.
(*k*) Monast' Vol' 3, p' 123.
(*l*) Dugdale Monast' Vol' 1 p' 106.
(*m*) Atkyns p' 388.

power of life and death: they levied taxes within their baronies, some of them independently of the Crown: they granted charters of privileges in regal style, directed to their vassals and subjects [*hominibus suis & fidelibus*]: One of these Grants in my possession begins thus; *Willelmus, Comes Gloecestriæ Dapifero suo et Constabulario Novi-Burgi, & omnibus Baronibus suis et hominibus, Francis & Anglis & Walensibus, Salutem.* Some of them, if not all, coined money. The profits of the Baron, as of any other lord, arose from fines, reserved rents, mortuaries, licences to buy and sell, services, customs, tolls, &c; concerning the amount of those which belonged to the Honour of Gloucester, I have found nothing more, than the general information contained (*n*) below: no inconsiderable part of those profits must have arisen from the town and port of Bristol.

§ 12. The lordship of Glamorgan must have been an important addition to Earl Robert's power and property. His father-in-law Fitzhaymo had conquered it, and made Cardiff his capital: he held it without interruption, and Robert during his long wars continued to draw abundance of men, and perhaps of money, from thence. He had possessions also in Kent, probably the earldom or county; because that, as well as the Honour of Glocester, was given by the Conqueror to his queen Matilda, and all queen Matilda's property was given to Fitzhaymo, and from him came to the Consul Robert. All historians say that the Conqueror gave the earldom of Kent to his queen; and the following passage proves, that with her other property it ought to have passed to their younger son Henry; but that William Rufus took it from his brother, and gave it to Fitzhaymo. "Henry, (*o*) who was heir to the Crown, governed the people of the earldom of Coutance with strictness, and continued in violent opposition to his brothers. With the Duke [Robert, duke of Normandy] he was at enmity, on account of the unjust imprisonment, which he had suffered from him: and moreover he was an enemy to the king of England on account of his mother's lands in England, of which the King had disseized him, and given them to Robert Fitzhaymo." If therefore the Queen's property in Kent went to Fitzhaymo, it must have descended to the Consul Robert: and accordingly we shall find

(*n*) See Chapt' X, § 8. (*o*) Order' Vit' 7, p' 669.

below (VIII, 27 and 28) that at the beginning of Stephen's reign in 1138, the castles of Canterbury and Dover and Leeds in Kent were all in his possession. And there is reason to suppose, that some lands in Hampshire belonged to the Honour; for 'Henry (*p*) III toward the end of his reign granted several manors in the counties of Southampton and Kent belonging to the Honour of Glocester to the then Countess of Glocester, and her son Gilbert de Clare.'

§ 13. Beside the above-mentioned great possessions belonging to the Consul Robert in England and Wales, he had also a vast estate in Normandy, probably the original estate of Haymo before the Conquest of England. The historian of the Normans gives this account of his property. King Henry, beside his children born to him by his queen Matilda, "had six (*q*) sons and seven daughters, begotten in an illicit manner [*minus honesto modo*]. For the elder of them Robert his father procured in marriage a certain noble young lady by name *Sibylla* [certainly (*r*) *Mabile*], daughter of Robert Fitzhaymo, grand-daughter [*neptem*] by his daughter Mabile [Sibylla] of Roger de Montgomery, the father of Robert de Bellesme; giving him a great estate both in Normandy and in England, which belonged to the aforesaid lady by hereditary right. From her he had five sons William his eldest, and his brothers; and one daughter. Of the estate which he gained with the said lady the head is a town called Torigni [*Torrinneium*], situate on the borders of the earldoms or counties of Bayeux and Coutance, distant almost two miles from a river called *Vire*, which in the hither part divides the said counties. Which town, after it came into the power of his jurisdiction, was fortified by the said Robert Fitz-roy against the attempt of all enemies by high towers and very strong walls, and also by craggy ditches, cut in the rocky mountain itself; and it was also in a great measure entrenched and rendered inaccessible by means of water collected in ponds. And although the circumjacent country is little capable of being made fruitful in corn, yet the town is populous, full of tradesmen of different commodities, adorned with public and private buildings, and not without"

(*p*) Madox Baron' Ang' p' 59.

(*q*) Will' Gemm' 8. 29.

(*r*) See above § 4 ad fin'.

"abundance of gold and silver. The King also gave him the land of Haimo, the royal Steward [*Haimonis Dapiferi*], his wife's uncle. Moreover, because it was a light thing for a King's son to possess large estates without the name and honour of some public dignity, his affectionate father gave him the earldom or county of Gloucester. This Earl's brother Richard, together with their brother William [the King's legitimate son, and heir of the crown], together with their sister Matilda, countess of Perche, all perished together" in the wreck of the *White ship* so often related.

§ 14. The last part of Earl Robert's landed property which I have been able to ascertain is the Castle of Marlborough, being probably part of the Honour of Glocester: and beside all this, his father left him a vast sum of money. On his death bed, "he (*s*) ordered his son Robert to take £60,000 out of his treasure at Falaise, of which Robert himself was the keeper, and to bestow rewards and donatives on his servants, and his mercenary soldiers." This sum was equivalent in the market to almost a million of our present money. It appears therefore, that Robert, earl of Glocester and lord of Bristow was the richest and most powerful baron of that age. And beside the adventitious circumstances of wealth and power, the English history can scarcely at any period produce among our nobility a character of greater excellence in other respects. His dignity and relation to the King placed him in the highest rank of political importance; and of his bravery and the chivalrous spirit with which he exerted it, every transaction during the civil war of Stephen and Matilda gives sufficient testimony: and in that war he bore so great a share, that the early part of Lord Lyttleton's History of Henry II might be almost entitled, *the History of the Earl of Gloucester*. His father's learning in an unlearned age had procured him the name of *Beauclerc;* and from him it is probable that the son had imbibed the same spirit, for he is represented by his cotemporaries as a lover and a patron of literature. Geoffry of Monmouth in dedicating his history to the Earl speaks of him as critically acquainted with the Latin language. After relating in what manner the Welsh MS came into his hands, and

(*s*) Orderic Vit' A' D' 1135.

that he had translated it into Latin in his own homely style, he proceeds, "To you therefore, Robert earl of Glocester, this work humbly sues for the favor of being so corrected by your advice, that it may not be thought the poor offspring of Geoffry of Monmouth; but when polished by your refined wit and judgement, the production of him, who had Henry the glorious king of England for his father, and whom we see an accomplished Scholar and Philosopher, as well as a brave soldier and expert commander; so that Britain with joy acknowldges, that in you she enjoys another Henry." William Malmsb' likewise dedicates his history to the earl of Gloucester. "To you (he says in his dedication) have descended the magnanimity of your grandfather, the munificence of your uncle, the prudence of your father: - - - you make it a peculiar part of your glory, to pay attention to literature. This also I must mention, that you esteem those learned persons, worthy of your notice, whom either the envy of fame, or the slenderness of their fortune renders obscure. - - - Literary men therefore experience in you manners suitable to them; for you look upon them kindly, so as to put them beyond the apprehension of ill-humour; you admit them pleasantly, you dismiss them munificently.

§ 15. Lastly he was a religious man, as religion then was; which he testified by the usual practices of that age, by endowing religious establishments, and by patronizing churchmen. He founded the monastery of Margam in South-wales: he built the priory of St James in Bristol: he bred up his youngest and favourite son Robert, designing him for holy Orders, into which he afterward entered, and became bishop of Worcester: and as a proof of his attachment to churchmen, it is recorded, that as often as he was at Bristol on festival days, he chose to be attended by the Abbot of Tewkesbury and twelve monks. Such is my translation of the following passage. "*Robertus* (*t*) *nothus solebat singulis solemnibus diebus habere secum Abbatem de Theokesbyri cum* 12 *monachis Bristolliæ.*" The Tewkesb' historian above-mentioned expresses it thus. 'He (*u*) founded a Priory at St James's in Bristol, and endowed it, and united it to Theokesbury "for the love he had for"

(*t*) Tewksbury MS ap' Leland, Itin' 6, 79 [83].

(*u*) Monast' Vol' 1, p' 155.

"that monastery, and because he was accustomed to have with him the Abbat of Theokesbury with twelve monks every Sunday [*omni die Solis*] throughout the year, as long as he lived." Let not this attention which the Consul Robert paid to the Clergy be imputed to him as a fault: it was the practice of the age; and his antagonist, the warlike and thoughtless Stephen did the same. The historian, who writes Stephen's praise, tells us, (*v*) that "he used to bend himself with a low reverence to all persons who belonged to any religious order or institution." And although it will probably be said, that in a learned and enlightened age such ceremony is misplaced, yet in barbaric ages and nations the reverence paid to the clergy and the monks, the freedom from violence and perfect liberty of access and speech which they usually enjoyed, and the security with which they passed through the midst of contending warriors, tended much to soften the atrocities of warfare, and the cruelties of tyrannical lords. The two following extracts from letters written to the bishop of Worcester, Earl Robert's son, will shew what opinion eminent men of his own age had of his virtue and religion. Archbishop Becket writes thus: "Your father, as is piously believed by the faithful, lived more fortunately with respect to God, than with respect to his children." He alludes to the wickedness and disobedience of the greater part of Earl Robert's sons. The next extract is from a letter of John of Salisbury to the same bishop of Worcester. "I am addressing myself (says he) to the son of that illustrious Earl, who was worthy of being reckoned in the catalogue of Kings; but whose merit, on account of his *excellent* virtue, was such, that being placed on the summit of liberty, he saw kings in the rank beneathe (*w*) him." Such was the character of the Consul Robert, unquestionably the greatest man of that age.

§ 16. We return to the few remaining transactions of this reign, in which Bristol or it's neighbourhood was concerned. The King visited Bath at Easter A' D' 1106, and Salisbury at Whitsuntide, previously

(*v*) Gesta Steph' p' 931 lin' penult'

(*w*) The original Latin of these two letters may be seen in Hist' Hen' II, lib' 3, app' pp' 483, 502.

to his expedition against his eldest brother Robert, duke of Normandy. When that silly and unfortunate Prince was defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Tinchbrai Sept' 1106, the King who had determined to imprison him for the remainder of his life, committed him to the care of Roger, bishop of Salisbury; and afterward he was entrusted to the care of Robert earl of Gloucester, by whom he was kept for some time in the castle of Bristow, and from thence removed to his castle of Cardiff, where 'he (*x*) died in the year 1134.'—The Saxon Chron' has the following passage. "This year, 1126, the King permitted his brother Rotbert to be taken away from Roger, bishop of Særesbyri, and entrusted him to his son Rotbert, earl of Glewceaster, and suffered him to be carried to Bricstowe and there committed to the Castle. All this was done by the advice of his daughter, and of David, king of Scots, her uncle."

§ 17. Another historian after relating the battle of Tinchbrai thus proceeds; "And lest (*y*) restless persons, under pretence of assisting him, should disturb simple and quiet men, he sent him to England, and for 27 years kept him in prison, and fed him abundantly with all delicacies." And the same writer (*z*) says that "in the 28*th* year from the time when he was taken prisoner at Tenchbrai, and kept in his brother's prison, he died in Feb' at Cardiff in Wales [*Carduili Britanniæ*], and rests buried in the monastery of the monks of St Peter at Glocester." That he was kept at Bristol for part of his imprisonment, there can be no doubt; but one writer says he died here. "Robert duke of (*a*) Normandy died at Bristol, [*apud Bristoldum*] a castle of Robert earl of Gloucester his nephew, to whom king Henry had given him to be guarded. He died 4 ides Feb' [Feb' 10], and was buried in the church of St Peter at Gloucester, in the year from the incarnation of our Lord 1134." A singular event is said to have happened to him during his imprisonment. "In (*b*) the 28 year of king Henry's reign [A' D' 1127] died William, [duke Robert's son], a youth who was earl of Flanders, with whom the power and courage of all those, who assisted"

(*x*) Johan' Hagulst' p' 257—Ann' Waverl' in 1134. (*y*) Ord' Vit' lib' 11.

(*z*) Id' lib' 12. (*a*) Will' Gemm' lib' 8, cap' 16. (*b*) Orderic' Vital' lib' 12.

" him against his uncle, fell to the ground. Duke Robert, who was then kept in prison at Devizes, saw in a dream, that a lance which he held in his right arm was struck, and soon after taken from him. When he awoke in the morning, he said to those who stood by, *Alass, my son is dead.* The news of his death was not yet brought thither by any messenger, when his father, being informed of it in his dream, told it to those who were with him. He himself died six years afterwards at Cardiff [*Carduili*], and then being taken out of prison he was buried at Glocester," " with (*c*) great honour."

§ 18. The common story, that he was blinded by his brother Henry's order, is not mentioned by any of the writers quoted above, nor by some others, whose names are not here set down, and there are other reasons for disbelieving it, such as a Welsh sonnet, said to be written by him, in which he mentions the pleasantness of the view from the Castle windows. Nevertheless, the following narrative gives a consistent reason for this monstrous cruelty, and the general barbarity of the age renders it too probable. ' The (*d*) battle of Tenchbray was fought on the 8 Kalends of May [Apr' 24] A' D' 1106, where duke Robert was taken prisoner. " The King caused him to be kept safely; but mindful of his relationship to him, he was kept in free custody, without any want of food, with the benefit of light, and with expensive cloaths. He was also permitted to play at Chess, and at dice, and to wear the same robes as the King himself received: and he was permitted to walk about the neighbouring orchards and woods and pleasant places. One day while he was so wandering about, he suddenly leaped on a horse, which he had caught, while his guards were unaware, and fled. The guards raising a loud clamour instantly followed him, and in a dirty field, where his horse sunk to the belly, they caught him, and kept him close, until the King was acquainted with what had happened. Upon which the King ordered him to be privately deprived of his eyes, still preserving the balls [*salvis orbiculis*]. After which the Duke pined away with grief; and cursing the day of his birth, he did not much prolong his"

(*c*) Contin' Flor' Vigorn'. (*d*) Matth' Westm'.

"unhappy life. In the same year, as a sign of this unhappy event, two moons were seen in the sky, one in the East and one in the West, and a comet was seen about three o'clock, distant about one cubit from the Sun. - - - He died in the year of Grace 1134." And the same writer in another place, says that "he died in 1134 in custody, through weariness of life and deprived of his sight."

§ 19. The Consul Robert had been in possession of his great estates about six years, when Harding the Prepositor of Bristow died in 1115, at a very advanced age, if the expressions of the historians, quoted above [IV, 3] *qui nunc superest, qui adhuc vivit* belong to him. It is usually understood that his eldest son Robert Fitzharding succeeded him in his office of Chief magistrate; and it probably was so, but I have found no very ancient authority for so saying: if it were so, he must have been appointed by the Consul Robert, as lord of Bristol. "He was (*e*) born in Bristow, toward the end of William the Conqueror's reign, bred up in that town with Harding his father; and after his death possessing the most of his estate, which (as the effects point out) was great." [Supposing him to have been born in A' D' 1085, he was thirty years old, when he succeeded his father]. "He dwelled first in Baldwin (*f*) street," [with his father we may suppose: but his first *separate* residence was in Broad-street,] "afterwards he removed to the great Stone house, which he built on the Frome, as the words of an old Deed of that time are; part of which house to this day remaineth undemolished." This *old Deed* quoted by Mr. Smith is in the Chartulary of St Augustin, folio 33: being very curious, and containing information concerning other circumstances relative to our town at that time, the reader will be pleased to see the whole printed for the first time.

§ 20. *Robertus, filius Hardingi, omnibus* (1) *hominibus & fidelibus & amicis suis, Sal'. Sciatis quòd ego dedi et concessi Mauricio* [*filio*] *meo terram, quam habui in Brist' de* (2) *baroniâ Ric' Foliot, quam Boso*

(*e*) Smith p' 18.

(*f*) Smith quotes for this fact Aug' Chartul' fo' 34, in castro de Berk'—Rob' de Ricart MS—Cart' in castro de Berk'.

tenuit; & terram quam habui de baroniâ Ricar' de Sancto Quintino in (3) *Magno Vico; & terram quam habui de baroniâ Gilberti de Umfrauill': ipsi & heredibus suis Habendas & Tenendas hereditabiliter, sicut mihi concesse fuerunt à dominis terrarum illarum; Salvo servicio dominorum ipsarum terrarum. Preterea terram quam habui in Bradestretâ, in quâ primò mansi, & totum managium quod ibi habui: p'ter* [lege *preterea*] *magnam domum lapideam, quam feci super Fromam, dedi eidem Mauricio filio meo. Ita quòd Eva, uxor mea, terram illam teneat in vita sua, & post mortem ejus ad Maur' filium meum et heredes eius liberè & quietè revertatur, sicut illa de quâ* (4) *cum hereditatem et ca* [*i' e' cetera*] *dedi, simul cum terrâ in quâ* (5) *furnum habui versus murum, sicut itur ad Sanctum Jacobum; & cum aliis redditibus, quos ipsi dedi, tam in villâ de Brist', quàm extrà. T. &c.*

§ 21. The following observations occur. 1. From the expression *hominibus* i' e' liegemen and subjects, it must be supposed that this Charter was granted after he became possessed of Berkeley. See VIII, 81.—2. Within the small space of the original city, it appears that there were houses belonging to three different baronies.—3. *The great* or *main street;* the early name of *High-street*, as I suppose: in opposition to which *Small-street* was probably so called.—4. The MS in this place is scarcely intelligible.—5. *The wall, as you go towards St James*, may be the town wall near Bridewell; and the bakehouse may possibly be that which is described above Chapt' III, § 74.—That Fitzharding dwelt in Baldwin's street is, or at least was within memory, the general tradition of that neighbourhood. It must however be recollected, that until A' D' 1247 the river Frome ran through that street: and therefore it must be understood, that Fitzharding's *great stone house* which he built, was by the side of the river Frome in a place which was *afterwards* a part of Baldwin-street. And moreover, it could not have been on that side of the street nearest to St Nicholas-street, because *there* is not sufficient depth for his *great stone* house, the town-wall being only 69 feet distant from the street, which space must have been wholly occupied by the mound and the river or ditch. One of our (*g*) Calendars says,

(*g*) Quoted by Barrett, p' 661.

'that Fitzharding or his father (it is not clear which is meant) had a house in Baldwin-street, where was the Chapel of St Baldwin, which is now *the Back Hall.*' The Chapel of St Baldwin still forms a part of that extensive messuage now called the *Back-hall*, but formerly *Spicer's Hall.* The chapel of St Baldwin is about 30 feet long by 20 wide, and was, as I should suppose, the private chapel of the family. Another room of smaller dimensions is also shewn as a chapel, which was more probably a dining-hall. The strength of the whole building, the number and size of the rooms, and the form of the doors and windows, shew that this house was built in very ancient times, and for the use of a large and wealthy family, although now reduced to bare walls, and used as a warehouse for leather; but there are several reasons for believing that this was not Fitzharding's house. Some years ago in digging out a cistern in that house it was evident, that it had formerly been the bed of the river. Now that arm of the Froom was not filled up until 1247, consequently no house could have been built there until after that year; in Fitzharding's time the place must have been a mere morass. Beside, 'the great stone house on the Frome was (*h*) conveyed by Alice, widow of Maurice, the first of that name, lord Berkeley, to the Abbey of St Augustine, which Alice died about A' D' 1200: but Spicer's Hall was bequeathed to the Mayor and Commonalty in 1377 by Rich' Spicer, merchant, who then lived there. Now it is not probable, that any house granted to the Monastery about 1200, should be the property and residence of Rich' Spicer about 150 years after. I look for Fitzharding's house somewhere near the middle of Baldwin-street at one of those large courts and warehouses, the entrance of which is in Baldwin-street: thereabout within memory was the house, where it was said that king Henry II went to school, and thereabout was the house called king John's; of both of which more will be said hereafter.

§ 22. The situation of such a house must have been at that time free and open, far different from what it is at present. It was probably a single house or nearly so, with the front looking on the marsh, which extended to the hill of Billeswick, now the College-green, 'from which'

(*h*) Smith.

'place (*i*) the house was not 500 paces distant;' and the back part of it on this supposition must have touched on the river Froome or rather on the road now called Baldwin-street. Neither did Fitzharding or his father confine their residence to this place. Leland (*k*) writes "There is a place almost against Hung-road, called *Portchester*, where Harding and Robert his son had a fair house, and another in Brightstow town." From the name and situation it is evident unquestionably, that this place was the two houses and estates, then probably in one, now called *Sneed Park*, and *Sea-mills:* and it must be allowed, that in choosing this admirable situation for their country-house, they displayed no vulgar taste. The reader will recollect also, that this is the very spot, on which stood the ancient Roman town *Abona*.

§ 23. It was probably about the time of his father's death in 1115, (for his eldest son Maurice was born in 1117) that Fitzharding married a lady "named *Eva*, daughter of one Sir Estmond, and the lady Godiva his wife; whom the collections of (*l*) Glover, sometime Somerset Herald, (if we may believe him) maketh to be sister of William Conqueror by Rob' their father duke of Normandy: and in some other (*m*) collections of Heralds, this Eva is said to be *near* to Will' Conqueror; which confirmeth the former. By this Eva he had issue five sons and two daughters."—That the wife of Fitzharding, living as a citizen at Bristol, should be a sister of Will' the Conqueror, cannot be admitted for a moment. There is moreover good historical evidence, that neither Eva nor Godiva could have been his sister. The Conqueror's father, Robert duke of Normandy, had no other child but him, as it is distinctly expressed in the (*n*) speech he made to the States, before he set out on his journey to Jerusalem. 'After his death the Conqueror's mother Arletta (*o*) married one Herlevin, who had by her two sons Odo and Robert, beside a son Ralph by a former wife; but no mention is made of any daughter.' The historian minutely relates the care which the

(*i*) Smith p' 31.
(*k*) Lel' Itin' Vol' 7, p' 94.
(*l*) Mr. Smith quotes for this, *Collect' Gloveri cum Johanne Philpot, Herald' nepote suo.*
(*m*) Here he quotes *Vetus Rentale de Portburia, in castro de Berkeley.*
(*n*) Orderic' Vitalis 6, 12, p' 866.
(*o*) Ord' Vit' lib' 7, p' 660.

Conqueror took to advance the fortunes of these three persons: he would therefore certainly have mentioned a daughter, if there had been one.

§ 24. Neither will the chronology of the families allow that Eva should be the Conqueror's sister. She must have been born about A' D' 1100; not much earlier, because she lived until 1173, having outlived her husband, who died in 1170; and having founded a nunnery she was still able to act as Abbess, which is not likely, if she had been much more than 70 years of age at her husband's death. She could not have been born later than 1100, because even so, her first son must have been born, when she was only 17 years of age. Now duke Robert, the Conqueror's father died (*p*) in 1035; therefore no one born in 1100 could be his daughter. And if it be supposed that Godiva, Eva's mother (not Eva herself) was the Conqueror's sister, this supposition will turn out on examination worse than the former: for she could not be born later than A' D' 1035, the year of Robert's death; and Eva born in 1100 could not be her daughter. Moreover Sir Estmond and Godiva are Danish or Saxon names; how then could they be related to the *Norman* Conqueror? However by his wife Eva, whoever or whencesoever she was, Robert Fitzharding "had (*q*) issue, Henry, Maurice, Robert who had great possessions, and was Baron of Were near Axbridge, and Nicholas: he had also two daughters; Helena, married to the heir of lord Dursley; and Aldena, married to Kingscot of Kingscot."

§ 25. "On (*r*) Sunday Sept' 1120, about 3 on the clock, while they were singing mass, there happened a great earthquake in England, by which the walls of the churches through four counties were rent; Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, and Gloucestershire: and the adjoining counties saw it, and felt it and by it the inhabitants were exceedingly terrified."—The following notice relates to the same event, which one of the two authors has misdated. "A' D' 1119. There (*s*) was a great earthquake on Michaelmas day, in some parts of England, particularly in Glouc' and Worcester shires." The Saxon Chron' says the

(*p*) Sim' Dunh', Chron' Melros, & alii.—He died in the 15*th* year of Canute the Great. Chron' Bromton. (*q*) Sir Rob' Atkyns. (*r*) Order' Vit' lib' 12. (*s*) Ann' Waverl'.

same, dating it 1119 on the Evening of Michaelmas day. And it happened singularly that another phænomenon of the same kind was felt not long after. The Saxon Chron' mentions it thus : 1122. 8 Cal' Aug' [July 25] was a very great earthquake through all Somerset and Glocester shires.

§ 26. From several (*t*) writers of that time the transactions of the year 1121 may be thus collected. The King kept his Christmas (*u*) 1120-1 at Brompton. Soon after, that is, between Christmas and Candlemas he was married at Windsor to *Adelaide*, or as others call her *Adeliza* and *Athelis* and *Atheleida*, the young daughter of the duke of Louvain ; with his bride he spent Easter at Beorclea [Berkeley] and Whitsontide at Windsor, at which time he and his new Queen were crowned at Westminster. In the summer of 1121 he marched with an army against the Welsh.—He died in Normandy Dec' 1-2, A' D' 1135.

(*t*) Robert Glocest'.—Saxon Chron'.—Ann' Waverl'.—Henry Huntingd'.

(*u*) See the Preface § 13, p' XIV.

End of Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CASTLE.

1. *Stephen succeeds to the crown.*—2. *Robert Consul of Glocester supports the cause of his sister, Matilda.*—3, 4. *He enlarges the castle of Bristow.*—5. *Situation of the Castle, and the intention of it's building.*—6. *It's present state.*—7 *to* 11. *W' Worcester's description of the Castle.*—12. *Leland's description.*—13. *Description in the Calendars.*—14 *to* 19. *Seals and Arms.*—20 *to* 23. *The great Dongeon Tower.*—24. *St Martin's Chapel.*—25. *The inner Court, and King's Hall.*—26. *The Portico.*—27. *The Crypt.*—28. *The Palace.*—29, 30. *The Chapel and Crypt.*—31. *The King's Chamber and other Buildings.*—32. *The King's Orchard.*—33. *The Castle-ditch and mill.*—34, 35. *The Ditch and Bulwarks.*—36. *The Castle-wall and main gate.*—37, 38. *Newgate.*—39, 40. *Continuation and end of the Castle-wall and ditch.*—41. *Ruin of the Castle.*—42. *Chatterton's description and delineation of the Castle a forgery.*—43. *Chatterton's or Rowley's explanation of the Plan,*—44. *A manifest forgery.*—45. *Ancient papers perhaps inspected by him.*

§ 1. ON the death of Henry I, Stephen his nephew, son of the Conqueror's daughter, unjustly usurped the crown. If any title to it had been transmitted by his mother, his elder brother was before him: but the right was clearly in Matilda, the late King's daughter: and if any objection had been made to female government her son Henry was then

the lawful successor. But Henry was an infant; and Matilda was not generally liked, being haughty and tyrannical: whereas Stephen, altho' his conduct was extravagant and inconsistent, was popular with the Nobles and people, being a brave warrior, generous, and very liberal of promise; and having secured the clergy to his interest, and caused himself to be crowned by the proper clerical hands he was thenceforth considered King. "Stephen (*a*) was crowned king of England, on the 11 Calends Jan' [Dec' 22], on Sunday the 22 day after the death of his uncle, in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 1135."

§ 2. The Consul of Gloucester would have supported the cause of his half-sister Matilda, but she was absent from the kingdom. After the death of her first husband Henry, emperor of Germany, she had married Henry Plantagenet earl of Anjou: whence she is usually called *the Countess* by those historians, who wish to lower her dignity, but *the Empress* by those who espouse her cause. The Saxon Chron' relates, that "A' D' 1127 the King spending his Christmas at Windsor bound all the Bishops and other Chiefs of the realm by an oath to give up England and Normandy after his decease to his daughter Athelic [i' e' the heir apparent], who had before been wife to the Emperor of Sexlande [in another place he calls him *Emperor of Loherenge*]. After this he sent her into Normandy; and with her went her brother Rotbert, earl of Gleawceaster and Brian son of earl Alein Fergan [commonly called *Brian Fitz-count*] and suffered her to be given in marriage to the son of the Earl of Angeou, named Gosfreith Martæl. All men, French and English, disapproved of the marriage." She was at that time with her husband in Anjou; and the tide of popular opinion ran so strongly in favour of Stephen, that her brother the Consul was obliged to temporize; and he submitted to the new King, as others did. 'It (*b*) was commonly reported, that he was advised to take possession of the crown himself on the death of his father; but that he refused, alledging, that it belonged of right to his sister's son.' This right gradually raised up a party in her favour, and he prepared to put himself at it's head.

(*a*) Will' Malmesb'. (*b*) Gesta Stephani.

§ 3. We have but little knowledge of any events, in which the earl of Gloucester was concerned during the reign of his father. He built the castle (*c*) of Cardiff, as the seat of his dominion in Wales; the town was (*d*) built about A' D' 1081; and he probably passed his time alternately between that place, and his estates in Gloucestershire, in Kent, and in Normandy. That work of his, in which we are particularly interested, is the *Castle of Bristow*. It has been already mentioned that there was a castle there in the time of king Rufus, built by bishop Godfrey in the reign of the Conqueror. That it was however an inconsiderable fortress compared with that which was erected by the Consul Robert, we learn undoubtedly from the following passage in the rhymes of Rob' of Gloucester;

A Bysshop, that het Geffray, & other heymen mo,
That the castel wuste of Brustowe, *such castel as was tho.*

that is; a Bishop, who was named Geffray, and other Chiefs also, who kept the castle of Bristow, such a castle, as it then was. One writer says, (*e*) that 'Robert Fitzhaymo was founder of Bristol castle;' and probable it is, that he added something to it or strengthened it, during the long time he held it: but it was Robert, earl of Glocester, who principally deserves the title of Founder; for he made a vast addition to it, and greatly strengthened it, and made it his principal residence when in England, insomuch that one (*f*) historian calls him very frequently *Earl of Bristow*. A part of his work must have been done during the reign of his father: two of our (*g*) Calendars say that the Castle was built in 1110, and so it is said in Millard's (*h*) view; (See § 19) whence it seems probable, that the new works were then begun, in the next year after the town and castle came into Robert's possession.

§ 4. We have no means of ascertaining, what were the extent and form of the old fortification, and what the additions of earl Robert, except that it is certain, that the great dungeon tower was of his construction. What he did however, was so considerable, that he is by

(*c*) Atkyns pp' 48 and 376.
(*d*) Ann' Margam.
(*e*) J' Ross apud Barr' p' 192.
(*f*) Continuator of Flor' Worcester.
(*g*) See below § 13.
(*h*) See Plate VIII, 19.

many supposed to be the first Founder of it. Leland (*i*) says "he builded the castle of Bristowe or the most part of it; every man sayeth that he builded the great square stone Dungeon, and that the stones thereof came out of *Cane* in Normandie, and likewise the stones of the tower of Theukesbyri church." Leland's Tewkesbury MS gives nearly the same account. "This Robert built the castle of Bristolle, and gave every tenth stone of the castle for building the chapel of St Mary, near the monastery of St James at Bristoll." A similar story is related of William the Conqueror. "He gave (*k*) toward the building of the east end of the new church of St Paul the choice stones of his Castle, standing near to the bank of the river Thamis, at the west end of the city." The castle of Bristow thus enlarged and strengthened, became one of the largest and strongest fortresses in England, and was one chief cause of the national importance, which this city attained, particularly in the reign of Stephen. Being such, and an edifice of much local curiosity, I shall interrupt the narrative of events, for the purpose of giving an account of it and it's buildings.

§ 5. The Castle of Bristow was situate on the eastern side of the town, and at the end of St Peter's street: the first and corner house of the present Castle-street on the left hand, as you enter that street, stands on the outward edge of the Castle-ditch; and from thence the fortress extended to the bottom of Castle-street. It was erected with a design hostile to the town; it's situation shews this; for it occupies the isthmus between the two rivers, along which was the direct and original communication, between the town and the main part of Gloucestershire, through the Old-market and the present Castle-street: and the erection of the castle, prevented that direct communication, and forced all, who came to the town from that part of the country, to pass to the right hand by the side of the Castle-ditch and along the Wear; and then by a steep and narrow way under the castle-wall, until they entered the city by passing through Newgate, which gate communicated with the Castle-wall, and was in the power of it's governor: and this was the only road to the town in that direction until the Castle was demolished

(*i*) Itin' 6, 92 [97]. (*k*) Stowe, anno 1086.

in 1656. There is likewise every appearance, that the site of the castle was originally in the vill or township of Bristow; for it is surrounded by it and lies between the churches of St Peter and St Philip, both within the vill: and it seems, that the castle when built was withdrawn from the limits and jurisdiction of the township and hundred of Bristow, and annexed to the hundred of Barton-regis, from which it is locally separated. The perambulation of Edward III and the Charter of sale granted by Charles I, and the inspection of the Ground Plan annexed render this supposition quite certain. It is therefore manifest, that the building of this fortress was a great personal inconvenience to the townsmen; and moreover subjected them to the authority and injuries of the governor and his garrison.

§ 6. The castle contains about six acres, and is mentioned by all writers as a respectable edifice. "Bristow upon Avon (says Leland) (*l*) a great city, well walled, having a fair castle." Strong and spacious as it was for almost 600 years, it has now disappeared: it's memory is preserved by the names of *Castle-street*, *Castle-green*, *Castle-ditch*, and *Castle-precincts;* and those who dwell in any part of it's site, still describe themselves as living *in the Castle:* but very little of the building remains. Of written memorials also concerning it, very few are to be found: the two local Antiquaries, quoted below, will be found very unsatisfactory. I shall however give the best account of it, which the few materials in our power will permit, such as it stood after the Consul Robert had finished his additions and improvements: the original fortress built by the Conqueror probably contained only that part which was nearest to the town. I shall begin by quoting the authorities, from which every description of this building must be drawn.

§ 7. William of Worcester in several passages of his Itinerary gives a large account of the building as it stood in his time, about A' D' 1480. I translate his Latin, and modernize his English; but he is frequently unintelligible in both. The first (*m*) passage is in Latin, thus. "The way from the gate of entrance into the castle of Bristol, near"

(*l*) Itin' 5, 64. (*m*) P' 208.

" the eastern part of St Peter's church, goes by the wall (*n*) of the ditch of the castle-walls through the gate of Newgate and along the street called the Weere, and over the bridge of the Weere, leaving the watering place on the left hand; and then goes round by the said wall of the ditch toward the south near the market cross; and so continues as far as a large stone of freestone one yard high, set up at the boundary of the liberty and franchese of the town of Bristol, on the other side of the gardens of [me] Will' of Worc', at the gate of the first entrance of the castle on the west side of St Philip's church, which is at the end of a lane behind the market-street."

§ 8. The same circuit is described in the following passage in Latin. " Of the eastern part (*o*) of the castle-wall the ditches are deep about the eastern gate and corner. From the gate near the western end of S't Philip's church-yard, you go along by the ditch of the wall, as far as the eastern corner of Were-bridge: and then you go round by the mill-bridge near Newgate, and pass through the first gate of Newgate as far as the entrance of the gate with it's deep ditch, at the folding gates of the entrance into the Castle."—Another place (*p*) is as follows, in Latin. " The back-way behind the Old-market on the south side begins from the first gate of the Castle, and passes by three gardens belonging to Will' Worc' on the south of the Cross in the said market; and then passes for a long way near St Philip's church and churchyard, where formerly were situate a church of Religious and a Priory at the eastern part of St Philip's church; and then continues on behind the gardens of the tenements in the Old-market, as far as the western wall of the church of the Hospital of Holy Trinity."

§ 9. The next place of W' W', wherein mention is made of the castle is written in English p' 259. " *The quantity of the dongeon of the castle of Bristol after the information of - - - - - porter of the castle.* The tower called the dongeon is in thickness at foot 25 feet, and at the leading place under the leaden covering 9 feet and a half: and in length"

(*n*) He means the low wall, which was a fence between the ditch and the street.

(*o*) Will' Worc' p' 217. (*p*) W' Worcest' p' 209.

"east and west 60 feet, and north and south 45 feet; with four towers standing on the four corners. And the highest tower called *the main*, that is, *the mightiest tower* above all the four towers is five fathom high above all the four towers, and the walls are in thickness there six feet. Item, the length of the castle within the walls east and west is 180 yards. Item, the breadth of the castle from the north to the south with the great garden, that is from the water-gate to the main round of the castle, to the wall northward toward the black-friars, 100 yards. Item, a bastyle lyeth southward beyond the water-gate; it contained in length 60 yards. Item, the length from the bulwark at the outward gate by St Philip's churchyard containeth 60 yards large [i' e' broad.] Item, the yards called spars of the hall-royal contain in length about 45 feet of whole piece. Item, the breadth of every spar at foot containeth twelve inches and eight inches."

§ 10. Another passage occurs, p' 269, which may be be thus translated. "*Concerning the castle and dongeon of Bristowe.* The porch of entrance into the hall is ten yards long, with an arched vault above, for the entrance into the great hall. The inner entrance to the porch of the hall is 140 steps; that is, meaning the space and length between the gate of the wall of the (*q*) fortification of the walls of the court of the outer ward. The length of the hall is 36 yards, in steps 54 or 52: the breadth of the hall contains 18 yards or 26 steps: the height of the walls is 14 feet; I measured it outside the hall. This hall formerly magnificent in length, breadth, and height, is wholly in ruins. The windows in the hall are double; the height of the two days contains 14 feet of height. The length of the rafters of the hall contains 32 feet. The prince's chamber in length 17 yards is on the left side of the king's hall; its breadth contains 9 yards, and two pillars made of great beams, but very old. The length of the front before the hall together with - - - - is 18 yards."

§ 11. "The length of a slab of marble-stone is 15 feet, placed in"

(*q*) This is quite unintelligible. His meaning seems to be 'the distance from the gate in the embattled wall which divides the two courts as far as to the portico of the hall:' that is, the length of the castle-green from West to East.

"another part of the hall for the table of the kings who sat there. The length of the tower on the eastern part of the tower contains 36 yards: its breadth on the west and south sides contains 30 yards. The length of the outward ward of the castle from the middle gate and lately separated from the inner ward, (*r*) to the principal chapel the hall chamber contains 160 steps. The length of the first entrance to the castle through the gate is 40 steps; that is to understand, entering from Castle-street [he means *St Peter Street*] at the first gate of the castle, or that part of it, which is called the outward ward. The chapel in the outer ward, i' e' the first ward, is dedicated to the honour of St Martin, but in the devotion of St John Baptist; and a monk of the priory of St James ought to celebrate mass every day in the said chapel; nevertheless he celebrates only on Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. There is another magnificent chapel for the king and the lords and ladies situate in the principal ward, on the north side of the hall; where very beautiful chambers were built, but they are now uncovered, bare, and without flooring and roof. The houses of the officers, the kitchens, and the places belonging to it are in the inner ward near the hall on the left side, that is, on the south side of the hall. The house of the constable's office is situate in the first or outward ward, on the south side of the magnificent tower, but wholly fallen to the ground and overthrown; which is great pity."

§ 12. Leland who was here about A' D' 1540 writes on this subject, as (*s*) follows. " *The castle of Brightestowe.* The River of Frome ran sometime from the Were by the Castle, where now is a stone bridge, down by the east side of it: and so doth yet a little armlet of it breaking out; and almost the whole stream goeth by the north side of the castle, and there goeth by Newgate under an arch. In the castle be two courts: in the outer court, as in the north-west part of it, is a great dungeon tower, made (as it it said) of stone brought out of Cane in Normandye by the red earl of Glocestar. A pretty church and"

(*r*) The original is thus. ' Longitudo de le utter ward castri a media porta (& nuper separata ab interiori warda) capellæ principali aulæ camera, continet 160 gressus:' which is unintelligible.

(*s*) Itin' 7, 90 [69, *a*]. The spelling is modernized, except of Proper Names.

"much lodging in the second area; on the south side of it a great gate, a stone bridge, and three bulwarks on the left bank at the mouth of the Frai [Frome]. There be many towers yet standing in both the courts, but all tendeth to ruin."

§ 13. Two of our MS Calendars contain the following account. "Anno 1110. Robert Fitzroy, earle of Gloucester, naturall son to king Henry I, a valiant and prudent person, began the foundation of the castle at the east side of the towne, encircling the same with strong walls, building therein a pallace and other houses; and among the rest a large and most magnificent tower, scarcely to be equalled in all England. Two gates it had; that toward the town had a draugh-bridge thereto; the other was only a posterne, and was toward the river." See also Rob' Glocester's rhymes quoted above, VII, 7, concerning the building of the castle.

§ 14. Much information on the same subject may also be collected from seals and other like documents. The large seal in the Plate annexed (VII, 14) may be called *the Burgesses seal:* it is appended to a title-deed in my possession, dated 1362, and is here engraven in its original size: the matrix, very well cut in brass, is still carefully preserved in the Council-house. It gives a front view of the dongeon tower, and represents a watchman standing on one of the turrets, and giving an alarm by blowing his trumpet. It is minutely the same as the arms cut in freestone on the front of the Guildhall, except that this latter has the following legend: NISI DOMINVS CVSTODIERIT CIVITATEM, FRVSTRA VIGILAT, QVI CVSTODIT EAM: whereas the seal has + SIGILLVM COMMVNE BVRGENSIVM BRISTOLLIE. When the front of Guildhall was built anew in 1814, these arms were carefully cleaned and set up again on the new front.

§ 15. No. 2 is the Reverse of the preceding. It represents, as I suppose, the entrance into the castle-ditch from the Avon, formed by an arch in a turret, and a ship with one mast going into it. The reader, who is curious in ancient navigation, will observe that the man at the helm steers, not by a rudder, but in the ancient classical

manner by a broad paddle on one side, which is still used in the East-Indian seas, and is there called *a Commoodie*. In the turret stands a man, who makes a signal to the steersman with his finger extended. The inscription is in two hexameter verses, as follows :

Secreti clavis sum portûs. Navita navis
Portam custodit. Portum Vigil indice prodit.

Of this inscription I propose the following as a translation, probably as little satisfactory to the reader, as to myself. *I am the key of the secret port. The sailor guards the door of the ship. The watchman points out the port with his fore-finger.* Perhaps the place was called *Port-clais ;* such a name occurs in some places. Leland mentions one near St David's : "*Porte Clays*, (*t*) a littie havenlet, whither Alen, that runs thro' St David's Close, cometh. This Porte Clais lieth a mile south-west from St David's." And again he says (*u*) that one of the gates of the abbey of Bangor was called *Port-clais*.

§ 16. The seal No. 3 of the same Plate will be mentioned elsewhere. No. 4 is appended to a title-deed in my possession, dated 24 Edw' III, i' e' A' D' 1350, and is the only specimen I have yet seen. It is engraven in the original size. It represents a ship without mast or sail going into a port. There is a castle, consisting of three towers ; there is also a bulwark or turret in front of the castle, but separate from it ; they are connected by an arch, under which, and between the two towers, the ship is passing. High on the ship's prow stands a pennon with three Lions, the letter B for Bristol standing below. The legend is *SIGILLVM MAIORITATIS VILLE BRISTOLLIE.

§ 17. Of the seal No. 5 I have several specimens ; the oldest is dated 39 Edw' III, i' e' A' D' 1364-5. The ship is going into the castle, with it's pennon erect, on which the flowers de luce of France are quartered with the lions or leopards of England, because Edw' III had A' D' 1340 assumed the title and arms of King of France. The shape of the castle in this seal is very different from that in the former, but it still

(*t*) Lel' Itin' 5, 29. (*u*) Ibid' p' 32.

seems to represent the entrance into the castle-ditch, with a projecting bulwark, as before. On the top of the tower stands a watchman blowing a trumpet, and below on the bulwark is another: a firepan is raised on the tower as a beacon, and near it is a small vane with a flower de luce inscribed on it. The inscription is * Sigill: maioritatis: ville: Bristollie ·:·

§18. No. 6 of the same Plate is a shield, a little enlarged, containing the arms of Bristol in Robert Ricart's (*r*) picture of the ceremony observed at the admission of a new Mayor. These arms were delineated about A' D' 1480, and are a valuable memorial.—No. 7 is copied from a Grant of Queen Elizabeth, now in the Council-house; it stands at the beginning of the instrument and is well emblazoned, having Crest and Supporters.—No. 8 is a copy of the shield, given in Millard's Map and in his View, and in his Delineation; being in all three places very nearly the same.——It is not necessary for the present purpose to say any thing more particular concerning the Armorial Bearings and Seals of the Town: they are reserved for another place.

§19. In the next Plate (VII, 19) the first compartment contains a view of the great dungeon Tower: it is from one of the side-pieces in Millard's large map published in 1763: the delineation is exactly preserved: he does not inform us, whence he had it. It must have been drawn after the reparation of the Castle in 1642, and before it's demolition in 1656, and this dongeon tower being an edifice of public notoriety, the accuracy of the delineation cannot well be questioned. It is not to be supposed, that this view represents it truly, as it came from the hands of the Consul Robert. The cannon on the walls prove that this view was taken after the repairs were made preparatory to the civil war of Charles I in 1642, and some alterations might have been made previously; but the general resemblance cannot be doubted. From these documents the following description has been collected, and the ground-plan (Plate VII, 5) has been delineated: which is intended to represent the Castle, such as it was, before it's decay, from Stephen 1135 through the 12*th*, 13*th*, 14*th* and 15*th* centuries. The principal outlines were traced from Rocque's

(*r*) See the Preface.

Map, described in the Preface, and are certainly correct, being for the most part certified by my own observation. The dotted lines represent the modern streets, and lanes; many of them I have measured myself. I suppose that all the buildings represented in the Plan were finished before the reign of Edward I in 1272, except the wall of division between the two Wards, which was built afterwards.

§ 20. The Castle consisted of two Wards or Courts, beside an additional enclosure on the South beyond the main ditch. The first or outer Ward was entered by a gate opposite to the present St Peter's-street. In it was the great dongeon tower, the edifice of the Consul Robert, (*w*) built (or perhaps only faced) with stone brought from Caen in Normandy: the large square stones are plainly represented in Millard's View, and in the Burgesses Seal. It was a work of massive strength: Will' Worcester (*x*) says, that the walls were 25 feet thick at the base, and 9½ feet at the top, which are unexampled dimensions. The thickness at the base must have been effected by a large projection, and then diminished gradually, until it was reduced to 9½ feet on the top. The length of this tower, the same writer says, was 60 feet from East to West, and its breadth was 45 feet. This must be considered to be the dimensions on the inside, otherwise the whole breadth would be occupied by the walls: adding therefore the thickness of the walls, the whole dimensions of this Edifice on the outside at the bottom will be 110 feet long by 95 broad. A learned friend writes to me as follows. This Keep was the first and largest built on that plan in this part of England. "In dimensions and architecture it resembled those which were built soon after the Conquest, as at London, Rochester &c: the same plan and distribution of the apartments were adopted in all of them. What proportion it bore towards other Keeps erected in the same era, may be seen in the following list.

	feet		feet	
Tower of London - - - - -	100	by	100	All which were built within 50 years 1080—1130."
Rochester - - - - - - - -	75	by	72	
Hedingham - - - - - - -	62	by	55	
Guildford - - - - - - - -	42	by	47	
Norwich - - - - - - - - -	110	by	92	

(*w*) Leland above § 4 and § 12.

(*x*) See above § 9.

I observe that in a late publication (*y*) the Tower of London is said to be 116 feet long by 96 feet wide. Millard's View represents it, as having three floors beside the ground-floor; the seal and the Arms on Guildhall shew only two floors; the former being on the larger scale is more likely to be correct: and being furnished with a high embattled parapet, it could not be less than 40 feet in height.

§ 21. It had a square turret at each angle, somewhat higher than the rest of the building, one of which was called *the main or mightiest tower*, and was much higher than the other three, being 30 feet higher than the main body of the building (so I interpret Will' Worcester's (*z*) words): from it you might see the whole surrounding country for many miles on both sides of the river; and it appears from a letter (*a*) of one of the Parliamentary Officers in the time of Charles I, that from the top he saw what was doing on Durdham Down. The wall of this *mightiest tower* was six feet thick to the top; from the seal it appears to have been that turret, which stood at the western angle, that is, on the right hand of those who entered over the bridge. In the seal appear two small turrets by the side of the large, which probably are designed for the bridge across the ditch and it's battlements, and two castellets, as outworks to defend it.

§ 22. My authorities for placing the great dongeon tower where it stands in the plan are these. Leland says (*b*) it was in the north-western part of the Castle: it could not be placed more to the NE, because room must be left for St Martin's church; nor more to the SW, because room must be left for the Constable's house, and other buildings seen in Millard's View. Nor could it have been much more to the SE, for then it would lose it's command of the entrance into the castle, and the outer ward would be made as large as the inner; which it was not. The only doubt is, whether it were not built so far to the NW, as to form the very entrance into the Castle. If so, the only carriage way into

(*y*) Bayley's History of the Tower of London.
(*z*) See above § 9.
(*a*) See a letter in Chapter XXVIII, giving an account of Mr. Yeomans and Mr. Boucher's Plot.
(*b*) See above § 12.

the castle must have been through this dungeon tower, which is unlikely and not mentioned by any of the preceding authorities; and there must have been a gate or bridge on the S-Eastern side, as well as on the N-Western, of which there is no proof. After much deliberation, and after having delineated more than one ground plot on this supposition, my final persuasion is, that the Consul Robert's great Tower stood very nearly, that is within ten or twelve feet, in the place represented in the Plan. There is in a house in Castle-street, the second above Roach's lane, a well 75 feet deep, being the deepest in the whole Precincts, which must have been somewhere within the limits of this dongeon-tower.

§ 23. This great Tower had a (*c*) drawbridge on the side nearest to the town; and consequently it was surrounded by a ditch: the great gates with their large hinges, represented on the seal VII, 14, No 1, are evidently advanced beyond the building, and stand on the outward edge of the ditch, having the draw-bridge behind them: Millard's View shews a part of the embattled walls, which crossed the ditch, connecting the gateway with the main building: and the battlements in the seal on each side of the gateway seem to be an awkward attempt to represent the same. This dungeon-tower had also another gate, a postern, on the South side. To the south of this great Tower was the Constable's house; and Millard's View represents a great number of houses between the castle wall and the tower, some of which are placed in the plan by conjecture.

§ 24. In this outward court was (*d*) St Martin's chapel, the tower of which must be that which appears in Millard's View close to the northern turret. For that reason I *had* placed the Chapel, where it stands in the Plan: and in proof of the accuracy of that position, I was afterward informed by the owner of two warehouses in the street now called Castle-green, which stand on the spot occupied by the eastern part of the chapel in the plan, that when he built those warehouses, about four or five feet beneath the present surface the workmen came to

(*c*) See above § 13. (*d*) See above § 11.

what they supposed to be the original floor, and among the stones found many pieces of painted glass. The front of the warehouses is wholly built of stones found in digging up the ground.

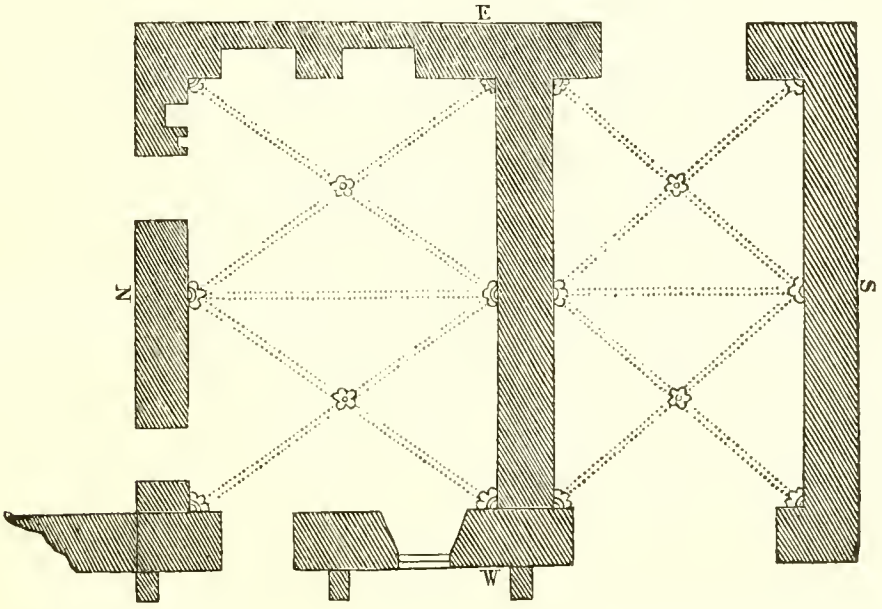
§ 25. The Inner court or ward was the larger of the two, which was the only rule whereby the wall of separation was drawn in the plan, no particulars concerning it being mentioned: the separation was compleated only a short time before Will' Worc' wrote in 1480. The inner was the pricipal court, and contained some noble buildings. There was a dining-hall 36 yards long, and 18 yards wide: and in it a marble slab 15 feet long, which served for a dining table to the King when present, separate from the other tables. It appears from the (*e*) printed text of W' W' that the side walls of this hall, large as he describes it, were only 14 feet high, although the windows, as he says, were also 14 feet high. A window of such height could not be placed in the side walls, if they were only 14 feet high; and if we suppose the windows to be in the gable ends, they could not throw sufficient light into so large a room. The number 14 feet for the height of the wall must therefore be written or printed erroneously, perhaps for 24, which would afford a height more in the usual proportion of rooms, and be sufficient for windows 14 feet high.

§ 26. Will' of W' writes above, that there was a porch or portico 30 feet long, as an entrance to the hall. A portico still remains in the street called Tower-street, which is undoubtedly that mentioned by W' W', it is 46 feet distant from Castle-street, $13\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide on the inside, and about 28 feet long including the thickness of the front and back walls: when W' W' calls it 30 feet long, perhaps he took into his measurement a step or two, which must have been on the outside. Plate VII, 26, No 1 is a front view of it, such as it would now appear, if a mean little room built about 50 years ago, which occupies great part of it, were removed. The entrance was open to the weather, formed by a pointed arch springing from a pilaster $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, with a rude or defaced capital, and ornamented on the inside and outside, with zigzag

(*e*) See above § 10.

work, now buried in white-wash. The roof is of stone, $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, vaulted and ribbed, well formed in a plain but very neat manner. The pillars are clustered, each consisting of five small ones, standing out almost separate from the central pillar and from the wall, very neatly wrought, topped with Saxon capitals, from which at the height of six feet four inches spring the ribs. At the end is a door-way having a semicircular arch, eight feet high and eight feet wide: and one hinge-hook still remaining firm in the left jamb shews that a gate formerly hung there. This door-way must have opened into the great hall.

§ 27. Adjoining to this portico on the north, separated from it only by a thick wall is another (*f*) room, the position of which by the side of the former will appear by the following ground-plan. I sup-



pose it to be a Crypt or an Antechapel. It is 16*f* 3*i* wide, and 22*f* 4*i* long in the inside, groined and ribbed as the other, but not so well executed. There does not appear to have been any door toward the present street, but only a window; the present door-way is modern, and three Buttresses standing against the wall shew plainly that this room

(*f*) See Plate VII, 26 No. 2.

was never an open portico. In the northern wall, close to the present door is a recess in the form of a small door-way with a pointed head, the top stone of which is cut away to an edge in the inside, for the purpose apparently of forming a better head-way; which makes it probable that this was the entrance to a steep and narrow staircase. Further on in the same wall is a door-way with a pointed top, now stopped up in part, so as to make it a recess, but originally leading into the Chapel, as I suppose: by the side of which door-way are two small recesses in the wall, formed probably for the service of some Chantry, if the room were, as I conjecture, a Crypt or Antechapel. It is true that recesses for the service of the altar are usually in the *Southern* wall of churches and chapels; in the present instance they are placed in the northern wall. In the eastern wall opposite to the entrance are two door-ways of the same sort as the last mentioned, partly stopped up: if they were originally door-ways, they opened into the great Hall. On the southern side there is no opening into the portico described above. It has much the appearance of an ancient Crypt or Antechapel, as was mentioned above. The inhabitants who live on the spot consider it to be the site of a chapel, and a room over the crypt they call *the belfry*: and they say also, that a large tower stood there: but they have no record or remembrance concerning the Hall.

§ 28. From the situation of the portico, from the tradition of the inhabitants, and from the description given by Will' Worc' and by Leland, as mentioned above, there can be no doubt that the palace, which the Consul Robert built, with it's hall, chapel, chambers &c stood where it is represented on the Plan, that is, on the eastern side of Tower-street, on the same line where the houses now stand; and there being then no houses opposite, the palace stood on the Green and fronted it. The situation of the portico is certain, and the hall must have been adjoining; but I can find no trace whatever of it, large as it was. It could not have been more to the NE than it is represented in the plan, because of the stone stair-case mentioned below; nor much more to the SW, for the portico opened into it. It must have been a room of great

importance as well as dimensions; for there (beside the ordinary business of feasting and carousing) all the business civil and military relating to the castle and it's dependencies must have been judicially determined.

§ 29. Northward from the hall was the chapel for the use of the King, and the lords and ladies during their residence in the Castle; it's situation on the plan is in some degree conjectural, only it was on the north of the hall; and attached to it no doubt was a cemetery: I apprehend that the vaulted room described above was a crypt attached to the chapel: and the room over this crypt being still called the belfry, it seems necessary to suppose that the tower, traditionally said to be hereabout, was built over the crypt or over the portico, or over both, and furnished with bells for the use of the chapel: and perhaps the street, called *Tower-street*, had it's name from hence. There is no description of this chapel: W' Worcester calls it *a magnificent chapel;* Leland stiles it only *a pretty church*.

§ 30. At the eastern end of this chapel, as laid down in the plan, stands a circular stone stair-case, built, as expressed by an inhabitant of the house, with *Normandy* (*g*) *stone*. It is certainly a part of the original structure; and since it is still 20 or 30 feet high, it was intended probably as the ascent to the roof of the hall and chapel. A pointed door-way leads into the room in which it stands; which door-way and the lower part of the wall adjoining appear also to be original; and there is a cellar at the foot of the stair-case, which the inhabitants say was anciently a prison.

§ 31. Near the chapel were "very beautiful chambers and much lodging," which are placed in the plan merely by conjecture; and so is the King's chamber or dwelling, which must have been near the hall or chapel. A small square embattled tower containing a staircase, about 30 or 40 feet high above the level of the water, stands at the back part of Mr. H's house near the Castle-wall; it is inserted in the plan, and

(*g*) See above § 12.

appears to be a part of the ancient structure. On the south side of the hall were the kitchens and the houses of the officers and domestics: and on the same side was the Prince's Chamber *(Camera Principis)* 54 feet long and 27 broad, which I suppose to be a house or lodge, rather than a single chamber: it stood probably in the lower part of the present Castle-street, on the right hand as you go down. These are set down in the plan merely from conjecture. All this part of the Castle is undoubtedly what our Calendars call *a* (*h*) *Palace.* Will' Worc' speaks (*i*) moreover of a tower of great dimensions 36 yards long on the eastern side, by 30 yards wide on the western side; but he does not mention it's situation, and his description is extremely confused. He seems to mean some large and high edifice in the inner ward, a part of the palace, serving for chambers and dwellings. I have set down such a building in the plan, but without any confidence in it's accuracy. All the area of this inner ward unoccupied by buildings, was the Castle-green or the Inner-green: the northern and western part of which was in W' W's time *the great garden.*

§ 32. To the south of the inner ward beyond the ditch was an additional fortress, called by W' W' *a bastyle.* The entrance was by a bridge, called the *castle-bridge* still remaining and in use, and a gate called *the water gate*, which is represented in Millard's map, as then standing. This whole area is called in the (*k*) perambulation of Edward III in 1373 by the name of *King's Orchard;* and again (*k*) in the charter of sale granted by Charles I in 1630 it is called "a close lying outside the ditch of the Castle, called by the name of *le King's orchard*, containing by estimation two acres." According to the scale in Rocque's map this portion of the castle must have been about 100 yards square, which sufficiently agrees with the estimation, two statute acres being about 98 yards square: W' W' calls it 60 yards square, one proof among numberless of his inaccuracy. From all which it seems, that in the time of Edw' III in 1373 it was actually an orchard, and in the time of Charles I in 1630 a close or meadow. Soon after which last date it

(*h*) See above § 13.

(*i*) See above § 11.

(*k*) See the Bristol Charters pp' 81, and 215.

seems that houses began to be erected: for in Millard's map of 1673 it is represented with streets and houses nearly as at present; and many of the houses now standing there are apparently as old as that map, or even as the date of the sale 1630. This additional fortress or outwork seems to have been taken into the precincts of the castle for the purpose of securing the possession of both sides of the castle-ditch, that vessels which entered it might be in no danger from an enemy on either side.

§ 33. The ditch, walls and gates require some further notice. The castle-ditch falls into the Avon on the south side of the castle. It is a small branch of the Froom, dug through the red sand rock: the surface of the water, now since the Avon has been floated, may be about twenty feet below the level of the upper part of Castle-street. The whole of this ditch is artificial: the northern reach of it is the mill-pond, both mill and pond being made for the protection and convenience of the castle; while the natural bed of the river lies a few yards distant toward the north, where the ground is several feet lower. From the mill the ditch goes along the Weir round the remainder of the Castle, attended by the Castle-wall, usually at several yards distance, which may still be seen in most places at the back part of the houses.

§ 34. The mouth of the Castle-ditch was used for the admission of ships and boats into the castle, which is evident from the seals and arms; it is used still for the same purpose, lighters and barges coming up to and beyond the bridge. A strong and handsome fort, consisting of several bulwarks or towers, stood on both sides and across the mouth, as appears from the armorial bearings. Leland mentions three bulwarks on the left bank at the mouth of the Frome, but he says nothing of any on the right bank: perhaps in his time they were dilapidated. Nos. 4 and 5 of Plate VII, 14 shew a bulwark on the (*l*) left or southern bank of the ditch, and another behind it on the opposite side; between the two is an arch scarcely discernible, under which the ship is going into or out of the ditch. No. 2 of the same Plate shews this arch most evidently, and adds a superincumbent turret with a watchman standing on it, and

(*l*) The right or left bank of a river is that which is right or left to him, who goes *down* the stream.

in No. 4 there are spikes on the top of the arch, as of a portcullis. In No. 5 a chain or boom is thrown open, permitting the ship to pass, which at night was probably drawn across the arch The Arms drawn by R' Ricart No. 6 clearly shew the ship passing under the arch. From all which premisses it is certain, that Ships passed into and out of the castle-ditch under an arch between two towers, which ought to be considered as the principal and indispensible circumstance of the arms of Bristol: and between the two towers was a wall or curtain, in which was the arch of entrance just mentioned, over which arch was an embattled turret. On the whole, although certainty and perfect accuracy cannot be expected from such scanty materials, yet the reader may be tolerably well assured that the Entrance into the castle-ditch was nearly as represented in the Plan, and in the front View Plate VII, 19, No. 3.

§ 35. The form and height of the bulwarks or towers are differently represented in the different authorities above-mentioned; square or round, high or low, and with other differences: either the engravers of the seals did not esteem accuracy necessary, or more probably the bulwarks themselves underwent alterations. The earlier authorities exhibit them square: in Rob' Ricart's delineation, the two bulwarks nearest to the Avon are round, and the other two furthest from it are square; which seems to mark the progress of alteration. Some delineations represent the towers as covered each with a dome or cupola with a vane on the top, which is right; others contain a great absurdity, the ship coming out of one of the round towers, and not out of an arch between the two, as it ought to be. Most of them shew a postern gate with a path or slip or steps down to the river Avon, which must have been opposite to the steps or slip on the other side, called *Countess' Slip*, and probably made at the same time by one of the Countesses of Gloucester. Concerning the entrance into the castle-ditch enough, and perhaps more than enough.

§ 36. From thence an embattled wall skirted the Avon as far as the southwestern corner of the Castle, where was a semicircular bulwark

seen in Plate VII, 19, No. 1, which is my authority for placing it in the plan. From thence the wall went to the main gate of the Castle, opposite St Peter's street. That this was the main entrance into the Castle, there can be no question. The eastern end of St Peter's church is said (*m*) to be near the *Barbicana castri;* now the Barbican always means a work built for the defence of the main entrance. W' Worc' says (*n*) that the entrance gate was near the eastern part of St Peter's church: again (*o*) he says that "you enter into the first gate of the castle from Castle-street:" but he means St Peter-street, for he says (*p*) elsewhere that "Castel-strete is otherwise called Seynt Peter-strete." From the river Avon to Newgate the wall had a ditch on the outside of it, as we learn from Edw' III's (*q*) perambulation and from W' W': consequently there was a bridge across the ditch at the gate, which the latter (*r*) writer says were folding-gates, and he seems to mean that they were on the outward edge of the ditch. This part of the ditch was called the *moat-ditch;* and W' W' says that it was deep; it's breadth in the plan is set down by conjecture about 15 yards. It cannot be supposed that in this part it was dug sufficiently deep to admit the water of the rivers: the military (*s*) officer, whose report will be quoted hereafter, says that the ditch was partly wet, and partly dry; this therefore was the dry part. It is true the front view of the dongeon tower in the Burgesses' Seal shews water in the ditch of the castle: but this might have been intended only to signify that it was the ditch: or water might be artificially introduced.

§ 37. From the entrance gates, as far as Newgate, the castle-wall was defended by a ditch on the outside, as before, the ditch hereabout being mentioned by W' W': it must have been dry, because the ground has a quick descent. The *Old*-gate mentioned (*t*) above was too far distant from the castle for the purpose of effectually guarding the entrance into the town; this *New*-gate was therefore built adjoining to

(*m*) Barrett pp' 193 and 518.

(*n*) See above § 7.

(*o*) See above § 11.

(*p*) P' 237.

(*q*) See Bristol Charters p' 81, 82.

(*r*) See above § 8.

(*s*) See the Evidence of Serjeant Major Edw' Wood, in Chapt' XXVIII, at the commencement of the Civil war.

(*t*) Chapt' III, 67.

the castle. Will' Worc' says that (*u*) these gates (he speaks of them in the plural number) contained 20 steps [about 30 feet]: in another place (*v*) he writes it four yards wide, and nine yards long. Under it was (*w*) a very deep vault, or very strong cellar; and over it was a chapel, which in (*x*) Leland's time was the prison of the city: and W' W' mentions (*y*) a grammar-school formerly kept there by master Robert Lane, a principal grammarian.

§ 38. The construction of this gate-way was singular: "although (*z*) of one opening or passage only, it seems to consist of four arches, turned one within the other at different times; which shews it's antiquity." It continued till modern times, being taken down in 1766. That the gate might be completely in the power of the castle, a fortress was built on each side of it: that which adjoins the town is the prison of the city; the wall in the back part of which seems to be original, and in one place forms a semicircular tower or bastion. The other fortress on the side of the castle is plainly to be seen; for a very old, high, and strong wall with gate and windows still remains, which bounds the street on the castle side. The precise form and size of this fortress, as laid down in the plan, is partly from conjecture; but there can be no great error. Mr. Barrett in the passage last quoted, and in others, says that Newgate was anciently called *Elle-gate* and *Ella's gate*, taking it's name from Ella, a Saxon governor of Bristow castle. This information he certainly received from Chatterton; it is to be wished, that there was some additional authority for the fact. We must suppose, that when Newgate was finished, the builder of the castle destroyed the Oldgate, which in the time of W' W' was no longer standing: and we may be certain that he took down that part of the town-wall which lay between the town and the castle, that the former might have no barrier against the garrison. Beside the good policy of such a measure, we may find a further proof of it in the conduct of the townsmen during the great insurrection in 1312; for they were forced to build a new wall in Defence-street to secure themselves against the garrison of the castle.

(*u*) W' W' p' 207.
(*v*) W' W' p' 275.
(*w*) W' W' p' 170.
(*x*) Leland Itin' 7, 89 and 93.
(*y*) W' W' p' 178.
(*z*) Barr' p' 55.

§ 39. As far as Newgate, and further as far as the mill-pond, the ditch must have been dry, the ground having a descent; after which the mill-pond forms the ditch. This mill, which still remains, must be exceedingly ancient. Earl John by permitting the townsmen to grind their corn, where they please, shews that there was a Town-mill belonging to the lord. In the Chartulary of St Augustin (fo' 178, 179) the Castle-mill is called the mill of Bristol. From hence the Castle-wall, which is tolerably perfect stands high above the ditch at a considerable distance; the intermediate ground, which is now divided into gardens &c, being then probably on a regular descent. At the north-eastern corner begins that little armlet of the Frome, as Leland calls it, which surrounds the eastern side of the castle: the castle-wall accompanies it, represented in Millard's map as still standing, strong and perfect, all the way from a little below Newgate to the lower part of the present Castle-street, having battlements and bulwarks. It is still plainly to be distinguished among many walls built in after times; and in one place, near the Cold-bath, it was found to be eighteen yards of horizontal distance from the edge of the water in the ditch. Here is a spring of water marked o in the plan, which now supplies the cold bath just mentioned. It was once much more copious than at present: a well dug some few years ago, at a house not far distant westward, drew off some of the water.

§ 40. The wall proceeding comes out into Castle-street at a narrow lane called Cooper's alley, and must then have joined the gate-house which stood on the bridge. Here was a main Gate, called in the perambulation *the Nether-gate*, opening directly into the Old-market; from which gate on the south-western side the wall continued, still strongly engraven in Millard's map, until it comes to the back lane behind the Old-market; opposite to which lane W' W' says was the first gate of the castle, a postern gate I suppose, and he mentions a bulwark at it. Here all appearance of the wall in Millard's map is lost; but we know from the perambulation, that there was a ditch as far as the southern corner, and no doubt a wall on its edge; and therefore we may be sure that the

same wall and ditch continued all round to the river Avon; otherwise the former part would have been useless: neither would W' W' have called this portion of the castle a *bastile* or fortress, had not the fortification been compleated all round. From the part of the Avon just mentioned, the wall must have continued by the river-side, until it joined the bulwarks at the mouth of the ditch, where this circumambulation began at § 33.

§ 41. Of this great and important fortress all the internal part was perishing through neglect in 1480. Fifty or sixty years afterward Leland writes, that "all tendeth to ruin." In the civil wars of Charles Ist it was in some degree repaired, as will be related in it's proper place: at present scarcely a vestige remains; even the Consul Robert's massive tower, which continued unimpaired until 1656, has wholly disappeared, and it's materials were probably dug out, as from a quarry, to build the neighbouring streets.

§ 42. The preceding description of the castle, however minute in some respects and imperfect in others, must nevertheless be interesting, chiefly on account of local connection, although in some degree for national reasons. But there is a third cause, why particular attention has been here paid to this subject. Chatterton gave to Mr. Barrett a ground plan and elevations of *Bristol Castle as in* 1138, that is, after Robert Consul of Gloucester had finished his improvements; together with an explanation of the delineations, and an account of the alterations which Robert made there. The whole was given to Mr. B' written and delineated on vellum as the MS of Rowley himself and is to be seen in *the Hist' of Bristol* p' 194 &c. The ground-plan, which is one corner of Mr. Barrett's plate, is (*a*) copied, that the reader may have an opportunity of comparing it with that which has been already proposed to him in plate VII, 5. This latter was carefully drawn up from the site still to be seen, and from other authorities quoted above; and if it be (as I confidently maintain) the actual ichnography of the castle, or very nearly so; then it follows, that the other plan under the name of Rowley is a mere forgery; there being no similarity whatever between the two.

(*a*) See Plate VII, 19.

§ 43. The explanation of the plan (*b*) given as Rowley's being short, is here transcribed. "The outer walle of the castle (says Rowlie's manuscript) stooden ynne the daies of Williamme conqueroure: the square castle wythynne was y buyldenne bie Robyrte connesul of Gloucestre, as bee the crosse ynne the area; and the small stronge holde, whyche was thenne a watche towre; ecke the two watche towretts withynne the walle of the ould castle. The stronge holde ystondeth atte dystaunce from the owtre walle of the oulde castle on boncke of Avon, havyng fyrst a square walle of ytte's own; and yn the same, twayne of buyldynges of this make] meetynge as these [ ]'.—The castle foundatyonne as ytte stoden ynne the daies of Rob. Cons. Gloecstre, wythe Geoffrie's logge, as ytt then was.

"Fyrste. The governor's halle fronte.
2. The new ybulden fronte.
3. The chapelle.
4. The logge of arrow-men.
5. The backe of the governor's halle wythe toweres.
6. 7. Encrenelled sydes.
8. The backe of the chapelle.
9. The crosse.
10. The two watche towrettes.
11. The smalle stronge holde on the bancke of Avon, wythe the foundatyonne of the stronge holde near the old walle of the mytyer castle.
12. Geoffries logge.
13. The river Avon.
14. The river Froom.
15. Castle Ditch.
16. Walle of the old castle.
17. Mote next the city, where was a draw-bridge."

§ 44. The dissimilarity between this account, and that which has been given in the preceding part of this chapter, is so obvious, that there is no occasion to insist on all the particulars. Two shall suffice. The writer and delineator evidently intended to represent Earl Robert's fortress as a large mansion house, built round a square court, as in the age of Elizabeth, having on one side the governor's lodgings, and on the southern side a chapel; and on the east and west sides lodgings for a garrison: a notion totally inapplicable to the actual form of the castle and of the dongeon-tower. It is impossible that a real Rowley, living at the same time with Will' of Worc', could have given such an account of what he might have seen every day. One more dissimilarity shall be mentioned: the real castle contained two courts situate east and west one from the other, the eastern or inner court was the larger. In

(*b*) Barrett p' 195.

Rowley's plan the inner court is merely a quadrangle round which a house is built, and the outer court must have contained nine-tenths of the whole area. It is useles to mention any more inconsistencies: the forgery of this ground-plan appears to me manifest and clumsy; and with it must be exploded all those *carvellings* and *ymageries* and fronts of fantastic architecture which the vellum MS describes, and represents as the ornaments of the castle.

§ 45. Yet although this vellum MS must be condemned as a forgery, it is still possible that Chatterton possessed or inspected title-deeds or other papers, which might have contained notices concerning the castle, as well as other places in Bristol, which are now lost. His mention of *the myttyer castle* is extraordinary: Will' of Worcester speaks of the *mightiest tower;* but Chatterton never saw that book; and the expression being singular, the coincidence could scarcely have happened, if he had not seen the name of that tower in some original document; but on the other hand he could not have seen it in any regular description of the castle, for he has mistaken the situation of that tower. Geoffry's lodge, and the cross, and the two watch turrets, may perhaps arise from notices of the same kind; but I speak doubtfully concerning all these: only concerning the Vellum MS above-mentioned, I wish to express a decisive judgement, that it is a forgery.

§ 46. And here ends the description of the Castle and it's buildings; very imperfect, it is true, but the best which lapse of time has enabled us to compile. The names of it's many Governors and Constables, it's connexion with Kingswood and Barton Regis, and the events which happened in it or were connected with it, will be given in a future chapter.

End of Chapter VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

KING STEPHEN.

1. *Insurrection of Baldwin de Rivers.*—2. *The earl of Glocester's conduct.*—3. *Stephen goes to Glocester.*—4. *Burning and taking of Hereford.*—5. *The earl of Glocester revolts from Stephen.*—6. *Names of the Conspirators.*—7, 8, 9. *Milo earl of Hereford.*—10. *Gesta Stephani.*—11, 12, *The King twice besieges Bristol.*—13. *The earl stores the Castle with provision.*—14. *Description of Bristow.*—15. *Strength of the garrison.*—16. *Unsuccessful attempt to take Bath.*—17. *The bishop of Bath's dangerous situation.*—18, 19. *Violence of the garrison of Bristow.*—20. *The King visits Bath.*—21. *He assaults Bristol in vain.*—22. *He attempts to overflow the town.*—23. *He takes Castle Cary, and blockades Harptree castle.*—24. *The garrison of Bath assaults that of Bristol.*—25. *The same as* 16, 17.—26. *The same as* 18, 19, 21, 23. *The King takes Shrewsbury castle.*—27. *The King takes several places and Dover, Shrewsbury and Slede.*—28. *Slede the same as Leeds. The battle of the Standard.*—29. *Empress Matilda arrives in England.*—30. *Stephen besieges the Empress in Arundel castle.*—31. *Empress at Bristol and Glocester.*—31, 32, 33. *Cruelty of both parties.*—34. *The King besieges Wallingford in vain.*—34, 35. *Successes of Milo.*—36. *The garrisons of Trowbridge and Devizes.*—37. *Calamities at Worcester.*—38, 39, 40. *Calamities at Hereford*—41. *Hostilities at Winchcomb, Sudley and Tewksbury.*—42. *Ineffectual attempt at peace. Hostilites at Malmsbury.*—43. *Castle of Devizes taken,*

—44, 45, and retaken.—46. The King takes Ely; the Bishop escapes.—47. Reginald, son of king Henry, acquires Cornwall. The King dispossesses him,—48, 49, and offers battle to the Earl of Glocester near Bristol, who retires.—50. The Battle of Lincoln: The King taken prisoner.—51. Matilda acknowledged Queen: driven out of London, and escapes to Glocester.—52. The Empress leads her army to Winchester, and besieges the Bishop's castle.—53. She raises the siege, is defeated but escapes: the Earl of Glocester made prisoner. 54. The King exchanged for the Earl.—55. Prince Henry lands in England: the Empress besieged in Oxford.—56. The Earl takes Wareham; the Empress escapes from Oxford.—57. Prince Henry at Bristol.—58. 59. His acquaintance with the Fitzhardings. —60. The Earl defeats the King at Wilton; and acquires Sherborne castle.—61. His property and good government.—62. The vale of Glocester and the trade of Bristow.—63. The misery of England.—64. Misconduct of some Bishops: death of Milo; his offices and family.—65. Hostilities at Malmsbury and Tetbury.— 65, 66. The Earl with his army from Bristol drives the King from Tetbury.—67. The King takes Farringdon castle. The Earl's son and several others revolt and join Stephen. Ineffectual attempt to procure peace.—68. Troubles in Glocestershire.—69. Roger de Berkeley taken prisoner. The Earl's son renounces the war.—70. Prince Henry returns to his father. Death of the Earl of Glocester. His son William succeeds.—71. Date of Earl Robert's death.—72. His children.—73. The Empress quits England.—74. Prince Henry returns to England, and goes to Scotland.—75. He returns to Normandy. Divided government in England.—76, 77. Returns to England, and Peace is made between him and king Stephen.—78. They make Progresses together. Death of Stephen. —79. Importance of Bristow during that reign.—80. Robert Fitzharding's property.—81, 82. Grant of Berkeley.—83, 84, 85, 86. Marriages and pacification between the families of Berkeley.— 87 &c. History of Berkeley before the Conquest.—88. The Witch of Berkeley.—89. Grant to Fitzosborne. Castle at Nesse.—90, 91,

92. *Roger de Berkeley and his successors.*—93. *The building of Berkeley castle.*—94. *Dates of Prince Henry's arrivals and departures.*—95. *Dates of several transactions of Fitzharding's life.*—96. *His death: his seal: his widow.*—97. *Some account of the ancient lords of Berkeley.*

§ 1. SOON after the accession of king Stephen, that is, early in 1136, the Welsh made violent irruptions into England, favoured perhaps, or at least not opposed by the lords Marquisses, who were all Matilda's friends. While the King was preparing against the Welsh, the insurrection began. "Baldwin (*a*) de Rivers [*de ripariis*, earl of Devon] was the first who raised his head against him, by fortifying his castle of Exeter in defiance. The King having collected an army of English and Flemings which he had brought over into England, penetrated into Devon, besieged the said castle and took it." 'The (*b*) siege however cost him three months labour, and an expence of 15000 marks: and after all, his enemy not being in the castle, escaped out of Devonshire, and took refuge in the isle of Wight, which was his own inheritance. Hither also the King pursued him, and got possession of his impregnable castle there; and Baldwin, with his wife and children, being forced to quit England took refuge with the Empress Matilda, who received him joyfully.'

§ 2. This attempt was premature; the party which sought to expell the Usurper, and to place Matilda on the throne was not yet prepared. The earl or Consul of Gloucester, who must be considered as it's leader and it's main support, at the beginning of the year was in Normandy. "In (*c*) the year 1136 after Easter, Robert earl of Gloucester, returned into England, whose prudence and power king Stephen particularly feared, After his arrival the bishops swore allegiance to the King; and the King swore that he would inviolably observe the liberties of the church, and good laws; and he granted a charter to that effect. Earl Robert in like manner did homage; but on condition that the King"

(*a*) Chron' Gervais. (*b*) Gesta Steph'. (*c*) Matth' Westm'.

"should fully maintain his dignity. - - - - - Next year [i' e' 1137] in the beginning of Lent [in (*d*) March], king Stephen crossed the sea: and on Easter day following, the Earl did the same; and on landing he had the good fortune to escape the snares, which the King had laid for him, intending to take him prisoner: but the Earl was forewarned by the very persons, whom the King employed. Nevertheless, the King concealing treachery in his heart, yet shewed himself outwardly in good humour with the Earl, which turned out to the advantage of the latter." In 'May (*e*) 1137 he was with the King in Normandy, at the time when Geoffry, earl of Anjou, invaded that country with a strong force; and he was then suspected with many others of an inclination to support his sister's cause.' Stephen found Normandy as dangerous as England. Matilda's friends openly shewed themselves in both countries about this time. 'Her (*f*) half-brother, Rainald de Dunstanville, was at the head of her party in Normandy:' he was afterward Earl of Cornwall; one (*g*) writer calls him Earl of Bristowe, which must be a mistake; and says that once when the King was absent in Normandy, Rees prince of South-Wales having besieged Caermarthen, "Reynold Erle of Brystow, the king's base sonne" collected an army and forced him to raise the siege. Under his command the same scenes of civil discord and bloodshed were being acted in Normandy, as in England: and with him and others, Normans and Anjouvins, Baldwin de Rivers joined in carrying on implacable war against Stephen and his adherents.'

§ 3. Pressed on all sides, 'the King (*h*) was forced in July 1137 to make a truce with Matilda and her husband: after which hearing of the commotions in England, he returned thither in Advent 1137,' 'and spent (*i*) his Christmas at Dunstable. Early in the year 1138 he besieged and took Bedford; and after some military actions in other parts of the country, he came with an army to Gloucester. "The citizens being informed of his approach, met him with great joy more than five miles off, and conducted him with kindness to their city; and there being received by the monks on Tuesday in Rogation-week with the honour"

(*d*) Cont' Fl' Vigor'. (*e*) Order' Vit'. (*f*) Order' Vit'.
(*g*) David Powell's Cambria, p' 153. (*h*) Order' Vit'. (*i*) Cont' Flor' Vig'.

"of a procession, he laid down his golden ring on the holy altar; which the King's chaplains, after redeeming it for 50 shillings, carried back to him on the same day. From thence Milo, who was then his Constable, conducted him honourably to the royal palace [*aulam*], where next day the citizens swore allegiance [*fidelitatem*] to him." It must have been at this time, if ever, (*k*) that king Stephen granted the Honour of Glocester to Milo. It could have been only a titular grant; inasmuch as both the King and Milo well knew, that the Consul of Glocester held it in firm possession. "On the third day, that is, on Thursday, the King with his attendants returning to the monastery, was well pleased to be present at the solemnity of the processions or masses of our Lord's Ascension. Which festivity being passed, hearing that the castle of Hereford was fortified against him [by Geoffry Talbot] he led his army thither in great haste. Finding the report to be true, he remained there four or five weeks, and was crowned in the church of St Mary, mother of God, and sent orders through all England for soldiers to come to his asistance, in putting down all the enemies of his royal dignity.

§ 4. Meanwhile the city of Hereford, all below the bridge over the Wye, was burned down in the King's sight; and presently the lamentable burning of Oxford reached the ears of the King and his court: soon after which the garrison of the castle of Hereford, being made acquainted with the multitude of the King's army, surrendered on conditions: and because he was, or rather because he *is*, a King of pity and of peace, he did no injury to any one, but suffered his enemies to depart free. The King also took the town of Webbeley, which Geoffry de Talebot held against him, after he had escaped from Hereford, the man by whose art and contrivance the King's enemies in those parts were supported in throwing off their allegiance: which town and the castle of Hereford the King furnished with a regular garrison. On his departure Talbot returned on Thursday June 15, and burned down all the other side of the Wye, but retired with the loss of seven or eight Welshmen of his company." Another writer gives a short account of the same transaction.

(*k*) Atkyns p' 45, 2.

"Among the (*l*) first, Stephen besieged the city of Hereford, which is situate on the Wye [*Guaiam*], the boundary between the English and the Welsh; and being well received by the citizens and provincials, as their natural lord, he took the city, and Geoffry Talabot being put to flight, he kindly spared all the rest." Talbot being thus driven out of Hereford, took refuge in Bristol: "he (*m*) and his men renouncing the King, who wished for peace, went to the earl of Gloucester's son, who held the castle of Bricstow against the King, and gave himself up to his protection." About Midsummer the King went to Oxford, and from thence to London.

§ 5. 'When Stephen returned to England at the end of last year, the earl of Gloucester, who had not then openly declared himself his enemy, (*n*) returned with him:' but in the spring of 1138, having furnished his castle of Bristol with a garrison and provisions, he left it under the command of his son, and again quitted England. In June 1138 he was in (*o*) Normandy, where the earl of Anjou met him with a strong military force, 'and earnestly besought him to prosecute his sister's cause with the utmost of his power. They then joined their forces, and took Bayeux and Caen and many other towns of Normandy: on hearing which, many Bishops and towns in England were encouraged to shew themselves on the same side, and openly revolted against king Stephen.' It was at this time, that 'he sent (*p*) a letter of defiance to that King, wherein he renounced his authority, and acknowledged Matilda, as queen of England, to whom Stephen himself with the other English barons, had formerly sworn allegiance.' Matth' Westm' thus relates this singular transaction. "Next year [1138] the Earl sent messengers to the King, who was then in England, and renounced his homage: and this he did for several reasons; because the King had not kept his oath to him, nor to his sister [Matilda]: whereupon the King deprived him of all his possessions in England."

§ 6. This open declaration of the Consul Robert seems to have

(*l*) Order' Vit' lib' 13, p' 917. (*m*) Contin' Flor' Worc.' (*n*) Order' Vit'.
(*o*) Order' Vitalis. (*p*) Gerv' Chron'.

been the signal of revolt to the whole party. All the principal lords in the West of England particularly, and many in other parts, declared themselves in favour of Matilda, and fortified their castles. The strength of her party appears from the following passage. "After (*q*) Easter [1138] the wicked rage of the traytors broke out: for one of them named *Talebot* held against the King the castle of Hereford in Wales, which nevertheless the King recovered by siege. Robert Consul, bastard son of king Henry held against him a very strong castle called *Bristo*, and another called *Slede*. William [*alii* Ralph] Luvel held the castle of Kari [*Castle Cary*]: Paganel the castle of Ludelau [*Ludlow*]: William de Moinn the castle of Dunestor: Robert de Nichole the castle of Warram [*Wareham*]: Eustace Fitz-john the castle of Meltune: William Fitzalan the castle of Salopesbiri [*Shrewsbury*], which the king took and hung some of the prisoners."

§ 7. There were others also of great power in Matilda's party. The famous Milo Fitzwalter was the principal leader of the whole, next to the Consul Robert. He is called (*r*) Constable of Glocester, and (*s*) Marquis of Gloc', and (*t*) Lord of Gloc', and (*u*) governor of the city. He was also Chief (*v*) Constable of the realm, and his father Walter seems (*w*) to have enjoyed the same dignity before him. This Officer was originally (*x*) *Comes stabuli*, from whence his name is derived, that is, *Master of the horse*. Another derivation has been proposed, *Conning Stable*, i' e' *the King's support*, but the former is more probable. From being given to the King's principal Minister and agent, the name has gradually descended to the humblest officer of Justice.—In the year 1137 Milo (*y*) founded the abbey of Lanthony in Monmouthshire, whither his father Walter retired, took the canonical habit, died, and was buried

(*q*) H' Hunting' 8.
(*r*) Leland Coll' 1, 35 [41].—Atkyns p' 272; probably the two are but one authority.
(*s*) Will' Malmesb' Novell' 2. (*t*) *Primas Glaornensis*, Gesta Steph'.
(*u*) *Civitati Glaucensium Præsidens.* Id' p' 931.
(*v*) *Princeps militiæ Regis*; and *summum Regis Constabularium.* Gervas Chron'.
(*w*) See Atkyns pp' 266, 269, 272 (*x*) See Lambard's Archaion', and Somner's Gloss'.
(*y*) Leland, ubi suprà. But in a note Hearne says, *Walterus Lacy primus Fundator.* Camd' 631.

there. By his wife Sibylla he was (*z*) lord of Brecknock. He was afterward earl of Hereford; and if Sir Rob' Atkyns's account be correct, he was also Consul or Earl of Bristow: but he is mistaken. From a Charter of Milo granted to Lanthony Abbey Sir Rob' quotes the (*a*) following words. "In the year 1141 being at Bristol, and being made Consul *thereof*, I gave them &c." The original is in Dugdale (*b*) as follows; "Item anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1141 apud Bristodium (*c*) positus, jamque Consulatus honorem adeptus &c." Leland (*d*) uses the same words, except that he writes *Bristolium* instead of *Bristodium*. Now it is manifest, that Sir Robert has mistaken the meaning of these words: they only imply, that before that time he had been raised to the honour of being an Earl or Consul, not mentioning of what place he was made Earl: it was certainly not Bristol but Hereford, and Leland in his note says that he so understood it. He was created earl of Hereford by (*e*) Matilda July 25, 1141. To the donation above-mentioned made at Bristol, the Empress, and the earl of Glocester, and Brian Fitz-count were witnesses; which they could not have been, until after the Consul Robert's release Nov' 1 of that year. It would moreover have been unaccountable that Milo, who was in intimate alliance with the Consul Robert should yet be made earl of Bristol, which was Robert's peculiar possession: it would have been an invasion of the authority of his ally. It is true Robert was created earl of Glocester, although Milo or his father was Constable &c of that town: but the cases were different, and an explanation of the difference would be interesting, but it is not a part of the present subject. I conclude therefore, that Milo was never earl or consul of Bristol.

§ 9. The author of the *Gesta Stephani* gives the following account of him. "One Milo (he says) governor of the city of Gloucester, mounted to the rank of the Consulship [*ad Consulatûs apicem ascendit*] more by the cunning of a prudent mind, than by family succession."

(*z*) Of Milo and his wife, his honours and his family, see Lhoyd's Cambria, p' 112.

(*a*) Gloucestershire p' 272.

(*b*) Monast' Vol' 2, p' 70

(*c*) He calls the town *Bristodium* in three places.

(*d*) Leland Coll' 1, 35 [41].

(*e*) See below § 51.

The same writer in the next page seems to mean the same thing. Speaking of the conspirators against king Stephen, he says, "Among them was Paime Fitzjohn, and also that Milo above-mentioned; the former having the government of the provinces of Hereford and Shrewsbury; the latter the province of Gloucester: who during the time of king Henry had so much extended their power, that from the Severn sea, through all the borders of England and Wales, they involved all men in law-suits [*placitis*] and loaded them with services [*angariis*]." In another place he says, that "Milo set himself against the King with the greatest firmness; and entertaining all the King's adversaries, as many as flocked to him, he carried off all the plunder in the provinces, which lay near the county of Gloucester. And at one time he drove away cattle innumerable from the remotest borders of England; at another time he valiantly harrassed with fire and sword those around him, whom he knew to be attached to the King by fidelity and homage. In one place he laid perpetual snares for the King and his friends; in another place he cruelly stripped even to solitude their lands and possessions."—Two other Barons also there were, principal persons of of this party; Ranulph, earl of Chester, the earl of Gloucester's son-in-law; and Brian Fitz-count, (*f*) Marquis of Wallingford. This latter (*g*) "was a man illustrious by birth, and magnificent in dignity; who fortified an impregnable castle, which he had near Wallingford; and with a prodigiously large number of soldiers joined in active and constant rebellion against the King." Frequent mention of this great Chief is made in Kennet's *Parochial Antiquities*. To this powerful combination against Stephen must be added the (*h*) names of Hugh Bigot and Robert D'Oyly.

§ 10. The events of this dreadful war are so well recorded by several writers, that the history of it might be compiled with the utmost minuteness. The Continuator of Flor' Worcest' deserves especial notice for the accuracy of his narrative, and for his chronological exactness. But the most particular account of events, relating to Bristol, is to be

(*f*) Will' Malmesb' Novell' 2, p' 188. (*g*) Gesta Stephani.
(*h*) Leland Coll' 2, 532 [765].

found in a book entituled *Gesta Stephani*. It was published by Dr Andrew Duchesne in *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores antiqui* without any author's name. The Editor could find only one MS copy, and that imperfect and half eaten away; and unluckily some of the leaves and passages, which are lost, appear to have related to transactions in which Bristol was concerned. Fortunately the indefatigable curiosity of Thomas Hearne discovered in the Bodleian Library a perfect MS copy (*i*) of this work, being almost twice larger than the printed edition; from which it appears, that the author was a Norman, his name being *Robertus Boecensis* or *Beccensis* [*Robert de Bec*], or *Robertus de Monte*. He always calls our city *Bristoa*, and stiles it *Civitas*, and the inhabitants he calls *Bristoenses*. He was an Ecclesiastic; a firm partizan of Stephen, perhaps his personal friend; and from the minuteness of his narrative in most cases, he was probably an eye-witness of great part of what he relates; but he was not attentive to chronological order. I shall make large extracts from it, translating every thing, which has even a distant relation to Bristol, it's chiefs and it's garrison; for the book is scarce, and little known, not at all in English; but it contains minute particulars of our history, interesting to the whole kingdom, as well as to Bristol. The reader however must bear in mind, that most Ecclesiastics of that age considered Stephen as a King of their own appointment; and they being the only writers, it hence happens, that almost all the cotemporary historians are violent in their abuse of Matilda's party, considering every military exploit performed by her friends, as an act of ferocity and rebellion against a lawful King. This bias will be found in almost all the following extracts.

§ 11. It may be presumed that the earl of Gloucester had nearly, if not wholly, finished his castle of Bristow, before he ventured to renounce his allegiance. Secure of such a fortress, asisted by the wealth of Fitzharding, and possessing the good will of the burgesses, under the controul and influence of such a governor, he sent the defiance

(*i*) Apud Leland Coll' 6, 92. It appears to be the same MS, as that from which Mr. Barrett p' 126 gives an extract concerning the Castle, and which (he says) is among Archbishop Laud's MSS. His extract might pass for a translation from the printed Edition, which proves the printed book and Laud's MS to be the same.

mentioned above. This must have happened about Midsummer 1138, when the King went to London. Stephen wanted not bravery or activity to defend his cause: he marched into the earl's territories, taking and destroying every thing in his power; and at the same time he attempted to take Bristol, but his army was not strong enough for the enterprise. One of the old historians relates the affair thus: "The (*k*) King besieged the castle of Bristo; but being weary of the very long protracted siege, he turned to the earl's other castles." One of our Calendars says the same: "Before the castle was finished, it was besieged by king Stephen, but he was forced to draw off without doing any damage." Two more of our Calendars represent the affair thus. "The Castle not yet fully finished was yet fortified against king Stephen by earle Robert in the quarrell of Maud the empresse, his sister" &c. Camden says (*l*) "this castle was scarce finished before king Stephen laid close siege to it, but he was obliged to retire." William Malm' gives a similar account. "The (*m*) King not enduring the Earl's magnanimity deprived him of all his possessions in England, as far as he was able, and levelled some of his castles. Bristoue alone remained, [resisting so well] that it not only expelled the enemies, but also harrassed the King by frequent incursions."

§ 12. On the other hand we are informed by (*n*) Leland from the authority of a little book of the antiquities of the house of the Calendaries in Bristow, that "king Stephan took the towne of Brightstow by force from Robertus Consul." The same thing appears from an Inquisition into the rights and liberties of the Calendaries taken in 1318, a document of undoubted authority, wherein it is said (*o*) that 'King Stephen took the town of Bristol by war from Robert, earl of Glocester:' which Inquisition seems to have been copied from the same book of the

(*k*) Chron' Gervais.

(*l*) Camden in Somersetshire.

(*m*) Novell' 2, p' 180.

(*n*) Leland's Itin' 7, 94 [71 *a*].

(*o*) The Original is contained in a Chartulary called the *Little Red Book* kept in the Council-house, and is as follows "tempore domini Stephani regis Anglie capientis villam Bristoll per guerram de Roberto Comite Gloucestrie fundatore Prioratus Sancti Jacobi et castri Bristoll ac domini." A further account of this Document will be given in the Chapter concerning the Calendaries.

Calendaries which Leland quoted. It is said also by (*p*) Tindall, that 'Sir Bartholomew de Courcill, an ancestor of the great Duke of Marlborough, held the castle of Bristol for king Stephen.' Barrett says the same, (*q*) but spelling the name *Currishall.* Lord Lyttleton also (*r*) writes, that 'the Earl of Gloucester dispossessed Stephen's garrison:' and the same thing is said by Holingshead, consequently some time or other Stephen must have possessed Bristol. From the preceding statements therefore, the following seem to be the facts. Early in his reign the King took Bristol by force and arms from the Consul Robert, its rightful owner, and appointed Sir Bartholomew de Courcill to be Governor or Constable; and this is probably the breach of faith of which Earl Robert (*s*) complained. However before the summer of 1138 the Earl had expelled Stephen's garrison, and recovered possession of his castle and town: and when the King in the autumn of that year endeavoured to retake it, he was forced to raise the siege, and never afterward had any authority in Bristow.

§ 13. Far the best account of these transactions in and about Bristol at this time is to be found in the *Gesta Stephani.* After a defect in the MS, which appears to be of some considerable length, the author thus proceeds: "*In hunc denique modum &c* p' 939. In this manner the conference between the king and the messengers [of the earl of Gloucester] being ended, they departed. The King went to London: and the messengers going to Bristow, the Earl's especial seat, carried orders to his subjects there very calamitous to the kingdom of England; namely that they should plentifully store the castle with great abundance of provision; that they should admit the company of all [military men], who should resort to them; and should immediately commit every act the most severe and hostile which they could, against the King and his subjects, as against the Earl's enemies."

(*p*) Continuation of Rapin Vol' 5, p' 536. His marginal authority is Burnet. Boyer.

(*q*) Barrett p' 211, who quotes no authority.

(*r*) Lyttleton's Hist' Henry II; 5, 228. He quotes Benedict Abbas, a book which I have not seen.

(*s*) See above § 2 and § 5.

§ 14. "Bristow is a city nearly the richest of all the cities of the country, receiving merchandise by sailing vessels from the neighbouring and from foreign countries, placed in the most fruitful part of England, and by the very situation of the place the best defended of all the cities of England. For as we read of Brundusium, a certain part of the province of Gloucester, being narrowed into the form of a tongue and extended a long way, forms the city, two rivers washing two of it's sides, and meeting together in a great abundance of waters on the lower side, where the land itself (*t*) is defective. Moreover a quick and strong tide ebbing and flowing abundantly night and day, causes the rivers on both sides of the city to run back upon themselves into a wide and deep sea; and forming a port very fit and very safe for a thousand vessels, it binds the circuit of the city so nearly and so closely that the whole city seems to swim on the water and sit on it's banks. But on one side, where it is esteemed more exposed to a siege, and more assailable, a castle raised on a considerable mound, fortified with a wall and bulwarks, towers and various machines, prevents the approach of assailants. Into which they brought together such an inundation of horsemen and footmen, the earl's dependents, or I might say more truly, so great and wonderful a number of robbers and plunderers, that it seemed not only great and fearful but even horrible and incredible to all, who viewed them [*contemplantibus.*] Because coming out of different provinces and districts they flocked thither so much the more readily and in greater numbers, inasmuch as being under a rich lord and in a well fortified castle, they were permitted to do whatever came most readily into their minds in the richest part of England. Among the rest that Geoffry Taleboth [Talbot] was there; who as is mentioned above, having been banished out of England, determined to breathe out his poison in every place, and to do whatever cruelty his wicked mind was accustomed to conceive. But his wickedness, by God's judgement, was turned upon himself: for while he was deliberating, how to murder some, and condemn others, he himself being caught first and firmly holden in bonds nearly suffered the sentence of condemnation."

(*t*) The writer means to describe the natural mouth of the Frome, such as it must have been in his time, when it made Queen's Square and all the adjacent parts an actual marsh. See the plate III, 58.

§ 15. It must however be recollected that this representation of the enormities of the garrison of Bristol is drawn by an adversary, and that probably some deduction ought to be made. We may be sure however of thus much, that the Earl garrisoned his castle with a strong body of horse and foot raised from among his own vassals in various parts of England, Wales and Normandy; that the town was under his command and from inclination active in his cause; that the garrison levied contributions on all the country around for it's maintenance; and that the troops were not always free from the reproach of violence and cruelty in raising these contributions. Thus raised and thus maintained, the garrison of Bristow kept the whole country around it in submission. Very early in the war, that is in A' D' 1139, we are informed that the King complained of the bishop of Salisbury, who had built a strong castle at Malmesbury, "that he would not permit Roger de Mortimer, who was leading a party of the King's soldiers that way to remain a single night at Malmesbury, although they were in great fear and danger from the men of Bristow." (*u*)

§ 16. The Norman historian thus proceeds. "There is a city six [VI *sic*] miles from Bristow, where through hidden pipes [*fistulas*] fountains throw up water, warmed (*v*) without human skill and art, out of the bowels of the earth into a receptacle ornamentally arranged with (*w*) chambered arches, [*cameratas arcuationes*], and form baths in the middle of the city warm and wholesome and delightful to be seen. This city is called *the Bath*, because sick persons from all England are used to meet there for the sake of bathing themselves in those wholesome waters; and those who are in good health also, for the sake of seeing those wonderful eruptions of warm water, and of bathing in them."

(*u*) Quòd Rogerium de Mortemer cum militibus regiis, quos ductitabat in summo de Bristowensibus metu, nec unâ noete idem [*lege* ne unâ noete quidem] Episcopus Malmesberiæ manere dimisisset [*lege* permisisset]. Will' Malmesb' Novell' 2, p' 182.

(*v*) Aquas ex humano ingenio & artificio calefactas. Either we must read *extra humanum ingenium*; or the present text must be so understood.

(*w*) The Reader may recollect a similar description of the Baths given by Rich' Cirenc' quoted above II, 96.

"This city therefore, because it was easy to fortify, the Bristowans endeavoured to gain over to their side; for which purpose having got together a body of men, they unexpectedly approached it at the dawn of day, bringing ladders with them and other machines for mounting the wall; and being collected together in a neighbouring valley they waited a little while, until the situation of the city and the mode of taking it being examined by their spies, they might all together rush upon it. Geoffry Taleboth and his relation Gilbert de Lacy, a prudent man, and cautious and active in all military affairs, being appointed as spies, examined the circuit of the city step by step and cautiously, as they supposed; when lo! the soldiers of the bishop of Bath having espied them suddenly came upon them. Gilbert being more cunning and sharper than the other escaped from the middle of them; but Geoffry they surrounded and took, and having tightly bound his feet, they thrust him into a close chamber, and set guards over him."

§ 17. Gilbert having so unfortunately lost his relation returned to his companions, and told them with heavy sighs what misfortune had befallen him. They however were not in despair, but animated and exhorted each other so much the more: and unanimously agreeing to deliver him, they went to Bath and invited the Bishop to come out to them, on their faith and oath promising to him a free and secure egress and a safe return. The Bishop at last like an innocent man who believes every word, or like another Jacob who dwells simply in the house, was joyfully received by these wretches, who laid their sacrilegious hands on the preacher of the gospel, the minister of God's holy table; and reviling with indecent reproaches the reverend teacher of our common faith and religion, they threatened to hang him, unless he restored Geoffry to them. Thus the bishop was set in a strait of tribulation: for his enemies were not softened by pity for his trouble; nor were his own men able to give him any asistance; for they had retreated within, as soon as the bishop was taken, and shutting the gates had run to defend the walls: so that he was obliged to satisfy their rash insolence, and gave orders that the man should be released and restored." - - - -

§ 18. "The Bristowans therefore being let loose to every crime, wherever they heard of any lands or possessions of the King or of those who favoured him, like a hungry pack of dogs, thither ran eagerly and early, and seized and carried off, sold and wasted yokes of oxen, flocks of cattle, every thing desirable, which either the eye saw, or the ambitious heart wished for. And when they saw that all things which were in their own neighbourhood, and as it were at hand, were brought into that den of perdition [the castle] and annihilated; wherever they heard of any monied or wealthy men in all parts of England, they quickly went there, and seizing some by force and seducing others by fraud, they carried them off, binding up their eyes with a fillet and stopping up their mouths either with a lump of something forcibly pressed on them, or with a certain small machine in the form of a bridle with a rough bit and toothed: and at last they brought them into the middle of Bristow, as we read of the robbers (*x*) of Elisha; and either wasted them by fasting, or by inflicting punishments on them they squeezed from them whatever they possessed even to the last farthing."

§ 19. "Others contriving a more crafty method went where England was more quiet, peace more abundant, and the people more inclined to ease and security: and there journeying in the day-time sometimes in one place and sometimes in another along some beaten and frequented road, they concealed their name, their persons and their employment, they shewed no arms, nor any remarkable dress, they used no impious and extravagant expressions, as robbers usually do; but they pretended a humble look, a moderate gait, a smooth and gentle conversation, and so far acted the hypocrite, until they had obtained their purpose, either by meeting some rich man accidentally, or privately carrying one off from any place, whom they conveyed to Bristow, that stepmother of all England. And this mode of deceit, this fiction of hypocrisy was so common through almost all parts of England, that there was scarcely a city or a village where (*y*) they did not practice these"

(*x*) 2 Kings 6, 20.

(*y*) Allowing something for the author's prejudice against the adverse faction, yet still enough will remain to prove the state of society and of government at this time to have been miserable in the

"fraudulent contrivances, where they did not leave traces of this infamous robbery. Hence it came to pass, that men could not pass along the roads of the King's peace securely, as they used to do, nor could man trust himself to man confidently, as they used: but whenever one person on a journey spied another, he trembled all over, and in fear fled out of his sight either into a wood or to some bye-path, until at last by recovering his spirit he might proceed on his journey more safely, and more boldly."

§ 20. "As soon as the report came to the King's ears, that the Bristowans were throwing the country into confusion by their public rapine and clandestine robberies, although he was engaged on every side in settling other affairs of the kingdom, he nevertheless collected an army out of all England, and unexpectedly went to Bath, as with an intention to besiege Bristow. The Bishop being advertised of his approach met him on the outside of the city. And although at the beginning of their conversation the King shewed himself indignant against him, because he had suffered his enemy Geoffry, the destroyer of peace and of his country to escape free and unhurt out of his custody, yet the Bishop convinced the King by sufficient witnesses, that he himself had been disgraced by injuries, had been very nearly hanged, and had suffered dishonour from the violence of those rascals; and at last having mollified the King and brought him back to his usual friendship, he conducted him into Bath. The King taking notice of the circuit of the city, and going round the whole, found it to be an impregnable place and very fit for resistance; and therefore he ordered the walls to be raised higher, bulwarks to be erected on the slope, and having placed a numerous garrison there, he enjoined them to keep a diligent and cautious look-out, for the purpose of restraining the Bristowans."

§ 21. "Departing thence to the deceitful Bristow [*ad impostricem*"

extreme: for it appears from this and other passages of this same author, that the garrisons of other castles beside that of Bristol, Dunster particularly, were guilty of the same enormities. The practice of kidnapping wealthy persons, and extorting large sums of money for their ransom, is said to be practised by troops of banditti in Italy at this time [1818] to a great extent.

" *Bristoam*], he collected his army near the city; and having inquired of his Barons and consulted them in common, how he might most severely besiege it, by what arts he might most powerfully conquer it, by what means he might most quickly oppress it, he received various and uncertain advice, because some obeyed him faithfully, and some deceitfully. For some advised him to throw into the river a vast heap of large stones, wood and turf, at that place where the mouth of the port of the city is contracted by a narrow pass [*ubi civitatis ostium artatis faucibus angustiùs coibat*]; so that the entrance of the port being blocked up, the aid which the citizens received from the river by the labour of rowers, on which they principally depended, might be intercepted; and moreover that the rivers, which (as was before-mentioned) flowed around the city, by having their reflux intercepted might rise upon themselves; and being collected into a wide and deep lake, like a sea, might threaten the city with immediate submersion. Others recommended to build small castles on two sides of the city, and thus to prevent the townsmen from going in and out, as they usually did by the bridges; and that the King himself, keeping his army for some time before the Earl's castle, should afflict the inhabitants with hunger and divers sufferings. But other persons overthrowing this sound and acceptable advice, those especially who fighting treacherously with the King favoured the Earl more, gave their opinion on the contrary, that it was a useless labour to attempt to obstruct an abyss of the sea with materials of wood and stone: since it was most evident, that whatever should be rolled in there, would either be swallowed up in the depth, or would be all consumed and annihilated by the tide rushing vehemently against it."

§ 22. The proposal, which the historian here describes, consisted evidently in raising a bar of stones, timber &c across the river Avon. That the mere obstruction of the river, and thereby the flooding of the city are naturally practicable, is certain. The place, where an enemy would attempt such a work, is just below St Vincent's Rock, where the stream ripples over a bar. From the bed of the river to high-water mark is here about 40 feet; and if the barrier were carried 10 or 12 feet higher,

all the lower parts of the town would be overflowed, and it must surrender. But to raise such a barrier 50 feet high, 100 yards long, and of a sufficient thickness, to bring together a requisite number of soldiers and workmen, and to maintain them for a sufficient length of time in the face of an active and warlike enemy, was a greater undertaking than Stephen and his army could possibly have accomplished; and although the rocks were within a cast, they had no gunpowder with which to break them. The King therefore did well in giving up the enterprize. It has been supposed, that if the water were raised above the banks of the river, it would find it's way to the sea at Clevedon through the vale of Ashton, and therefore that it would be impossible to flood the city. This supposition has been lately disproved by Barometrical observation: the surface of the vale of Ashton in going from Rownham toward the sea continually (*z*) rises for four or five miles: insomuch that Ashton water, by which the river Avon must run on this supposition, is about 100 feet above high-water mark at Bristol: to which depth this city would be overflowed, before the Avon could reach Ashton water, and from thence begin to run toward the sea at Clevedon.

§ 23. The Norman historian thus proceeds. "By the advice of these men the King desisting from the siege of Bristow, after having wasted and destroyed, plundered and carried away every thing in it's neighbourhood, undertook an expedition against two castles, namely *Carith* [Castle Cary] and *Harpetreu*; the one possessed by —— Luvel, the other by William Fitzjohn. These men were attached to the Earl in the bonds of friendship, united firmly by faith and oath, and so confederated by conditions and homage, that as soon as they perceived that he intented to rise against the King's authority, they also readily entered into the conspiracy. Hearing afterward, that the King had removed his camp to Bristow, and supposing that he would be engaged in a tedious siege there, they unanimously performed the agreement which they had made with the Earl, and harrassing all the countries around them with grievous hostility, they every where did all the mischief, which they"

(*z*) I am indebted to the Rev' William Conybeare for this observation, who kindly undertook it at my request. The natural history of the river is much influenced by this rise of the vale.

"were able. The King being roused and going thither, violently assaulted the castle of Cari, and his engines scattering incessantly fire and showers of stones among the besieged, he forced them at last, after being reduced to want of food, to surrender on conditions of peace and concord: for they were not able to hold out any longer, weakened as they were by want of food; particularly since the Earl, their hope and refuge, was not arrived in England; neither were the Bristowans able to come to their asistance by reason of the far superior valour of the King. Leaving Carith therefore, peace being confirmed on both sides, the King removed his army to Arptree; where he would have built a castle before it and placed a sufficient garrison, if it had not been suggested to him by the counsel of prudent persons, that he might very conveniently restrain that castle by means of the soldiers, whom he left at Bath; particularly because the distance between the two was but short, and it was thought expensive and too burdensome to make many preparations and practices of fighting and besieging in many places. But at another time when he was passing near the same castle with an infinite number of soldiers, as if he had been marching with an army to besiege the Bristowans, the garrison [of Harptree] issuing forth pursued his army. Whereupon the King making a sudden turn backward ordered his horse to gallop to the castle; and finding it almost empty he commanded some to put fire to the gates, others to set machines and ladders against the walls, and all to attempt to force an entrance; until at length he took it, defended as it was by only a few, and gave it into the care and custody of his own men."

§ 24. "The King, as was mentioned above, having triumphed over Castle Cary, hurried away always armed, and with an army to different objects, to various affairs, which incessantly drew him here and there different ways through all parts of England. For as we read of the fabulous hydra of Hercules, one of whose heads being cut off, two or more arose in it's place, so we must think of king Stephen's labours; because any one being finished, others more grievous succeeded without end; and to sustain every one of them he always applied himself, like another Alcides, boldly and invincibly. I have read &c - - - - - The"

"soldiers therefore, whom the King had left in the city of Bath to attack the Bristowans, behaved themselves firmly and bravely: they fortified the walls and mounds with every contrivance of resistance, so as to render them impregnable; by means of alternate watches they passed the night around the walls with armed men: sometimes in the dead of night issuing out of the city they lay in ambush in convenient situations: and by day with a very large armed company of knights [*militum*] and attendants they attacked different lands belonging to the Bristowans; and sometimes they appeared with all their forces before the very gates of the city, as if they were about to enter it by storm, destroying houses and churches and every thing, which might be consumed by fire."

§ 25. Other historians relate the same events, from whom many particulars may be collected. "Geoffry Talbot (*a*) one day went out of the garrison [of Bristol], accompanied by two brave soldiers, William Hoset and another; as though he wished to see something, but as it afterwards appeared, for the purpose of examining Bath, and afterward of attacking it. Which being observed, Robert, bishop of Bath, in hope of triumphing over the King's enemies, went out to meet them with a party of soldiers: upon which the two men ran away, but Geoffry was taken, and committed to prison. The soldiers of Bristow castle being inflamed with rage, with their Chief, the earl's son, approached Bath in a hostile manner, - - - [*hiatus*] - - - they tie the bishop's hands behind him, and threaten to hang up him and his men on a gallows, unless their fellow-soldier Geoffry should be restored to them. Wherefore the bishop, fearing for himself and his soldiers, yeilded to their demand, and sending for Geoffry out of prison, delivered him to them. When the King heard this, he was exceedingly angry with the bishop, as though he had favoured his enemies; and if he had given way to his ill humour rather than to a peaceable disposition, he might perhaps even have deprived him of his pastoral staff; but since the bishop did it by force and against his will, the King gave up his wrath, on which (according to the apostle's rule) it is not right, that the Sun should go down."

(*a*) Cont' Flor' Vigorn'.

"Afterward he did what he had intended, he sent a number of his army to Bath, who by keeping the city as a garrison secured it from any assault of the enemies."

§ 26. "Not long after, the King moved his army toward Bricstow, whence at that time by means of one Philip Gai, a relation of the Earl, the times and torments of Nero and Decius burst forth in a flame, as out of hell. For by his encouragement the bitterness of various tortures was there first invented, which were spread far and wide over all England, and have now almost reduced the whole island to nothing. The King therefore having wasted and burned the lands and houses of the earl of Gloucester all around, besieged the castle for some time. But being weary of the long siege, he turned aside to besiege other castles belonging to the earl, Carif in Dorsetshire and Harptree in Somersetshire; and there having built castles before them which he furnished with soldiers, he departed; and then assaulted with his whole army, and took the castle of Duddeleage [Dudley], which Radulph Paganell had fortified against him. When the King had burned every thing which was in the neighbourhood, and had taken and driven off abundance of cattle, he took with him a great number of his soldiers to besiege the castle of Shrewsbury, which William Fitzalan held against him. But he having notice of the King's approach fled with his wife and children and some others, leaving in the castle some, who had sworn never to surrender it. When the siege had lasted some days, this contrivance was adopted, as is reported by those who knew the circumstance. A large quantity of wood was collected, with which the castle-ditch was filled up: which being set on fire, the smoke rising up on high inveloped all within and without: the gate was opened: all those within retiring or rather creeping out of the castle, attempted a wretched flight; whom the King ordered his men to pursue and put to death: five of them being persons of greater note were hanged. His enemies being subdued, the King took his departure thence, and marched towards Werham [*Wareham*]. But Ralph Paganel made his peace with the King for a time'.'

§ 27. Bromton and Knighton write thus. "In the fifth year of"

"king Stephen, (*b*) he took the castles of Gloucester, Hereford, Webbeley, Brystoll, Dudley and Shrewsbury." With regard to Bristol, he is mistaken, at least at the time.—Another (*c*) relates the taking of Dover in the same year 1138, which belonged to the Consul Robert. "The Queen also with a strong body of men besieged Dover by land, and ordered the people of Bologne, her friends, relations, and dependents, to block up her enemies by sea. They readily complied with the orders of their lady, and covered that strait, which is narrow, with a multitude of ships; so that the garrison in the castle could procure nothing for themselves by any means." The governor, by the persuasion of Robert de Ferrars, his father-in-law, surrendered the castle to the King on terms.' The taking of Shrewsbury is thus related by the same author. "Will' Fitzalan, governor and Sheriff of Shrewsbury, who had married the niece of Robert Earl of Gloucester, wishing to favor him, rebelled against the King, and held the said city against him almost a month. At length in the month of August, being overpowered by the King's valour he took to flight, and the King won the fortress by assault. The governor escaped; but his uncle Arnulph, who had used insolent language to the King and about 93 others he hung or otherwise put to death, as an example," having observed that his lenity hitherto had been prejudicial to his cause.'—Another (*d*) historian writes, that 'in the fourth year of his reign [that is, late in 1138 or early in 1139] the King took the castle of Slede,' which appears to be the only one remaining to the earl of Gloucester, except Bristow.

§ 28. The castle of *Slede* is undoubtedly *Leedes* in Kent. Lord Lyttleton considers it so, as in other passages, so in this: "the Earl's (*e*) defiance of Stephen was immediately followed by the revolt of Bristol, Dover and Leedes." That the Earl had possessions in Kent, has been already mentioned, particularly, that Dover was his. Now Leeds was one of the manors (*f*) annexed to the Castle of Dover for it's maintenance. The name is written in Domesday-book *Eslede*: and many

(*b*) It was certainly in 1138. (*c*) Order' Vit' lib' 13, p' 917. (*d*) H' Huntingd' 8.

(*e*) Hist' Henry II, Vol' 1, p' 267: but he quotes no authority. (*f*) Hasted's Hist' of Kent.

examples occur, where E before S prefixed to a name in early times was dropped in succeeding ages; as Esquire, Squire; Estranger, Stranger; Espagne, Spain; Escutcheon, Scutcheon; Esclave, Slave. In the following passage also the castle of Leeds is certainly meant. "The (*g*) earl of Gloucester, who was the cause of this violent commotion, possessed great power in England from the gift of his father, king Henry, in wealth, towns and warlike soldiers [*vivis ferocibus*]. For he kept the fortresses of Gloucester and Canterbury, and he possessed some very well fortified towns, *Brichtou* and *Ludas* [read *Ledas*, that is, *Leedes*] and Dover." And again the taking of Leeds by the King's troops is certainly meant in the following passage: "Gilbert (*h*) de Clare also besieged the castle *Escedas* [read *Esledas*, that is, *Esledes*] and forced the townsmen to a surrender."—The same place is also meant in the following passage of another Norman (*i*) historian. "Robert, Consul of Gloucester, held against him *Britoetsiede* [read *Bristo et Slede*]." He also mentions the surrender of Dover to Stephen's Queen.—Holingshead also certainly means Leeds castle, when he (*k*) writes "the King having now accomplished his purpose, and taken the castle of Leides, &c." Matthew Paris means the same place. "Robert, (*l*) Consul of Glocester, held *Ledes et Bristollum*." The following passage in Robert of Glocester's rhymes must not be omitted; 'The (*m*) earl Roberd of Gloucestre, as man without fear, the strong castle of Brystow, which he himself reared, astored well enough, and also the Slede; and held them both against the King.' I have no doubt that *Slede* means *Leeds*; but possibly the author of the Glossary, Thomas Hearne the editor, thought otherwise; for it is there written A Slede. *a valley*. We shall hereafter find Bartholomew de Baddlesmere, Constable of our Castle, in possession of Leeds; but whether there was any permanent connection between the two places I have not found. Thus prosperous were the King's affairs in England: and when in the same summer of 1138 the king of Scotland, in order to favor the cause of the empress Matilda, invaded Northumberland, he was utterly defeated in the *battle of the Standard*, as related by all our

(*g*) Order' Vit' 13, p' 917. (*h*) Ibid'. (*i*) Chronica Norman' p' 1' apud Duchesne.

(*k*) Holing' Chron' A' D' 1140, A' r' 5, the date is wrong.

(*l*) Matth' Paris Hist' p' 76, A' D' 1138. (*m*) Rob' Glouc' p' 447.

historians. Stephen had just taken Salisbury and was then besieging Bridgenorth, when the news of this great victory reached him Aug' 23.

§ 29. Such was the success which the King had at the breaking out of the war in the year 1138, and beginning of 1139, during the absence of the earl of Gloucester. But his inconsistent and tyrannic conduct soon raised up a host of enemies among the bishops and barons, who sent to the empress Matilda, inviting her to cross the sea, and put herself at the head of her party. She did so, and landed in England in the autumn of 1139, and her brother the Consul Robert attended her. There are some varieties in the account of this transaction given by different historians. Some say 'she (*n*) landed prosperously at Portsmouth with a large army in July 1139:' and another (*o*) adds that 'she brought with her one of her younger children, an infant in the cradle.' Another (*p*) writes, that 'they landed in August, at Arundel, because at that time they had no other port.' Wm' Malmesb' says (*q*) that 'she landed at Arundel Sept' 30 with only 140 soldiers.' Matth' Westm' writes thus. "In the year of Grace 1139, the empress Matildis arrived in England on Michaelmas day, and with her came her brother Robert, earl of Gloucester, with a great power." Another (*r*) says that they came to England in the latter part of July, and landed at Portsmouth with a great army before the first day of August. Stowe says, she landed in July at Portsmouth with a large army, and then went to Arundel. The Author of *Gesta Stephani* says she came "with a strong body of soldiers."

§ 30. 'The (*s*) Earl went with great danger and difficulty, accompanied only by some soldiers and ten horse-archers through the midst of king Stephen's country to Wallingford, and from thence easily to Bristol;'

(*n*) Bromton and Gervas.

(*o*) *Eodem anno Imperatrix, Comitissa Andegaviæ, editæ jam masculæ sobolis fecunditate gavisa - - - - assumpto secum filio suo adhuc impubere, utputa in cunabulis vagiente, - - - - applicuit in Angliam.* Chron' Th' Wikes.

(*p*) Chron' Norman' ap' Duchesne.

(*q*) Novell' 2 p' 184.

(*r*) Continuat' Flor' Worc. See Langtoft's Chron' Vol' 1, p' 119.

(*s*) W' Malmesb' ubi suprà, and Chron' Norm' ap' Duchesne.

but 'the Empress he (*t*) left at Arundel castle, where she was hospitably entertained by Adeliza, widow of the late king Henry, then the wife of the earl of Arundel; and with her he left his own wife and his baggage. Stephen was at that time besieging the castle of Marlborough; but immediately quitting it, he marched to Arundel with the utmost speed, and besieged the Empress for some time; but afterward although he had great probability of taking her prisoner, yet he drew off, and suffered the bishop of Winchester, his brother, to escort her to a place of safety; and the earl of Gloucester hastily collecting a body of men received her at the limits assigned, and conducted her safely to Bristol.' It is doubtful, what was Stephen's motive for such conduct. The account given by Henry Hunt' is this. "The King besieged her in Arundel: but either trusting to perfidious counsels, or because he saw that the castle was impregnable, he permitted her to go to Bristou;" and if the castle really was impregnable, it might have been good advice. Bromton says, 'that he trusted to the perfidious counsels of some, who told him, that the castle was impregnable.' And the author of the *Gesta Stephani* says 'that the traytor, who gave this pernicious counsel was the bishop of Winchester, the King's own brother;' and he says moreover, 'that it was commonly reported, that when the bishop was employed by his brother to intercept the earl of Gloucester, he not only suffered him to escape, when he had found him, but even renewed and confirmed more closely a former agreement of peace and friendship between them: a degree of unnatural treachery, which the historian says, must be incredible to any man, who thinks reasonably [*omni sanè sentienti*].' Stowe says that 'being pacified by fair speech, he commanded his brother the bishop of Winchester to bring the Empresse to Bristowe, while he himself followed earl Robert with his army.' There was however in the King a general extravagance of character, which particularly shewed itself in a certain affectation of heroism, almost amounting to folly; and to this probably his conduct must be attributed.

§ 31. The Empress (*u*) staid in Bristol about two months, and in October 1139 went to Gloucester, where she was well received by Milo,

(*t*) Bromton and Gervas.

(*u*) Gervais Chron'.

who held (*v*) the castle under the Earl of Gloucester. "And (*w*) now began this miserable civil war, which continued during all the present reign: wherein Stephen and his party inflicted all the evils, which they could contrive, on the Empress's party; and earl Robert on his side punished with chains and even with tortures all whom he could apprehend of the King's men. And not only the King and the Earl did this, but all their Chiefs did the same; and the whole kingdom was so divided, that neighbour had no confidence in neighbour, friend in friend, nor brother in brother. Stephen's Flemish soldiers much increased the general evil, out of ancient envy of this country. For quitting their native soil, and laying aside their business of weaving, which is familiar to that people, and as it were their peculiar occupation, they flocked in crouds to England, and like hungry wolves, did all they could to annihilate the fruitfulness of the English soil."

§ 32. And as Stephen brought his Flemish mercenaries into the field, so the earl of Gloucester made use of his Welsh dependents and auxiliaries. "Robert (*x*) de Caen entertained his sister Matilda, after her arrival in England, in his own houses [*in suis mappaliis*]; and by calling in the Welsh to her aid, the general wickedness was much increased. For more than 10,000 of those barbarians, as it is reported, were spread over England, who neither spared sacred places, nor reverenced religion; but were continually employed in rapines, fires, and murders. I cannot recount particularly, how much affliction the church of God suffered in her children, who were every day slaughtered, like cattle, by the swords of the Britons." Another (*y*) historian gives the following representation of this miserable age, "There were at that time as many Kings in England, as Lords of castles, each having his own coinage of money and judging his subjects in a regal manner. And because the nobles of the land were so desirous of prevailing over each other, inasmuch as no one had authority over the other, by quarrelling among themselves, they so far ruined the finest countries, that the whole strength of bread [*robur panis*] was almost lost."

(*v*) Will' Malmsb' Nov' 2, et alii.

(*w*) Gervais, et alii.

(*x*) Order' Vit'.

(*y*) Bromton.

§ 33. The cruelty, with which this war was carried on, appears from the following extract. "The (*z*) Constable Milo went with a large army to his lord, the earl of Gloucester, faithfully promising his asistance against the King. Now then what evils burst out over all England from thence, I mean from the city of Bristow, no man's skill or eloquence can express. For of those who resisted them, or who obeyed the King, they seized as many as they could take, and all who were taken, were delivered to chains and frightful tortures; various sorts of severe punishments were invented, and companies of soldiers were hired from every place for performing this work of perdition; to whom the cultivators and inhabitants of villages and towns with all their property and substance were given, as their pay. There that Lady remained more than two months, receiving homage from all, and at her pleasure disposing of all the rights of the kingdom of the English. Departing thence Oct' 16, she went to the city of Gloucester, claiming the dominion of the citizens and of those who dwelt all around, and receiving their homage. On those who would not do so, but chose rather to keep their loyalty to the King, the torments of Decius and Nero were inflicted, with various kinds of death: and the city, which had been glorious in former ages, became full of shrieks and dreadful torments, and horrible to it's own inhabitants."

§ 34. The presence of Matilda had great effect on her party: (*a*) 'multitudes of the English flocked to her' probably considering her as a princess of Saxon birth; and the Barons of her party immediately declared themselves in her favour. At this time, that is (*b*) about the latter end of 1139, the King laid siege to Wallingford; but finding it likely to be a work of time, he as usual grew weary of the undertaking:' for the place was remarkably strong and well provided, and Brian Fitzcount, the lord of it, one of the bravest of the age. 'His (*c*) barons therefore advised him to give up a siege so hopeless; and by their advice he built two castles for the purpose of streightening the excursions of the garrison, and then he marched against Trowbridge, which Humfrey de Bohun had fortified against him. In his way he had the'

(*z*) Contin' Flor' Vigorn'.
(*a*) Bromton.
(*b*) Bromton and Gervais, and Cont' Flor' Vig'.
(*c*) Gesta Steph'.

'unexpected good fortune to take by storm the castle of Cerney which Milo had built against him; and likewise the strong fortress of Malmsbury. But while he was thus engaged, Milo with a body of soldiers marched by night to Walingford and quickly reduced the two castles, which the King had built there, killing or taking prisoners every one of the garrison, and then safely returned to Gloucester.' And this misfortune the same historian says "happened to the King evidently because he had permitted one of the castles to be made out of a certain church there; a receptacle [*recessum*] of blood and war to be erected out of a house of religion and prayer. For since a church is built for this purpose, that it may be and may be called a house of God, a house of prayer, he most certainly offends God himself, who turns it into a habitation of fighting men. Wherefore since, as it is written, no sin shall be unpunished, and with the same measure, wherewith any one has measured, it shall be measured to him again, we think not absurdly, if we say, that this accident happened to the King, because he had turned a house of peace and salvation into a den of war and discord."

§ 35. "Milo therefore having so gloriously triumphed over his adversaries, applied himself wholly to overthrow the King and his men: and because Gloucester was a fortified place, and well stored with abundance of every thing, and also because a multitude, gathered out of many places into one, can attempt what they please more safely and more violently than when separate, for these reasons he there collected together all those persons, whose possessions the King had laid waste, or who were his enemies on any other account, and by their means performed many exploits famously and victoriously. For not to mention those very great and innumerable plunders, which he brought together from every place, those horrible burnings of towns and cities which he reduced to a desert; not to mention persons of all sorts, of different ranks and offices, some put to the sword, others bound with cords for the purpose of being ransomed, for all which things we ought rather to lament, than to enter into a particular narrative of them; this alone I think worthy of being mentioned, that of the castles, which the King"

" had placed in the counties of Gloucester and Hereford, the governors of which exercised unheard of cruelties against the common people, some he bravely took and destroyed, and others he gave up to be possessed by their own townsmen: the governors being partly taken prisoners, partly driven out of their castles, as in the city of Winchelcumb; and the castles being valiantly conquered and restored, as at Cernei, and the city of Hereford. This also is by no means to be omitted, that Milo was so faithful and so friendly to the children of the late king Henry I, that he not only asisted them, but even taking to himself the countess of Anjou and her family he behaved to them as a father by counsel and deed; until at length the King being taken and imprisoned, as in the following pages we shall more fully relate, he made her Queen of all England."

§ 36. It was mentioned above, that the King besieged Trowbridge. " Finding (*d*) the place most carefully fortified and those within fully prepared for every event, and not likely to surrender without great difficulty, he set about framing machines, fit for carrying on the siege. But his labour was in vain, for the garrison was neither ruined by the machines, nor at all moved by the siege, although violent and tedious. When therefore some of his barons, who were with him, were exceedingly vexed at this long delay, and others dealed with him falsly and fraudulently, and all of them feared lest the earl of Gloucester should collect together all his forces, and suddenly fall on them, the King by their advice returned to London, that he might there repair his forces, and afterward march with greater vigor and security, wherever fortune might invite him. But in order to harass Trowbridge, he left in the castle of Devizes a garrison fully prepared for military service: which two garrisons assaulting each other alternately reduced the whole circumjacent country to a miserable wilderness.

§ 37. Soon after Milo had relieved the garrison of Wallingford, as mentioned above, that is Nov' 7 1139, the Consul Robert at the head of the men of Gloucester, took the city of Worcester, burned great

(*d*) Gesta Steph'.

part of it, and carried off much plunder and many prisoners. The historian (*e*) quoted in the note, being a member of the Cathedral church, was present himself; and describes this miserable calamity with the utmost minuteness. 'The earl of (*f*) Worcester, returned to Worcester on Nov' 30; and wishing to revenge this injury he marched with a body of soldiers to Sudley, the governor, or owner of which, John Fitzharold had left the King's party and joined the earl of Gloucester. This he took and plundered, and with his plunder and prisoners returned to Worcester next day.' "After (*g*) this the King with a great army came from Oxford to Worcester, where he saw with his own eyes what he had heard concerning the misfortune which had befallen that city, and grieved at it. Where having staid three or four days, he took away the honour of the royal Constableship from Milo of Glocester, his enemy, and gave it to William, son of Walter de Beauchamp, sheriff of Worcestershire."

§ 38. Hereford had it's full share in these calamities. What happened there in the Spring of 1138, at the commencement of the war, has been already (*h*) related, and that the King left a garrison there. Things remained in this situation until the latter end of A' D' 1139, when the King was at Worcester, as it has been just now related. At that time "news (*i*) was brought that his enemies at the instigation of Geoffry de Talebot, breaking the peace to which they had sworn, had assaulted Hereford, and had entered the principal monastery of St Æthelbert, yea of St Mary herself, as into a castle, and had put up their horses in the very church, as in a stable; and in drawing a ditch through the cemetery had cruelly dug up the bodies of the faithful. Robert the venerable Pontiff of that church was much disturbed at this; so were all the clergy, so also was the King, who led his army against it, and fixed his camp at little Hereford or the monastery of Leon. - - - But because the solemnity of our Lord's Advent was approaching, the King having made a truce for a time, returned to Worcester."

(*e*) Contin' Flor' Vigorn'. Gervas dates it Dec' 7. (*f*) Contin' Flor' Vigorn'.
(*g*) Idem. (*h*) See above § 3 and 4. (*i*) Contin' Flor' Worc'

§ 39. The author of the *Gesta Stephani* thus relates the taking of Hereford from the King's garrison.—"Geoffry Talebot, of whom mention has been already made, endeavoured to besiege the soldiers, whom the King had left in the town of Hereford as defenders of the country, and ministers and guardians of his right. And entering into the church of the Episcopal seat, dedicated to the Mother of God, and irreligiously driving away the ministers of God's table, he rashly introduced a company of armed men, and turned the house of prayer, the place for the propitiation of souls, into a den of war and blood. It was really horrible, and not to be borne by persons of pious dispositions, to see the abode of life and salvation changed into a retreat for plunderers and fighting men; the citizens in tears uttering loud cries, either because the burial place of their friends was raised up against the rampart of the castle, or because they saw the bodies of their relations some half putrified, others very lately buried (a cruel spectacle) drawn without remorse from their graves; or because on the tower, whence they used to hear the sweet and peaceful summons of the bells, they now saw engines erected and missile weapons thrown against the King's men. Geoffry therefore from the church vehemently assaulted the King's soldiers, who were shut up in their castle; and Milo of Glocester on another side, carrying on the siege with machines, very much streightened them;" so that at last they were forced to surrender the castle of Hereford.—And here we are obliged to take leave of Robert de Bec, whose pages have been very much quoted above: a defect of two leaves in the MS deprives us of any further information from him, until immediately before the battle of Lincoln.

§ 40. Will' Malmesb' also relates the (*k*) taking of Hereford. "All the country about Glocester as far as the depth of Wales, partly by force and partly by goodwill, submitted to the Empress by degrees in the remaining months of this year. Some lords of castles defended themselves within their fortifications and waited the event. The city of Hereford was easily recovered; but some few soldiers shutting themselves up in the castle with obstinate minds were besieged from without. The King drew near, to see if by chance he might contrive to give any"

(*k*) Novell' 2, p' 184.

"asistance to them in their difficulty; but being disappointed he departed without honour."—"From (*l*) Worcester the King with his army went to Oxford, and from thence with his court he went to Salisbury, intending to celebrate his Christmas there, and there to wear his crown of dignity in royal manner. Here the Canons came to him, and offered him £2000: to whom he gave exemption from all gelds of their lands, and moreover 20 marks for their own use, and 40 marks toward roofing their church: and he promised, that if he could obtain a peace, he would restore to them, what they had given to him."

§ 41. Early in this year 1140, "Milo (*m*) the Ex-constable having collected a large army, on Thursday Jan' 30 attacked Wincelcumb and having burned the greater part of the town, carried away the plunder, and took with him as prisoners, those whom he had stripped of their property, for the purpose of extorting from them the mammon of iniquity. From thence he turned to Suthley; and while he was preparing to assault it, the King's soldiers, who were in the town, resisted and forced him to flee, and slew (as is reported) 200 of his soldiers, and took fifteen prisoners."—Some time in this same year 1140, probably in the spring, "the King (*n*) and the earl of Worcester with a large army went to Worcester; and after some few days first the Earl, and then the King with a large armament went to Little Hereford, for the purpose of subduing their enemies thereabout. While the King continued in these parts, the Earl remembering the injuries, which his citizens had sustained, attacked Tewkesbury with a great multitude of armed men, and burned down the magnificent house of the earl of Gloucester and every thing around it, and the houses of some other persons with their effects, within the distance of one mile from Gloucester: only he spared the effects of the church of Tewkesbury, being prevailed on by the intreaties of the Abbat and the brethren. A large booty being taken as well of men and their effects, as of animals, out of a merciful disposition he ordered those, whom they were leading away captive, to be unbound and to depart to their own homes; and next day he returned to Worcester, declaring to"

(*l*) Contin' Flor' Worc'. (*m*) Contin' Flor' Vigorn.'

(*n*) Contin' Flor' Vigorn,

"all, that neither in Normandy nor in England, had he ever made so great a conflagration. The King returning to Worcester went thence to Oxford, and to Winchester."

§ 42. "This year at Whitsuntide a conference was holden between the King and the Empress, for the purpose of settling a peace. But when they came to the place appointed near Bath, her brother earl Robert meeting on the part of the Empress, and the Legate and Archbishop on the part of the King, they came to no agreement." Such is the account, which Matth' Westm' gives of this transaction; but it is not clear, whether he intends to date it in 1140, or 1141. I have chosen 1140 as the more probable, because at Whitsuntide 1141, the King was in captivity at Bristol—And some time in the same year 1140 "Robert Fitz-hubert, (*o*) a Fleming by birth, a man crafty in thought and deed, one who like the judge in the gospel *feared neither God nor man*," "craftily (*p*) seized on the castle of Malmesbury, some of the King's soldiers, who were within, taking refuge in the church of the holy bishop Aldelm, as an asylum. One day he followed them with his soldiers in their armour, and entered into the Chapter-house of the brethren, and with threats ordered them, since their own property was secured, to deliver up those men, who were of royal dignity, together with their horses. But the brethren fearing to break the peace of God and of their patron Aldelm, refused to obey such orders: but at length in order to satisfy the man's madness, however unwilling, they gave up the horses. While he continued in the castle, all things around being now destroyed, the King came thither with his army, and for almost eight days besieged the castle. William de Ypres, who (as is reported) was a relation of this Robert, was employed by both parties, as a mediator: and at length prevailed, that there should be peace between them, that the castle should be surrendered, and every thing restored to the royal authority. Robert upon this went away to the earl of Gloucester and continued with him for a time in the venom of treason."

§ 43. "Soon afterward this same Robert going out privately from"

(*o*) Gesta St' (*p*) Contin' Flor' Worcest'

"the Earl of Gloucester's garrison (for he was his stipendiary) surprized by night the King's castle called *Devizes*, surrounded by a handsome and impregnable wall; and this he did by means of ladders, strongly and ingeniously made of leather stretched from the battlement of the wall to the ground." [This was certainly a very extraordinary exploit; for the castle had been built by the bishop of Salisbury at the beginning of this reign "with (*q*) wonderful art and impregnable strength:" and another writer (*r*) says, that "there was not a finer [*splendidius*] castle in all Europe."] "As (*s*) soon as he had introduced himself and his men, he seized those within, who were of the King's party, who were sound asleep and suspected no such thing, all except some few, who being roused by the noise of the assailants in the dead time of night hastily escaped into a high tower: but because they had taken no food with them, and no asistance was sent to them by the King, in few days they surrendered the tower."

§ 44. "The report of the taking of Devizes being spread abroad, the earl of Gloucester sent his son with a numerous body of soldiers, for the purpose of supporting Robert's enterprize: but he reviling him with injurious words and driving him from the gate with threats, sent him back dishonoured to his father, declaring that he had taken the castle in order to keep possession of it, not to give it up to one more powerful than himself. The intention of this crafty knave was this, neither to attach himself to the Earl's party, nor to profess obedience to the King; but introducing a sufficient number of his own people, to get possession of all the country around by force or fraud. But his wickedness by God's wonderful judgement was turned upon himself, according to this divine sentence, *by whatever any one sins, by the same shall he be punished:* for inasmuch as he attempted to circumvent others, so he himself was circumvented, taken and put in chains; and after being tormented by various punishments, was put to death. There was in the neighbourhood one John, a crafty man also, very ready to attempt great things by fraud, who held by force a well-fortified castle, which belonged to the King's jurisdiction, called Marlborough [*Merlebergam*]. This"

(*q*) Gesta Steph'. (*r*) Chron' Norman'. (*s*) Gesta Steph'.

"castle Robert wishing to obtain, either because it was commodious and near to his own, or because if he could have reduced it under his power, he would have been able to have carried confusion through all England, sent a message to John, saying that he wished to make a treaty of peace and friendship with him, to have an opportunity of entering his castle for the sake of giving and receiving advice, to preserve an unbroken treaty of peace, an inviolable concord. But John observing that under the present circumstances he promised all these things with the hope of taking his castle by fraud, thankfully and readily consented to his request; and having admitted him into the castle he shut the gates after him, and confined him in a close prison, intending to punish him with hunger and tortures; and then rushing out with his men against Robert's associates, whom he had brought with him as partners of his treason, some he took and put into prison with their Chief, others he drove to shameful flight and pursued even to Devizes."

§ 45. "The earl of Gloucester hearing that the villain was in this manner safe in the custody of John, who had always been a very faithful adherent of his party, was not a little rejoiced; and (*t*) calling together a very large number of soldiers to accompany him, with Milo the Ex-constable, he went to John; and having carried Robert to Devizes he hanged him [and his two nephews] on high in the sight of all his men: by the just vengeance of God, that he who had destroyed so many thousands of men by punishments, should end his wicked life by a deserved punishment. After he was thus hanged, his relations and fellow-soldiers, whom he had left in Devizes, whom also when alive he had bound by oath never to give up the castle to any one, although they should be hanged, nevertheless accepted a large sum of money from the King and surrendered the castle to one Hervey, a Briton, an illustrious and warlike man, and a son-in-law of the King; who supported his cause bravely and actively, and carried on an obstinate and incessant warfare with the King's enemies; until at length being surrounded and besieged by all the people of the neighbouring country he was forced to abandon his castle, whether he would or not, and to depart as an exile out of all England."

(*t*) Gesta Steph' and Contin' Fl' Vig'.

§ 46. Early in the year 1140 the King reduced the isle of Ely, which had revolted; and "the Bishop, (*t*) who had with difficulty escaped, fled poor and humbled to Gloucester, where all those, who were hostile to the King, flowed together, as into a sink. And there he learned when poor, what he could not learn while rich and proud, that God throws down the rich and powerful from their seat and humbles even to the lowest degree him, who arrogantly exalts himself."

§ 47. "While these things were doing in the province of Ely, William Fitz-Richard, a man of illustrious family, and who held under the King the very ample principality of the county of Cornwall, craftily violated the oath of fidelity which he had given to the King, and taking Reinald [de Dunstanville, an illegitimate] son of king Henry, into his castle, which had always been subject to the King's power and jurisdiction, he married his daughter to him, and gave up to him the earldom of all Cornwall. Reinald having gotten the government of so large a principality, behaved himself rather bravely than prudently: by violence and arms he made all men bend to his nod, he secured the castles by putting his own men in them, and he grievously oppressed all in his neighbourhood, who were friends to the King: and so far did his presumptuous rashness prevail, that he spared not even the churches, nor did he restrain his plunderers from the property of the Church. For which reason we saw him not long after afflicted with a just stroke of divine vengeance; inasmuch as the bishop of Exeter struck him with the sword of the anathema, and removed him from the threshold of the church; and his wife being driven to madness brought to his embrace not a woman, but a dire and horrid demon; and he lost the land received from his traiterous father-in-law, which was seized by the King not long after; and he kept nothing but the castle which he inhabited, and that with difficulty, his enemies prevailing against him. For the King hearing that rebellion was raised against him in Cornwall also, came thither hastily and unexpectedly, and having retaken all the castles which Reinald had seized, he committed the country to earl Alan, a man of the utmost"

(*t*) Gesta Steph'

"cruelty and craft; and leaving him there with a very active body of soldiers, ordered him to carry on continual warfare against Reinald, until he should be driven thence."

§ 48. "But Robert earl of Gloucester, and that very brave army of the King's enemies, which inhabited Gloucester, perceiving at last that the King had entered the borders of Cornwall, were exceedingly rejoiced; because they thought that they should be able to assault him the more easily, as being in the furthest part of England separated from his army, and even to take him prisoner there, if God should favour their attempt. Having therefore collected an immense force of soldiers with great preparation they hastened into Cornwall intending to attack the King; when lo! news unexpectedly arrived, that the King having fortunately compleated every thing was at last returning, and would shortly be before them with an immense multitude of admirable soldiers. Neither was this news false or frivolous: for the King being secretly advertized of the Earl's approach, drew up his men in order of battle skilfully and prudently; and having called all the Barons of Devon to his aid he hastened on, intending to fight the Earl on the very same day. And there being now only a small interval of march between the two armies, he would have satisfied his wish, had not the Earl been persuaded by the prudent advice of his friends to desist from his undertaking, and speedily retraced his march to his own Bristow. The King therefore returning without any hindrance, overthrew many rebellious [*adulterina*] castles, some evacuated on the mere report of his approach, others valiantly won by force; and he wholly cleared and reduced to peace all the circumjacent countries, which the inhabitants of those castles had harassed with intolerable oppression."

§ 49. To the expedition last mentioned, the two following passages probably refer. "The King (*u*) also led a body of horse [*equitavit*] near Bristow; and marching on he burned the towns, which were about Dunestore [Dunster], leaving nothing undestroyed, as far as he was able, which might serve for food, or be of any use to his enemies." The other

(*u*) Will' Malm' Novell' 2, p' 184.

passage is as follows: "Before (*v*) the Assumption [Aug' 15, 1140] the earl of Gloucester moved his army toward Bath: but the King had sent advanced parties much before, who were to lay snares for the enemy, and bravely to defend themselves and all that belonged to them. There was therefore an advance and a skirmish [*Fit itaque progressus et congressus*] of the King's soldiers on one side, among whom were two officers of horse [(*w*) *milites*] John and Roger, brave and warlike men: and on the other side, of the Earl's partizans [*satellitum*]. Many are taken prisoners, many are wounded and slain: one of whom Geoffry Talebot was mortally wounded, a brave soldier indeed, but crafty, sometimes siding with the King and sometimes with the Earl, but always deceitfully; of which wound he died Aug' 31, and was buried at Gloucester with the Canons. The King's party gained the victory."—'Soon (*x*) after this the Earl of Gloucester collected a large army, and suddenly fell upon Nottingham, and took it. During the time when the soldiers were plundering, the town was unintentionally set on fire, and totally consumed, and numbers of persons perished in the flame.' Such was the warfare of 1139 and 1140, which was carried on chiefly in our neighbourhood, and in which the garrison of Bristol generally bore a part: and so well did the Empress and her brother the Consul Robert improve her affairs, that during those years all the West of England, and many places in other parts of the kingdom acknowledged her as Queen. London was firm in the interests of king Stephen, while Bristol and Gloucester became the heads of Matilda's party.

§ 50. The battle of Lincoln was fought Feb' 2, 1140-1, in which king Stephen was taken prisoner. As long as he had only three fighting men about him, he fought like a lion; but at last being left alone, and the handle of his battle-axe being broken, he called upon the earl of Gloucester, and surrendered to him. His immediate execution would

(*v*) Contin' Flor' Worcest'.

(*w*) The word *Miles* in the Latin of that age usually signifies a soldier who serves on horseback: his rank in society and estimation in the army were much superior to those of a foot-soldier.

(*x*) Cont' Flor' Vigorn'.

apparently have put an end to the war, and secured the crown to Matilda; but for some reason which the original historians have failed to give us, he was preserved alive. Perhaps the reason was of this kind. In that age a prisoner was considered to be the property of him, who took him in battle. This seems to have been the reason, why the King was anxious to surrender to the Earl, judging that he had too much generosity to put his prisoner to death; whereas if he had surrendered to a meaner person, such a one might have been tempted to deliver him up to Matilda. The scandalous Chronicle of that age gave a different reason for the lenity shewn to Stephen: it was (*y*) said that Matilda had been criminally acquainted with him, and that Prince Henry was the issue of that acquaintance. The story is probably untrue, nor are the circumstances, as related in the note, compatible with real facts. However it be, whether for one of these reasons or for some other unknown to us, his life was spared, and he was conducted to the Empress at Gloucester, and from thence conveyed to the castle of Bristow, or as it is frequently called, *the tower of Bristow*, and there confined. He was at first treated liberally; but "afterwards (*z*) on account of the insolence of some persons, who said openly and reproachfully, that it was not right for the Earl to keep the King otherwise than as they chose; and likewise, because it was said, that he had been found more than once beyond his appointed custody especially by night, his guards being either deceived or gained over, he was secured by iron chains."

§ 51. After the King's captivity Matilda was acknowledged as Queen by almost the whole kingdom, except Kent, which Stephen's queen, and William de Ypres his general, still held with an army. Even the bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother, the Founder of St Cross, saluted her as Queen; and the citizens of London invited her to that city, where she went for the purpose of being crowned, accompanied by most of the Barons of both parties. But here her good fortune terminated:

(*y*) A' D' 1153. Mathildis, cum Henricus & Stephanus jam pugnaturi essent, Stephanum adivit, monuitque Henricum ejus esse filium, genitumque in mari ab eo, quo tempore cum eâ legatus missus esset ad Galfredum Plantagenet, Comitem Andegaviæ. Anon' apud Lel' Coll' 2, 419.

(*z*) W' Malmesb' Novell' 2, p' 187.

ever (*a*) 'since Stephen's captivity, her conduct had been arrogant and tyrannical both to friends and foes to an insufferable degree; and in London particularly her behaviour was so haughty and unpopular, and her demands for money so extortionate, that the Londoners ringing out all the bells of the city, raised an universal insurrection against her. Her dinner was ready and she was about to sit down to table, when the horrible noise and clamour suddenly reached her ears: whereupon she and the barons of her party mounted their horses, and had scarcely passed the walls, before the multitude broke into the hotels, which they had occupied, and plundered and destroyed every thing, which was there left. The barons were scattered every way; the Empress with her brother the Earl and some few more escaped with great difficulty, and with the utmost speed to Oxford, and from thence (*b*) to Glocester,' where she was safe under the protection of Milo. It was after this dishonorable (*c*) flight, that she gave orders to confine Stephen in chains.

§ 52. Soon after this with a well-appointed army she went towards Winchester. Being at Oxford on her way, she granted the earldom of Hereford to her friend Milo, (*d*) as an acknowledgement of his many services; for 'to (*e*) him she had been hitherto usually obliged even for the "daily maintenance of her table, as I have heard (says the original Author) from the mouth of Milo himself." The Patent, whereby he was created earl of Hereford, is dated July 25 1141 at Oxford, and is supposed to be the earliest specimen of that mode of creation. It is printed in Rymer's Foedera. "Charta Matildis Imperatricis, Henrici Regis filia, et Anglorum Domina;" and is dated in the margin A' R' Stephani 6, A' D' 1141. 'As a reward for his services, particularly because by his asistance she holds king Stephen prisoner in Bristoll, she grants to Milo to be earl of Hereford, and to hold the moat and the castle of Hereford, and the third penny &c &c. Witnesses David, king of Scotland, Robert earl of Gloucester, Reginald earl of Cornwall and his son Robert, Brian Fitz-count &c. dated at Oxford St James's day.'

(*a*) Gesta Steph'.

(*b*) Chron' Gervas'.

(*c*) Chron' Norman' apud Duchesne.

(*d*) Gesta Stephani, p' 956.

(*e*) Contin' Flor' Vigorn' p' 677.

Her march to Winchester was imprudent, and said to have been without the approbation of her brother the Consul. On her arrival about Aug' 1, finding the inclinations of the citizens alienated from her, she took up her lodging in the castle. 'Her (*f*) motive for this expedition was, to secure the Bishop's person, who having renounced his new engagements with Matilda, was now again actively employed in his brother's cause. But she was disappointed of her aim; for the Bishop, when she entered at one gate, had just time to make his escape on a race-horse through the opposite. She then applied herself to besiege his house and castle. which he had built in the middle of the town and strongly fortified ; and the Earl of Gloucester, together with most of the Chiefs of her party, came to her asistance with a large number of soldiers; who being masters of the castle and the city, surrounded the Bishop's castle, and vigorously assaulted it. Meanwhile Stephen's queen, and his son Eustace, with an excellent army under the command of William de Ypres, together with an invincible body of Londoners, who joined her to the number of almost 1000, armed with helmets and coats of mail. surrounded the city : and having won a part of it by assault, they very much harrassed the Empress's forces. Here then was exhibited the singular spectacle of an army inclosed in a city and besieging a castle within it; which army was at the same time besieged from without by a superior force. By these means the city was filled with battle and tumult, and on August 2 1141, while this warlike Bishop was directing an assault, the greater part of it, with two Abbeys in particular, was burnt down, by fire thrown out of the Bishop's castle by his men against their assailants.'

§ 53. 'While these things were passing on within, the Queen's army, which was on the outside, so strictly blockaded the castle and city, that the Empress and her army began to feel the want of provisions: nevertheless she endured a siege of seven weeks, until at last her garrison being no longer able to subsist, gave up all hope of taking the Bishop's castle, and determined on attempting to force a passage through the enemy. The attempt was made on Holy Cross day (Sept' 14). The'

(*f*) Gesta Steph' 955, and Chron' Gerv'.

'Empress mounted her horse, and being attended by her brother Reginald earl of Cornwall, and many friends and domestics, went first; the Consul Robert brought up the rear, leading the main part of the army, encumbered with baggage of the most valuable kind, [which perhaps was the main cause of their ill-success]. They set out with caution and in good order; but the bishop's men were soon prepared to interrupt their retreat, and the whole of Stephen's army joined in a general pursuit. The Empress's troops were soon broken, and irrecoverably dispersed in every direction: she herself still bearing a firm and undaunted spirit in the midst of her danger, escaped to Ludgershall castle; but this was no safe place, and therefore she was persuaded to mount a horse astride, like a man, and flee to the castle of Devizes with the utmost speed, attended throughout by Brian Fitz-count, whom she had always treated with singular regard and friendship, and who never left her in this day of peril. Even at Devizes she did not consider herself safe; and being almost dead with fatigue she was laid out on a bier and tied down like a corpse; and thus having escaped the notice of her enemies she was carried by horses to Gloucester. Her brother Robert with many others was taken prisoner and presented to Stephen's queen, and then committed to the custody of William d'Ypres, who confined him in Rochester castle. Milo, the Constable, after having been surrounded made a wonderful escape, and arrived at Gloucester almost naked, glad to have saved his life alone.' In his flight he must have thrown away his seal; for it was found in a field near Andover in a direct line between Winchester and Ludgershall about the beginning of A' D' 1795: an engraven copy of it, and a narrative of the circumstances may be seen in the Gent' Magaz' for 1795, p' 1737. The seal is of silver; it's weight 3 oz. 3 dwts. "Such was *the Rout of Winchester* [*dispersio Wintoniensis*] so horrible and so wonderful, that no one in our age can remember the like."

§ 54. The loss, which the Empress sustained by the captivity of the earl of Gloucester, was so great, that she consented, that king Stephen should be released in exchange for him. Two of our Calendars thus relate it. "The Empress Maud in that war took the said king"

"Stephen prisoner, and so held him in this castle; until earl Robert fighting unfortunately against the King's forces was likewise taken, which produced an exchange of a King for an Earl, and shortly after, an agreement." The exchange was effected in this manner. 'On (*g*) All-Saints day [1141] the King was released from his captivity, but left behind him in Bristow castle his queen, his son, and two Chiefs of his party. On the third day he arrived at Winchester, and there released the earl of Gloucester, who had been brought from Rochester for that purpose; but the Earl left behind him his son William as a hostage. When he arrived at Bristow, he released the queen and her party, who in return sent back his son.' Attempts were made at this time to bring about an accommodation between the two parties; but these attempts proving ineffectual, the war broke out again, and the miseries of England were renewed.

§ 55. Stephen's party now gained a decided superiority, so that the earl of Gloucester about Midsummer (*h*) 1142 crossed the sea to Normandy in order to sollicit succours from the earl of Anjou, the Empress's second husband; "and (*i*) he carried with him, as hostages, the sons of those Earls and Chiefs of England, who were of the Empress's party; who were desirous that earl Geoffry should keep them under his protection, and that he should himself cross over into England, and bring a force sufficient for re-establishing the authority of Matilda through all England. Earl Geoffry was however obliged to decline the invitation: he suspected the fidelity of the people of Anjou and some other of his subjects, and was actually engaged in hostilities; but he delivered [*tradidit*] to the earl of Gloucester his eldest son Henry to be carried to England; perhaps in some degree as a hostage, but principally no doubt as a mean of giving confidence and encouragement to their party. 'With (*k*) this young prince, then about nine years old, he landed at Wareham in November in 1142, where he heard that the Empress was still at Oxford, closely besieged by king Stephen. She'

(*g*) Malmesb' Novell' 2, p' 191.
(*h*) 1141 Chron' Norman' ap' Duchesne; which must be a mistake.
(*i*) Chron' Norman' 1141. (*k*) Chron' Gervas', and Gesta Steph'.

'went there just before Michaelmas intending to reside there for some time; for the citizens were in her interest, and she took with her a strong body of soldiers, and by means of several castles in the neighbourhood, and by sending out parties of cavalry all around she kept the country in obedience. But the King collecting his forces destroyed every thing as far as the walls of the town; and then crossing the river by an ancient and very deep ford, which was probably almost forgotten, he himself being one of the first who waded through, he defeated the enemy who were on the opposite bank and pursuing them vigorously he entered the town with them, before they had time to shut the gates; the Empress and her garrison retreating hastily into the castle, which he then besieged, or rather blockaded, with the utmost strictness.'

§ 56. 'Affairs were in this situation when the Consul Robert landed from Normandy. He began his military operations by besieging the castle of Wareham, which was holden for the King by a strong garrison; hoping that Stephen would raise the siege of Oxford, in order to relieve Wareham. In this hope he was disappointed; however after three weeks he took the place, and then preparing to relieve the Empress, he heard that she had made her escape from the castle of Oxford. The siege lasted more than two months; after which all provisions being consumed, her situation became dangerous. In this extremity just before Christmas, the country being covered with snow, she put herself under the guidance of three [*al'* five] soldiers of a prudent disposition, who as well as herself were dressed in the whitest linen clothes, and passed undiscovered by reason of the snow through the middle of the enemy's watch, favoured by only a single soldier of the King's army: from thence she went on foot over hedge and ditch, crossed the Thames on the ice, and arrived safely in the same night to the amazement of her friends at the castle of Wallingford, distant twelve (*l*) miles. The King was grievously disappointed:' the Norman historian however says, 'that the Empress's soldiers surrendered the castle to him on conditions, by which means he got possession of all the neighbouring country.'

(*l*) Gervas calls it *five* miles.

§ 57. ‘ The (*m*) Consul Robert after visiting his sister carried his nephew prince Henry to Bristow: “ where living under the guardianship of earl Robert he was for four years entrusted to the care [*traditus est magisterio*] of one Matthew, to be instructed in letters, and bred up in good manners, as was proper for such a boy.” His motives for carrying him to Bristol were no doubt because it was the strongest place in his sister's power; and because, it being his own castle, he could keep him more immediately under his own direction. We may suppose that here he took care to have him instructed in the martial exercises, and the manly diversions of that age: and because, when Henry arrived at manhood, he was somewhat attentive to books and literary subjects, therefore we cannot but suppose that the Earl, who was himself a friend to literature, caused his nephew, while he resided here, to be instructed in the rudiments of learning; although in general the Nobles of that age disdained letters, esteeming the arts of reading and writing to be fit only for ecclesiastics. Holingshead relates, that “ Prince Henry was at Bristol four years, being committed to one Matthews, a schoolmaster, to be instructed and trained up in civil behaviour.” Stowe writes to the same effect. It is still a common tradition that he went to school in Baldwin's street, and a house on the southern side of that street used within memory to be shewn as the place of his instruction; the other side of that street being then occupied by an (*n*) arm of the river, which formed the town-ditch. It may be supposed, that prince Henry resided in the Castle; nevertheless I attribute so much to tradition, as to believe that he received his instruction from Matthews at the house above-mentioned in Baldwin-street. That house was near Robert Fitzharding's great stone house mentioned (*o*) above, where he then dwelled; which renders very probable the common report, that prince Henry went to school with some of Fitzharding's family. Hoveden says, that he was bred up in the court of David, king of Scots. He is the only author, who mentions such a circumstance; and if there be any foundation for it, we may suppose, that the Prince during his four years abode in Bristow took a journey into Scotland, and spent a short time with that King, who was his mother's uncle.

(*m*) Chron' Gervas. A' D' 1142. (*n*) See the Plate III, 64. (*o*) See Chapt' VI, § 19, 20.

§ 58. Concerning his abode in Bristow, John Smythe's words are these. "While Maude the Empress, and Henry Plantagenet her son were contending with the usurper Stephen for the crown, much of their residence was at Bristow; as also was the education of the said Henry, there brought up in learning, from the (*p*) *4th* to the *8th* year of Stephen; which presented one of the many occasions of that great familiarity and love, which always after continued between the said Henry, and this Robert [Fitzharding]. And perhaps also their affections (besides their near alliance in blood) somewhat the more sympathized by being both of them the grandchildren of Kings." The latter part of the preceding extract ought not to prejudice the reader against the unquestionable fact, that during his four years abode in Bristol Henry became attached to the family of Fitzharding.

§ 59. One of our MS Calendars has the following account of this affair. "In the time of k' Stephen there lived in Bristol a rich merchant named *Harding*, related to the k' of Denmark; some say he was son to Herrald, k' of Denmark about 1133." [It must be here observed, that the writer of this account has confused together Robert Fitzharding and his father Harding.] "This person being rich was of great account with the earl Robert and his sister; his full bags without question was a great support to her cause. The city being one of the best places of refuge the Empress had, she here placed her young son, after Henry II, who going to school in Bristol among others of the chiefest men's sons of the city, was much delighted with Robert, the son of the before-mentioned Harding; which love being begun in their younger years grew greater with them; insomuch that when Henry came to be King, he made the same Robert Fitz-harding knight, and gave him the heir [inheritance] of Roger Berkely, lord of Dursley, and made him Baron of Berkley." It is intimated by the writers last quoted, and John Smythe seems to take up the same notion, that Robert Fitzharding was school-fellow or companion of Prince Henry during his abode in Bristow. This

(*p*) This is certainly a mistake; it ought to be *from the 7th to the 11th; or from the 8th to the 12th* year. Smythe is not singular in such chronological errors concerning that time: see an account of them in Lord Lyttleton's notes, Vol 2, p' 473.

has been said hastily and without a due attention to dates. The former born in 1085 was 57 years old in 1142 and consequently no companion for a boy nine years old: nor yet his eldest son Maurice born in 1117: but it is probable enough that some of his younger sons might have been such. During these same four years Robert Fitzharding was engaged in building his monastery of St Augustine; at the consecration and endowment of which Prince Henry was present and asisted him, as will be related in the history of that abbey Chap' XXXVII.

§ 60. 'Not (*q*) long after the above-mentioned events at Oxford, Stephen attempted to recover the town and castle of Wareham; but finding that the earl of Gloucester had fortified it so strongly, that there was no hope of success, he wasted the whole country around, and then marched to the town of Wilton, which he intended to fortify, and began to convert the church and nunnery of our Lady and St Etheldreda into a fortress, in order to check the excursions of the people of Sarum, who were friends to the Empress. The earl of Gloucester with a numerous army hastened to prevent his purpose; whereupon Stephen drew up his men and offered battle. The Earl skilfully and cautiously divided his forces into three battalions [*cautè & consertè in tres cuneos bellico more divisit*] and about sunset July 1 1143 he gave the assault, and utterly routed the King's army, insomuch that Stephen himself and his brother the bishop had great difficulty in making their escape in the darkness, leaving all behind them. William Martel, lord of the castle of Shirburne, a man of great renown and an intimate friend of the King, made some resistance for a short time; but being surrounded he was taken prisoner. The Earl then assaulted the town and took it, great part of which was burned, and many of the townsmen slain; and then the conquerors broke open the gates of the nunnery, and took and bound with cords all of the garrison whom they found within, dragging them from the very altars with drawn swords, and plundering every thing which they found.' "In (*r*) this manner the earl of Gloucester having obtained the victory at Wilton, returned to Bristow with many valuable spoils, and innumerable prisoners, and among them William Martel, whom he"

(*q*) Gesta Steph' and Gervas. (*r*) Gesta Steph'.

"committed to very close imprisonment, until at last he forced him to surrender the castle of Shireburne [*Siresburniæ*], whereby he obtained the government of a very extensive district. Thus whoever favoured the King were at that time grievously humbled; both because the King had dishonourably fled from the battle of Wilton, and his friends had been made prisoners; and also because the Earl had reduced the aforesaid castle [of Sherbourne], which was one of the keys of the whole kingdom, under his dominion and jurisdiction."

§ 61. "After this the Earl and his adherents conducted themselves victoriously and chearfully, they reduced the kingdom to a very great extent under their power, and subjected almost the half of England from sea to sea obliquely [*à mari in latus usque ad mare*] to their laws and orders without any resistance whatever. And this dominion of his he very much adorned by establishing peace and tranquillity throughout; except that in building his castles he exacted levies of workmen from all; and as often as he intended to fight with his adversaries, he demanded aid of all, either by sending soldiers or by payments of money. The sons of Earl Robert also, being by reason of their age active and ready for any enterprize, and well versed in the military art by constant practice, kept the southern part of the kingdom in confusion; and being animated with their father's valour and firmness, in some places they raised castles where they thought fit, and in other places took them privately from their neighbours; sometimes they fought their adversaries with a regular army, at other times they wasted their lands with sword and plunder. Thus they conquered a very large part of the kingdom from sea to sea across, [*à mari ex transverso usque ad mare*] their father's industry prevailing in every thing; and having at length acquired a very extensive dominion, they put on the appearance of peace, and every where enacted laws and statutes [*plebiscita*]; and although they seemed to refrain from arms and depredations against those of their own party, nevertheless labouring under the thirst of avarice, they involved all in taxes, pleas, and services." Let it be recollected that the preceding account of the Consul Robert's good government, and likewise of the vexations which he practised, in that part of England which was under

his jurisdiction, proceeds from an adversary, and is therefore probably exaggerated in one case, and in the other case is less favorable, than it ought to be. Notwithstanding the general desolation, the state of Bristol in particular must have been flourishing, as being the only place in the West, which enjoyed security. So compleat was that security and peace, and so great it's wealth, that at this very time Robert Fitzharding, dwelling too beyond the walls, was for several years quietly and peaceably employed in building the Abbey of St Augustin beyond the walls also, without any fear of an enemy. And we have the evidence of one author to prove, that in the midst of this ruinous war, the trade of Bristow was considerable. The book was written about A' D' 1140, and the whole passage is worth transcribing.

§ 62. *Gloucestria* (*s*) *est civitas &c.* "Gloucester is a city situate on the river Severn, and is thought to be so called from Claudius, who was the second of the Roman Emperors after Julius Cæsar, who entered Britain: it was called in the British tongue *Airchalu* [Cair-clau]. Seneca also in his book *concerning the death of Claudius* mentions, that *the Barbarians in Britain worshipped him for a God, and built a city in honour of him.* From that city the whole region is called *the vale of Gloucester.* The whole land is rich in corn and abundant in fruits, in some places by the favour of nature only, in other places by the skill of cultivation; so that it holds out an inducement to labor even to the idle, where the produce is likely to be hundred-fold. You may see the public ways covered with fruit-trees, not planted, but growing by the nature of the soil alone. The ground naturally throws itself up into fruits, and those far surpassing others in appearance and flavour; most of which do not decay before the year, but do their duty till the time of their successors. This country is thicker in the number of it's vineyards [*vinearum*] richer in their produce, and pleasanter in taste, than the other provinces of England: for the wines do not distort the mouths of those who drink them with bitter sharpness, for they yield little [*parum debeant*] to the French wines in sweetness. There are innumerable towns, excellent abbeys, and frequent villages: to all which is added, as it's glory,"

(*s*) Gul' Malms' de gest' Pontif' Angl', lib' 4, f' 161, sect' 50.

" the river Severn, than which none in this country is broader in it's channel, more violent in it's flood, more abounding in fish by art. In it the daily fury of the waters, which I know not whether to call an indraught or a whirlpool of waves, comes in with great force, sweeping up the sands from the bottom and piling them in a heap; but it does not extend further than the bridge; and sometimes it even overflows the banks, and retires victorious, after having violently surrounded part of the land. Unlucky is the ship, which it strikes on the side. Skilful sailors when they see this *Hygra* coming, for so they call it in English, turn their ship toward it, and cutting it in the middle avoid it's violence. In the same valley is a very celebrated town [*vicus*] by name *Bristow* in which is a port, a resort of ships coming from Ireland, Norway, and other countries beyond sea; lest a region so fortunate in native riches should be destitute of the commerce of foreign wealth."

§ 63. The Norman historian whose words were interrupted by the preceding quotation thus proceeds. " Thus (*t*) was England at this time distracted in various ways; on one side it was oppressed by the King and his subjects; on the other side by the earl of Gloucester; forced to bear the unbridled attacks of one and the other, but always and every where to be harrassed and reduced to a desert. Some observing the sweetness of their country to be turned into bitterness, chose to migrate into foreign countries: some building mean hovels round the churches with the hope of securing themselves, spent their life in fear and misery: others, when food failed them, (for famine dreadfully prevailed in all parts of England) fed on the forbidden and unaccustomed flesh of dogs and horses: others to relieve their hunger devoured raw herbs and roots: many in every district, wasting away by the prevalence of hunger, perished in heaps: numbers with their whole family of their own accord went into banishment. You might see towns of famous name standing solitary and wholly depopulated; and fields looking white with well-cultivated corn, (for the autumn was at hand;) but their cultivators were taken off by famine before the harvest: so that all England bore the appearance of misery and oppression. To this heap of misfortunes was"

(*t*) Gesta Stephani.

" added, that the savage multitude of barbarians, who flocked to England for the sake of warfare, was moved by no feeling of pity for so many and great miseries; but being every where lodged in castles they unanimously conspired to commit wickedness and crimes; they were never satisfied with plundering the property of the poor; and applied themselves with the whole bent of wicked minds to promote quarrels between two parties, and to commit murders in every part of the country. And when the Barons, who had brought them to their aid from the remotest provinces, were no longer able to furnish them with their pay, and nothing in their reach was left unplundered, they then invaded the possessions of the church, and seized them or levied money from them. And if any monk of reverend character, or clergyman of acknowledged authority, came to complain of any exaction offered to ecclesiastical property, he was insulted and frightened by threats irreverently thrown in his face, the companions of his journey were often grievously whipped in his presence; and oftentimes he himself, of whatever dignity or order he might be, was disgracefully stripped and driven from their sight, or left wounded with savage blows."

§ 64. The same historian in proceeding complains bitterly of the Bishops, who wanted either courage or inclination to withstand these oppresions, nay who joined in them. " The Bishops themselves (he says), which I am ashamed to mention, not all indeed, but the greater part of all, being girded with swords, and handsomely arrayed in armour, rode on horseback with these proud destroyers of the country, partook of the plunder, bound and tortured not only soldiers who by the fortune of war were taken prisoners, but also wealthy persons whomever they could meet with; and although they themselves were the head and cause of such great wickedness, they used to ascribe it to their soldiers and not to themselves. To say nothing at present concerning the rest, (for it would be indecent to blame all alike) report publicly declared, that the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln and Chester were guilty of such irreligious practices more violently than the rest." The historian then proceeds to relate the different conduct of Robert, bishop of Hereford, who with great spirit opposed the exactions of Milo the Earl,

excommunicated him and laid the province under an interdict, until the plunder was restored to the last farthing: soon after which "in the same year, while he was hunting stags on the holy day of Chrismas Eve, he was pierced in the breast by a soldier incautiously shooting at a stag, and miserably died without the fruit of penance; whose death struck some powerful men with a fear of afterward invading the possessions of the church, and made some bishops bolder in resisting the rash presumption of powerful men. Roger, his son, succeeded him in the earldom of Hereford, a youth in age, but of extraordinary bravery." Milo died on Christmas Eve (*u*) A' D' 1143. His Arms (*v*) were Gules, two bendlets dexter, one tenne, the other argent. He had married Sibylla daughter of Bernard Newmarch, lord of Brecon, whose arms were gules, a fess dancette Or. He left (*w*) three sons Roger, Walter and Henry, who succeeded him, not only in his estates, but also as (*x*) Constable of all England: all three died without issue; and the office of Constable (*y*) descended to Humphrey de Bohun, who married Margaret his eldest daughter: the Bohuns held it for ten generations. Another of his daughters, named ***Luce***, married Herbert Fitzherbert, lord of the Forest of Dean; from whom by female branches is descended the family of Morgan long resident in Bristol, who possess a good and well blazoned Pedigree in proof of their descent.

§ 65. 'Malmesbury (*z*) was holden by a garrison for the King, and appears to have been a kind of frontier town. The earl of Glocester, wishing to get possession of it, built three castles near it, whereby the garrison was reduced to extremity for want of food. "When the King was informed of the great distress of his men, he collected together an immense number of soldiers, and suddenly and unexpectedly came to Malmesbury; and having sent in provisions sufficient for a long time, he raged most cruelly with fire, sword and plunder around the castles which the Earl had built; and setting up his tents near Tetbury, a castle"

(*u*) Atkyns.
(*v*) Mr. Morgan's Pedigree.
(*w*) Leland Coll' 1, p' 35 [41].
(*x*) Atkyns p' 45, 1.
(*y*) Lyttleton b' 2, p' 148.
(*z*) Gesta Steph'.

"only three miles distant from Malmesbury, he laboured earnestly with force and arms to take it. The outward fortress of the castle [*ulteriore castelli propugnaculo*] being at last bravely captured, and some soldiers being taken and slain, and many others wounded and forced in crouds into an inward retreat within a narrow compass, the King immediately brought up his machines on all sides, intending to shut them up by siege. But the earl of Gloucester, when he first heard of the King's approach, hastily collected an immense number of cavalry [*militum*], inasmuch as he had very many castles in the neighbourhood, some of his own right, and others faithfully obeying him: he also brought together a cruel and unconquerable army of infantry, composed of Welshmen and Bristowmen, and men of other cities in the neighbourhood; intending to fight the King. Roger also, earl of Hereford, and other very valiant chiefs unanimously agreeing to asist him, having collected their forces together came on with great expedition, and being now only two miles distant from the King's army, waited until others, who were hastening on, should come to their asistance."

§ 66. "The Barons, who were with the King, hearing that such a numerous swarm of enemies was come together against them, and fearing the uncontrollable barbarity of the Welshmen, and the disorderly multitude [*incompositum vulgus*] of the Bristowans, a wonderful number of whom the earl of Gloucester was leading in close array to fall on them, dropped prudent counsel into the King's ear, and advised him to break up the siege for a time, and remove his army to some other place, where it might be wanted: because it was unadviseable and bordering on rashness to expose his squadron of cavalry [*militiæ suæ cuneum*] to such a host of prize-fighters on foot [*tot pedestris multitudinis lanistas*], for whom it was not a match: particularly since the King's men were far removed from their homes, and were wearied by the labour of their march: whereas on the other hand their enemies, coming out of their cities and castles in the neighbourhood, would be stronger and more prepared for battle: that therefore it was prudent to retire from the siege for the present, lest the King, being surrounded by fierce enemies, should suffer a defeat. For these reasons the King acquiesced in the"

"prudent advice of his friends; and hastily removing the whole expedition from those places, suddenly came before Winchelcomb, where Roger the new earl of Hereford had raised a castle against him," which was soon surrendered on conditions. Malmesbury however still held out for the King; and although the governor was surprized soon after and taken prisoner and carried to the Empress and her son Henry, yet the garrison continued faithful to it's duty.

§ 67. The next military operation we hear of, in which the soldiery of Bristow was concerned, is the taking of Farringdon castle. 'The (*a*) earl of Gloucester had made his son Philip, governor of Cricklade castle with a strong garrison. The historian represents this young man as a monster of iniquity; "a man of discord, the first in cruelty, rash in things which ought not to be attempted, in short perfectly consummate in all kinds of wickedness." 'He was outrageously violent against the King's party, and had frequent conflicts with the garrison of Oxford; to curb whom he persuaded his father to build a castle somewhere nearer to that city. The Earl collected together the whole body of his cavalry, and coming to Farringdon built there a castle with a wall and bulwarks, and garrisoned it with the flower of his army. They at Oxford finding themselves much streightened sent to the King for aid, who soon collected a large army and besieged the new castle, and by the treachery of some within he soon took it by surrender. This success wonderfully improved Stephen's affairs. The earl of Chester, the earl of Gloucester's son-in-law, who had a third part of the kingdom, that is, all the North, under his command, deserted Matilda's party, made his peace with Stephen and actively asisted him in the war. This reconciliation however did not last long: Stephen suspecting the sincerity of his new friend, imprisoned him and forced him to surrender all the castles, which were not of his own property. Whereupon the Earl recovering his liberty returned to his former habits, and again carried on a cruel and successful war against the King. Even Philip just mentioned renounced his allegiance to his father and his aunt, received bribes from'

(*a*) Gesta Steph'.

'Stephen, did homage to him, and entered into his service; where he distinguished himself by his cruelty toward his former associates, exercising particular violence and depredation against his father's lands, wasting them in many places to an absolute desert. "For he had with him an invincible body of cavalry, and many castles, some trusted to him by the King and others gained from his adversaries by his own bravery." 'Among many acts of extreme violence he seized and made prisoner Reginald, earl of Cornwall, a son of the late king Henry, who was going to the Empress during a truce which had been agreed to by both parties, in order to accompany her to a personal interview with Stephen. This conduct gave the King great offence, and he obliged him to set his prisoner at liberty. "The interview between the Countess and the King was of no avail for the establishment of peace, pride and arrogance prevailing on both sides: the partizans of the Countess, claiming for her the possession of the kingdom by right, insisted on depriving Stephen of the name and rank of a king; while the King not only affirmed that he rightfully possessed what he had, but also resolutely protested, that he would give up nothing at all of what he had by any means acquired: and thus the two parties being divided in opinion returned to their usual dissention."

§ 68. "At this time two persons, Henry de Caldoet and his brother Ralph, were guilty of great cruelty and outrage in Gloucestershire. Being warlike men and very ready at all martial exercises, they came to England out of through a desire of warfare; but they were tainted to the utmost possible degree with fraud and perfidy, very ready in promoting rapine and discord in every place, very eager in perpetrating wickedness and sacrilege. These men having acquired castles, some by fraud, and others bravely by force of arms, harrassed all their neighbours particularly the possessions of the churches in many ways, by extorting different services and a variety of other exactions, by robbery, plunder and murder. For these crimes they were frequently excommunicated, until at last by divine vengeance they suffered the punishment due to their crimes: for one was hanged before his own castle; and the other being forced to surrender his castle, after suffering want and insult to"

"the full, was disgracefully driven out of England: affording a memorable example of the mutability of fortune, whereby persons, who not only surpassed the Barons of that county in dominion and power, but also extended themselves far into the kingdom, were suddenly reduced to nothing: blessed be God, who overthrew these wicked men. Their castles and the great possessions, which they had acquired, passed into different hands, some by fraud, and some by purchase; but all who acquired them had one and the same object in view, to oppress the people with their tyranny, to break the peace, and stir up dissention."

§ 69. "About the same time one Walter, brother of the earl of Hereford by the consent, as they said, of the Earl himself, took prisoner Roger de Berchelai by lying in wait for him; a harmless man, united to him not only by friendship and a treaty of peace, but also by the (*b*) relation of kindred blood. Him being stripped naked, and exposed to mockery, and firmly bound with cords, he brought before his own castle, which he had in the neighbourhood, and fastening a cord round his neck, three times he hung him up, and three times loosening the cord he let him down again. After threatening his life in this shameful manner, unless he would surrender his castle to the Earl, they at last departed without effecting their purpose; and carrying away with them Roger de Berchelai's half-dead body, because a little breath of life still moved in him, they reserved him to endure the further torture of a prison. But Philip whom I mentioned above taking ill the injury offered to Roger de Berchelai, both because he had taken him under his own protection, and because he had married his niece [*neptem suam*], took up arms with intolerable violence, and being full of indignation he threatened to lay waste the whole province and reduce it under his dominion. After obtaining some success, being suddenly struck by a blow from heaven, he fell into an unexpected disorder; and his strength being exhausted, he wholly abjured that cruel spirit, which he had conceived; and with certain honest men, who served him, binding himself by a vow, he undertook to visit Jerusalem, and the places of the Saints by voluntary"

(*b*) Sed et germanâ contribulis sanguinis cognatione propinquum." By what relation Roger de Berkeley was allied to the family of the earl of Hereford, we are not informed.

"pilgrimage:" a custom which was practised at that time by the English youth in prodigious numbers.'

§ 70. "Meanwhile (*c*) Geoffry earl of Anjou was exceedingly troubled on account of his son Henry, whom he had sent to England four years ago; lest amid the tumults of war he also should be involved in the madness of the warriors. He therefore sent three of his more noble Chieftains with a body of soldiers to earl Robert, requesting him to send back his son, if it were only for a short time, that he might see him, and (if necessary) send him to England again. The Earl assented to this request, and accompanied prince Henry guarded by a strong body of soldiers to Wareham, where he took leave of him, never to see his face in the flesh again. Henry crossed over (*d*) to his father [(*e*) An' regni 11, A' D' 1146] and remained (*f*) abroad with his father two years and four months: but the earl returned hastily to Bristow; and after many military exploits he was attacked by a severe fever and died in the beginning of Nov' 1146 [it ought to be 1147] and was buried at Bristow." The author of *Gesta Stephani* thus relates the Earl of Gloucester's death. "As he was the chief of the King's enemies and very ready to undertake any great exploits, and again and again able to raise an army, he rouzed his accomplices some by threats, others by promises and rewards to join with him; that all conspiring they might get together an army from different places ready for the same purpose, and might actively and incessantly make war against the King. But whereas there is neither wisdom, nor prudence, nor counsel against the Lord, while he was scattering in the kingdom the seeds of disturbance and dissention more than he ever had done, being suddenly seized with a fatal disorder, he died at last in his own Bristow, and (as they say) without the due fruit of penance. His son William succeeded him in his earldom; his elder son indeed, but a man of gentle manners [*vir mollis*], one who liked chambers better than warfare. Nevertheless at the beginning of his earldom, he gained the success of extraordinary bravery, which happened"

(*c*) Chron' Gervas.

(*d*) Matthew Paris writes, that Prince Henry passing into Normandy on Ascension-day was honorably received at Bec by the Convent.

(*e*) Stowe.

(*f*) Gervas and Stowe.

"only once and contrary to all men's expectation. For Henry de Tracey, a warlike man and very expert in military exercises, who was of the King's party, was fortifying another castle in advance of that, which was called Cary castle; that he might by this mean more easily keep off the earl of Gloucester, and might gain the dominion of a larger district: when lo, the Earl himself having heard the report of these proceedings suddenly came upon him with an immense army, levelled to the foundation the fortress which he had begun, and forced him and his men to an inglorious flight."

§ 71. There is some difference among historians in dating the Consul Robert's death. Gervas, as quoted above, dates it Nov' 1146, which is the same year in which prince Henry departed from Bristol to Normandy; and this is the date which Lord Lyttleton assigns to it. Others date it in the next year; as the Annals of Margam. "1147. This year our abbey called *Margan* was founded; and the same year Robert, earl of Gloucester, who founded it, died at Bristoll on the last day of Oct'." So also the Annals of Waverley. "Robert Consul died in 1147." And this last date is the true: for it appears from Gervas's date of K' Stephen's death, which is certainly 1154, that his dates are sometimes one year behind the truth. He was buried by his own direction in the chapel of the (*g*) Priory of St James, which he himself had founded. Another author (*h*) says; "Robert Consul died in the year 1147 on the last day of Oct'. and in the 12*th* of king Stephen. His body was carried and honourably buried in a stone tomb of green jasper, in the choir of the Priory of St James at Bristol, which he had founded." And John Stowe says; "He was buried at Bristow in the quire of the church of St James, which he had founded."

§ 72. He had many children, but he was (*i*) unfortunate in this respect, most of them turned out ill. William his heir is mentioned by all writers with approbation: and Roger, bishop of Worcester, was a good and pious man; although his attachment to Becket in the next

(*g*) Leland.

(*h*) Anon' apud Atkyns p' 383.

(*i*) See above VI, § 14.

reign may be considered by some persons, as no proof of his patriotism. He was (*k*) elected bishop of Worcester when a youth in 1163, and was consecrated by Thomas Becket 23 Aug' 1164; but R' de Diceto dates it 26 Aug' 1163. He died in France 9 Aug' 1179: although an anonymous writer (*l*) says that he died in 1164 on his journey, when returning from Jerusalem. Another son, called 'Richard, (*m*) was bishop of Bayeux. The late bishop died at Easter 1133, and when king Henry I wished to appoint his grandson to the vacant bishopric, the Archbishop of Rouen refused to consecrate him, because he was illegitimate. Application was made to the Apostolic see, and at length a licence being procured, after a delay of two years he was consecrated bishop of Bayeux.'—Another of the Earl's sons was (*n*) called Hamo, and was slain in Henry II's army at the siege of Thoulouse in 1159.

§ 73. "Next (*o*) year [i' e' in the year next after the earl of Gloucester's death] "the Empress herself weary of the war crossed over to Normandy; choosing rather to live in peace under the protection of her husband, than any longer to endure continual troubles in England." The death of Milo and of her brother Robert, probably was the cause of this resolution.

§ 74. 'About (*p*) the middle of May 1149, prince Henry with a large body of horse and foot returned to England, after an absence of two years and four months, invited by the Barons of his party who were unwilling to take an active part, unless he should be with them. Hereupon he laid aside his literary studies, and coming to England he began to practice military exercises. Taking with him Ranulph, earl of Chester, Roger earl of Hereford, and some other, chiefly Western, Lords, beside the famous knights, whom he brought from Normandy; he went to David, king of Scotland, his mother's uncle; by whom he was'

(*k*) Godwyn de Præsulibus.

(*l*) Apud Lel' Itin' 8, 102. There must be a mistake in the figures.

(*m*) Orderic' Vital' an' 1133 and 1135. (*n*) Hovedon p' 491.

(*o*) Chron' Gerv'.

(*p*) Chron' Gervas p' 1362, and p' 1366, and Hen' Huntingd', and Hoveden, Mailross, and Ann' Waver'.

'received with great joy and honour, and being now about sixteen years old, he was by him knighted with many other young men at Whitsuntide.' His presence revived the civil war in some degree; it is probable however, that he was unable to make any real impression on Stephen's power; for 'early (*q*) in Jan' next year 1150, he crossed over into Normandy.' The annals of Waverley are as follows, "David, king of Scotland, A' D' 1149 knighted Henry, the eldest son of Geoffry and his [David's] niece, the empress Matilda; who [Henry] had crossed over from Normandy to England the year before." The last clause of the sentence is at variance as to date, with the other historians. Stowe, who quotes Hoveden's authority, gives the following account of this expedition. "In the month of May 1149, Henry the Empress' son with a great company of chosen men of arms and other, came into England; unto whom forthwith many castles and strong holds were delivered. Taking with him Ranulph, earl of Chester, Roger, earl of Hereford and divers other, he went to David, king of Scots, of whom he was joyfully received and made knight. When king Stephen heard, that David, king of Scots with his strength, and Henry son to the Empress with his western Lords, were together at Carlile, he came to Yorke with a great army, for fear they should attempt any thing against that city; and so lay there the month of August. At length the one party as well as the other departed: but Eustace, the King's son, being made knight, exercised many cruelties in the lands of the Earls, that took part with Henry, the Empress' son." "In the year 1150, anno r' 15, Henry the Empress' son, being made knight, sailed into Normandy. All England was full of trouble and noise of war, set forth to fire and rapine, through discord betwixt king Stephen and certain Earls, that took part with Henry the son of the Empress."

§ 75. The date and duration of prince Henry's abode in England at this time is liable to some doubt. All authors are agreed, that he came over in May (for the month, and even the day of the month, in these ancient dates is often more certain than the year); and most (*r*) of

(*q*) Gervas.

(*r*) Gervas, H' Huntingdon. Hoveden. R' de Diceto dates it in 1148.

them say that it was in 1149, and that he went immediately to Carlile, where he was knighted at Whitsuntide, and continued in England until Jan' 1150, which I suppose to be correct. If it be so, his stay here was only for eight months; sufficient certainly for the transactions recorded; but so hasty a return to Normandy shews, that he had business of importance there also. On the departure of prince Henry, the civil war seems to have nearly ceased by mutual agreement, or by mutual disability; but although opposition in the field had ceased, yet Stephen was by no means master of the whole kingdom. The barons of Matilda's party kept their castles and their territories independently of him; in particular there is no proof or probability, that his authority or title was ever acknowledged in Bristol or it's neighbourhood, or in any of the earl of Glocester's territories. Moreover many of the Chieftains on both sides cared little for the title either of the Empress or the King, but maintained their towns and castles independently of any superior, living on the services and contributions and plunder of the country around them. The writer of the *Gesta Stephani* considers the character of the earl of Glocester himself to be of this kind.

§ 76. Prince Henry being now about 19 or 20 years old, determined to make a decisive attempt to recover the crown of England. He landed (*s*) early in Jan' i' e' on the day of Epiphany, (*t*) with 3000 foot-soldiers and 140 knights. Another writer (*u*) says, that he passed over into England within the octaves of Epiphany with 36 ships. Here again is a doubt concerning the year, some (*v*) setting down prince Henry's return in 1152, and others in 1153. The true date is 1152; for there is in Rymer's Foedera a Grant made by Henry duke of Normandy and Earl of Anjou at Devizes, which is dated in the margin "1152 A' r' Steph' 17:" according to which date Matth' Paris and the Chron' Norman' write, that 'he landed in 1152 with 32 ships and a large army within the octaves of Epiphany and took Malmsbury'. John Smythe of Berkeley says, (*w*) that the Prince made a *second* abode at Bristol for two years.

(*s*) Gervas Chron'. (*t*) Chron' Hemingford. (*u*) Chron' Norman' apud Duchesne.

(*v*) Gervas, Huntingdon, and Knighton place it in 1153: Diceto and Matth' Paris and Chron' Norman' in 1152. (*w*) See below Chapt' VIII, § 97, 2.

If this assertion be understood literally it cannot be reconciled with the preceding dates, and Smythe's authority is not sufficient to set them aside. When the Prince went to Carlile in 1149, he was only eight months in England. On his arrival in Jan' 1152, nothing is more probable than that he made Bristol his head-quarters during that year and the beginnig of 1153, residing here as much as the cause in which he was engaged would permit, and here arranging plans of insurrection and warfare: and even during his short visit in 1149 he must have passed some days at Bristol in his journeys to and from the North: and if Smythe had seen Charters and other Deeds belonging to the Prince dated at Bristol in any of the years mentioned above, he would be very likely to suppose that his abode here was consecutively for two years, instead of occasionally. Under this restriction prince Henry's *second* abode at Bristol may be admitted.

§ 76. *b*. He came to England with the titles of *duke of Normandy and earl of Anjou;* so he stiles himself in the Charter mentioned above in the last §, and so he is stiled by king Stephen in the articles of Pacification made next year, 1153. His father Geoffry, earl of Anjou died before this time, as all our ancient historians relate circumstantially, consequently Henry was earl of Anjou in his own right. It is true, the old Edition of Rymer's Foedera mentions Henry's father in the articles of Pacification as being alive: the passage is this. "Moreover the duke's father, and his wife, and the duke's brothers - - - - shall confirm these articles." But it is remarkable, that there is no mention made of his mother, the Empress, who in this case was a much more important personage than his father: and accordingly it appears from the new Edition of that valuable collection, that the Copyist in the passage last quoted wrote *Pater* erroneously instead of *Mater*. As to the title *Duke of Normandy*, he took it by his mother's leave.

§ 76. *c*. On Duke Henry's arrival, not only was he admitted into Bristol, but many other fortified places declared in his favour, and the war broke out again with the same violence and enormities as before.

But the Chiefs of both parties, being at last sensible of the miseries of their country, refused any longer to support the King and the Duke in their hostilities, and forced them in a great measure to a pacification; whereby it was agreed, that Stephen should retain the crown for his life, and that the Duke should succeed him. (*x*) A general Assembly of the principal persons of the kingdom met at Winchester [or at Wallingford, as (*y*) some say] in Nov', where the King publicly adopted Henry as his son and successor, and Henry acknowledged him, as his father and King, to the great joy of the whole nation.

§ 77. The following is a more particular account of this transaction. "Stephen, (*z*) King of the English, and Henry duke of the Normans, his relation, on the *7th* day of Nov', Justice looking on out of heaven, came to an agreement in this form. First; the King acknowledged, in an assembly of Bishops, Earls, and other Nobles, the hereditary right, which duke Henry had in the kingdom of England; and the Duke kindly granted, that the King, if he should wish it, might keep the kingdom the whole of his life: but the King himself and the Bishops, and the other Chiefs confirmed by oath, that after the King's death, the Duke, if he should survive, should peaceably and without contradiction enjoy the kingdom. It was also sworn, that all possessions, which had been seized by invaders, should return to the old and lawful possessors, who held them in the time of the good king Henry, and that all castles, which had been made since the death of the said King should be pulled down, the number of which amounted to 126." Another historian says; "king (*a*) Stephen and Henry duke of Normandy were reconciled and had made public entries together, first, into Winchester, and then into London before Christmas." Three or four other writers (*b*) say, that this reconciliation took place in 1153. The Grant or Charter of king Stephen, containing the Convention made by him and duke Henry, is literally printed in Rymer's Foedera. It is dated at Westminster. [*In the margin* A' D' 1153, a' r' r' Stephani 18.]

(*x*) Gervais. (*y*) Matth' Westm' and Gervais.

(*z*) Chron' Norm' apud Duchesne, and Matth' Westm' in some places literally the same.

(*a*) H' Huntingd' 8 ad finem.

(*b*) Abbrev' Diceto, and Bromton, and Th' Wikes, and Matth' Westm'.

§ 78. After this in the course of the year 1154, they made their public appearance together in several places, jointly managing the affairs of the realm. 'They (*c*) went to Oxford on the octaves of Epiphany [Jan' 13], where the Earls and Barons swore fealty to the Duke, saving the royal honour to the King during his life: after which they parted in peace. After a short time they met again at Dunstable, where they had a little dispute concerning some castles, which Stephen was unwilling to destroy; but the Duke gave up the matter in question. Soon after they went together to Canterbury; and in Lent to Dover: returning from whence to Canterbury, duke Henry narrowly escaped losing his life by the treachery of some Flemings: whereupon he rode with all speedto Canterbury, and from thence hastily through Rochester and London, and so going down to the sea he passed over into Normandy, and never after saw king Stephen, who died Oct' 25, 1153.' Another writer (*d*) says "Duke Henry crossed over into Normandy about Easter 1153." In both places it ought to be 1154, which is unquestionably the date of Stephen's death.

§ 79. Thus terminated a miserable reign, and a civil war carried on with so much cruelty, rapine and desolation, that the prosperity of England, which was then beginning to recover from the effects of the Norman conquest, was thrown back nearly as much, as by the Danish invasions. Nevertheless, the period is particularly interesting to an historian of Bristol; because our town and it's castle were then the seat of government to one of the two parties, and the principal residence of it's Chief. For it may be said generally, although with some exceptions, that from the first breaking out of the war during the remainder of this reign, the eastern parts of the kingdom with London for their metropolis adhered to Stephen: while the western parts maintained the cause of Matilda and her son, having Bristol for their capital; insomuch, that k' Stephen himself in his Convention (*e*) with duke Henry acknowledges this division of the kingdom. It is agreed, he says, "that I shall execute the office of royalty in the whole kingdom of England, as well in the duke's part,"

(*c*) Gervas.

(*d*) Chron' Norman' apud Duchesne.

(*e*) Rymer's Foedera, A' D' 1153.

"as in my own part." One (*f*) historian calls the war *the War of Bristow:* and it seems probable, that if this state of affairs had continued much longer under so incoherent a government as that of Stephen was, something like another Heptarchy would have been established by the Earls and Barons of that age.

§ 79. *b.* The following TABLE *of dates* will be found useful.

The first year of king Stephen's reign begins	Dec' 26 1135
2. The Empress, with her brother, came to Bristol	Sept' 1139
3. After two months and more she went to Glocester	1139
4. Stephen brought Prisoner to Bristol,	Feb' 1140-1 i' e' 1141
5. The Consul Robert taken prisoner	Sept' 1141
6. The King and the Earl exchanged	Nov' 1 1141
7. Prince Henry, 9 years old, came *first* to England	Nov' [7 Steph'] 1142
8. He quitted England after four years residence in Bristol	[11 Steph'] 1146
9. The earl of Glocester died	Nov' 1147
10. The Empress quitted England	1148
11. Prince Henry, about 16 years old, came into England *secondly*, after an absence of two years and four months,	May 1149
12. He returned to Normandy	Jan' 1150
13. He married Q' Eleanor of Guienne at Bourdeaux	at Whitsuntide 1151
14. He returned to England *thirdly* as Duke of Normandy,	early in Jan' 1152
15. He was at Devizes	a' r' Steph' 17, A' D' 1152
16. Peace between Henry and Stephen	7 Nov' 1153
17. Henry quitted England	at Easter 1154
18. Stephen died	25 Oct' 1154

The six first and the six last dates must be considered as certain, and there is little doubt of the remainder.

§ 80. The history of Fitzharding, which has been (*g*) dropped, is now to be resumed. In the year 1140 he began to build the abbey of St Augustin. Even at that time his wealth was very great. Beside money, which he must have possessed in abundance, he had many and large estates in land which are reckoned up by his family historian, partly derived from his father Harding, and partly purchased by himself. He (*h*) possessed in Glocestershire the manors of Filton and Horfield, of Almondsbury, Uley, Nibley, Siston, Thornbury, where he built the

(*f*) Rex Stephanus quarto anno regni sui vexatus est per werram de Briston. *Ann' Waverley.*

(*g*) Vide VI, 24 and VIII, 58. 59. (*h*) Atkyns.

body of the church and the tower, and dwelt at Roll's-place, Beverstone, Elberton, which held of the manor of Berkeley in the time of William the Conq', King's-weston, which was (*i*) ancient Demean of the Crown, and which together with Beverstone he settled on Robert his second son, &c &c: beside what he had in Bristow and it's immediate neighbourhood; viz "the (*k*) manor of Byleswike purchased from the earl of Glocester, whereon he built his abbey; the manor of Lega [*Abbott's Leigh*] near Bristol, being a member of his manor of Bedminster; the manor of Bedminster near Bristol, which he purchased of Robert earl of Glocester, uncle to king Henry II, and which *he* also confirmed to him; and divers lands, tenements and rents in Bristowe and Radeclyve." To this must be added the manor of Bitton and the lordship of Berkeley; this latter taken away from Roger de Berkeley, lord of Dursley, and granted to Robert Fitzharding, in return for the many services, which he had done to the empress Matilda, and her family.

§ 81. This Grant of Berkeley &c to Rob' Fitzharding is mentioned in the rhymes of Robert of Glocester.

> "A burgeys at Bristowe, Robert Hardyng,
> for great treasure & richesse, so well was with the King,
> that he gave him & his heirs the noble barony,
> that so rich is, of Berkele, with all the seignory.
> And that Robert Harding reared afterward, I wis,
> the abbey at Bristowe, that of St Austin is."

The historian of Berkeley gives the following account of this last transaction. "And (*l*) so far forth, e'er that Crown-claim was settled, did the Empress and her son Henry make use of the purse of this Robert in that wantful time of theirs, that from Roger of Berkly, lord of Dursly were his fee-farm lands of Berkeley taken by this duke Henry and Maud his mother for causes formerly remembered: and for an handsell, as it were, of that lump which followed, one hundred pounds-land [*libratas*] of that of Berkeley, with the manor of Bitton, was given to this Robert and his heirs by deed yet remaining under seal in these words." Then follows a copy of the original grant of Duke Henry, in which are the

(*i*) Domesday B'.
(*k*) Smythe p' 30, who quotes undoubted authority.
(*l*) Smythe p' 18 or soon after.

following words: *Pepigi ei firmare ibi castellum, secundum voluntatem ipsius Rodberti. Et propter hæc supradicta dona, Rodbertus filius Hardingi devenit meus homo.* There are several *Testibus: et præter istos, testes sunt inde Abbas S'ti Augustini de Bristou et frater Adam, Canonicus ejus, et Henricus fil' Rodberti, & Jordanus & David, nepotes ejus: et Ric' de Hanam. Apud Bristou.* "Which grant was by two subsequent grants confirmed and enlarged by the Duke, afterward King; among other things he grants *monetam cum proprio monetario suo.*"

§ 82. From this grant and others similar we learn, that beside the grant of Bitton and Berkeley, Henry granted to Fitzharding the liberty of building *a* castle at Berkeley, or (*m*) perhaps only strengthening one already built. We learn also, that Fitzharding by accepting this grant became Henry's feudatory baron, bound to pay military service, holding the land by barony, and enjoying baronial rights; among them, that of coining money: and according to Sir R' Atkyns the baronage was appendent to the castle. Afterwards, the whole lordship or Honour of Berkeley was taken from Roger de Berkeley, lord of Dursley, and granted to Fitzharding. John Smythe quotes many authorities, as Rolls, charters &c to prove that the lordship of Berkeley was often called the Honour of *B'*. In the Saxon language of that age it was called *Berkeley Herness*. *Her* or *Heer* being a Saxon word for *lord*, it has been (*n*) conjectured with great probability that *herness* means *lordship*. How it happened that the Lord of Dursley should be called Roger de Berkeley seems to have occurred to (*o*) Leland as a difficulty. The head of the Honour, his ancient hereditary abode was at Berkeley: and his residence at Dursley was only after he was deprived of the former seat. He was supposed to be a friend to k' Stephen; and therefore according to the violent

(*m*) See below § 93.

(*n*) The following communication from the Dean of Bristol puts the matter out of doubt. "The word is found in the Saxon Chronicle, A' D' 1088: *Eall Beorelea hyrnesse hi awæston*, i' e' *they wasted all the lordship of Berkeley:* and in k' Alfred's translation of Bede's Eccl' hist' 4, 2. *Wæs he ærest Archebiscopa, that him call Angel cynn hyrnysse gethafode.* i' e' *He was the first Archbishop, whose authority was admitted by the English nation.*"

(*o*) Itin' 6, 74 [77].

practices of that age, the Empress, and her son Henry, took from him his lordship of Berkeley, and gave it to Fitzharding, but permitted him still to hold his lordship of Dursley. But when after some time it appeared that this distribution was likely to produce interminable discord, Henry and Stephen, who were now themselves reconciled, interposed their authority, and procured a reconciliation between these two families, by a double marriage between the sons and daughters. The original covenant to this effect is still extant in Berkeley castle; and was executed and the marriages in consequence were solemnized in Fitzharding's house in Baldwin-street in the presence of Henry and Stephen, who since their reconciliation had made a public appearance together in several parts of the kingdom.

§ 83. These transactions, and in general the whole life of Fitzharding, are so interesting to us of Bristow, that I would not willingly omit in these Memoirs any ancient document relating to him, although at the risque of repetition. Leland (*p*) writes thus out of an old Genealogy of the Berkeleys. "A' D' 1135 tempore Stephani &c. In the time of king Stephen Robert Fitz-Harding had four sons by his wife Eva; viz Maurice de Barkeley, Robert de Wer, Nicholas de Tikenham, and Thomas Archdeacon of Worcester A' D' 1135. - - - - A' D' 1170 on the day of St Agatha the virgin died Sir [*dominus*] Robert Fitzharding, Knt [*miles*] and Canon, and founder of the monastery of St Augustin of Bristol." Robert Ricart's account, copied from the Original (*q*) in the Council-house, is as follows. "Now to speak of the foundation of thabbey of Seynt Austyn's of Bristowe beginning first at Harding, son unto the king of Denmark, which dwelled in Bristowe in Baldewynne-street. And he had to his son the lord Robert Hardyng, lord of Berkeley, and founder of the said abbey of Seynt Austyn's: adding hereunto certain covenants, made between the said lord Robert Harding and Roger of Berkeley, lord of Dorseley, following here the conveyance of the same."

(*p*) Itin' 6, 46 [49]. (*q*) Folio 27 *b*.

§84. [Then he relates the marriage of Maud the Empress; and that Stephen swore fealty to her and afterward usurped the throne. He then proceeds.] "Whose son Harry grew daily to man's estate, and came into England to pursue his mother's inheritance and his own right. Unto whom Robert son of Hardyng assisted by his power, and departed largely with his gold and silver to the sustaining of his army. And when Harry II was King, he forgat not the great kindness of the said Robert; but for the same he gave him the barony of Berkleyshernes, which that Roger of Berkley, lord of Durseley, held to fee-farm of the King: and the same the King took fro him, because he paid not his ferme, and also because he took party with king Stephin against the King. Nevertheless the said king Harry, at thinstance and prayer of divers of his lords, he granted [regranted] unto the said Roger the barony of Durseley, as his inheritance. Howbeit, the said Roger vexed and troubled in many sundry wises the said lord Robert: for the which the said Robert besought the King's good grace to take fro him again the said barony of Berkley herness, which he had gave him, seeing he could not keep it in ease for troubling of the said Roger. But then the said king Henry made peace between the said Robert and Roger, so that Roger gave Alice his doughter to wife unto Morice, son of Robert, (*r*) and gave with her the town of Slymbrugge, and made double marriages between their both children, and final peace between them. Which mariages, covenants and peace between the said Robert son of Hardyng, and Roger of Berkley, lord of Durseley, were made in the house of the lord Robert son of Harding at Bristowe in presence of king Stephin, and of the lord Harry, duke of Normandy and Gyane, and earl of Angeo, in presence of many others lords and knights, spiritual and temporal."

§85. Abbot Newland (as quoted by John (*s*) Smythe) writes thus. "And when this Harry had obtayned his right he remembered the grete kyndness and benefits of the said Sr' Rob' Fitzharding, and gave to him and his heirs for ever the barony of Berkeley, which barony"

(*r*) "Vide old Register page XII *b*." This note is in the margin by a second hand.

(*s*) P' 5.

"Roger of Berkeley baron of Dursely held of the King in fee-farm: and for so much the said king Harry II took from the said Roger both the barony of Dursly and also the barony of Berkeley, forasmuch as he took party with king Steven against king Harry; and also forasmuch as he refused to pay the fee-farme of the barony of Berkeley unto the said king Harry. But then after, the said king Harry intreated by the noble lords of his realme gave again unto the said Roger the barony of Dursely as his own heritance, and the barony of Berkeley he gave and confirmed to the said Sir Rob' Fitzharding and his heires for ever, in recompence of his great costs and kindness. And when after this, Sir Rob' Fitzharding was lord and baron of Berkeley, the said Roger lord and baron of Dursly vexed and troubled with him so grievously, that he came unto the said king Harry, and prayed him to resume his gift again. But then after, the said king Harry made a peace and a final concord atwixt the said Roger and Robert, so that the said Roger should give his daughter Alice to wife unto Maurice the son and heir of Sir Rob' Fitzherding with the town of Slimebrigge under certain conditions as followingly shall appear. "THIS byn the covenantys that were made atwixt Sir Rob' "Fitzherding lord and baron of Berkeley and Sir Roger of Berkeley "lord and baron of Dursly, and in the house of Robert Fitzharding at "Bristowe, and in the presence of kinge Stevin and of Harry then duke "of Normandy and earle of Angewe, and by his assent, and in the "presence of many others both clarkes and laymen: MORRICE, the son "and heire of Sir Rob' Fitzharding, shall take to his wife Alice &c &c." The substance (*t*) of which marriage contract is this, that 'Maurice, son of Robert Fitzharding, should marry Alice, daughter of Roger, lord of Dursley; and the heir of Roger lord Dursley should marry Helena daughter of Robert Fitzharding. "And it was mutually agreed, that Alice should have £20 a year in land of the fee of Berkeley for her dower: and Helena was to have the manor of Siston assigned to her in dower. Whereupon all right in the barony of Berkeley was voluntarily released by the lord Dursley."

(*t*) Atkyns's Glocestershire. Berkeley.

§ 86. After the preceding quotation from Abbat Newland, the historian of Berkeley thus proceeds. "Thus the Abbot. IN writing these authentic covenants taken almost verbatim out of the MS Chronicle of Rob' de Ricart, townclark of Bristol, written in the time of Edward the 4th, I have rather chosen to express them in the Abbot's own manner of writing, than to have translated them out of the Latin Deed itself, which yet remaineth under seal; testified (to the honour of this house) to be an inestimable piece of evidence by the Judges of the Common-pleas in the nine and thirtieth year of queen Elizabeth: at what time it was given in evidence &c &c." in a law-suit. From the preceding extracts it seems that Abbat Newland, and perhaps John Smythe also, had seen this marriage-covenant translated, in Robert Ricart's Calendar: at present it is not to be found in that book.—Leland (*u*) out of an old Genealogy gives the same account of this double marriage: "*Mauritius primogenitus* &c. Maurice, the eldest son of Robert Fitzharding, by his wife Alice, daughter of Roger de Durslegh had Robert, Thomas and Maurice." In another (*v*) place he says, "in process the Fitzhardings married with the heirs general of Berkeley and Dursley; and so the name of Berkeley was taken of them and continued." Leland bears witness (*w*) also to the other part of this cross-marriage: but his information is not correct. "Roger Berkeley of Dursley [*de Drisilegâ, aliàs Dereslegâ*]'s son married with the daughter of Maurice." And in another place he writes thus; "Sir (*x*) Roger Barkeley, the which was lord of Dordisley, had but a daughter called *Eve* [it ought to be *Alice*] and she was married to the blood of the Fitzhardings. And at this time I am not certain whether Eve [Alice] was married to the said Robert Fitzharding, or to Thomas his son: but because Eve was daughter and heir to Roger Barkeley, who was both lord of Dordesley and Barkeley [because of thenheritance by his wife Eve], the name of Fitzharding was turned into the name of Barkeley."

§ 87. It would contribute something to the elucidation of this portion of English history, to give an account, so far as it can be

(*u*) Itin' 6, 46 [49].
(*v*) Leland Itin' 6, 54 [56].
(*w*) Itin' 6, 72 [75].
(*x*) Leland Coll' 2, 621 [912].

collected, of Berkeley and it's possessors before the grant made to Fitzharding; and in doing this, I have again to acknowledge the communications of the Dean of Bristol, whose words I have sometimes copied. Berchelai with it's dependencies was a royal manor in the reign (*y*) of Edward the Confessor; originally, as it seems, the private property of some of the West-saxon kings, and regularly descending as demean to the Confessor: and perhaps according to a more recent conjecture, the principality of one of the British princes. A nunnery [*abbatia*] was there in the time of king Edward, which earl Godwin (*z*) destroyed: in consequence of which Gith, his Countess, the mother of king Harold, refused to eat any thing, the produce of Berkeley manor; and therefore earl Godwin bought the manor of Woodchester, and gave it to her, and her provisions were brought from thence, whenever she abode at Berchelai. This little narrative extracted from the unquestionable authority of Domesday book proves that there was some foundation for what Camden from Walter Mapes, and from Camden Sir Rob' Atkyns have related concerning the scandalous means, whereby earl Godwin got possession of Berkeley: and the Norman Commissioners inserted it in their record for the sake of bringing an odium on the memory of the Conqueror's antagonist, and his father. It is probable, that before this transaction Godwin held it under the King at farm, and that the nunnery did not hold the manor, but only certain lands, which Godwin wished to possess. There was likewise a house of monks there, for in the year 915 the (*a*) Abbat of Berkeley was chosen Bishop of the Wiccii; and the same we learn from the famous story of the Berkeley Witch. This ridiculous tale is told with slight variations by most of our (*b*) English historians; from them it found it's way into the foreign Chronicles, and the Nuremberg (*c*) Chronicle has a wooden engraving of it. For the reader's edification and amusement I have translated Matthew of Westminster's version, and have procured an exact copy of the engraving.

(*y*) Dom' book fo' 163, 1.

(*z*) Dom' book fo' 164, 2.

(*a*) See Chap' III, § 18.

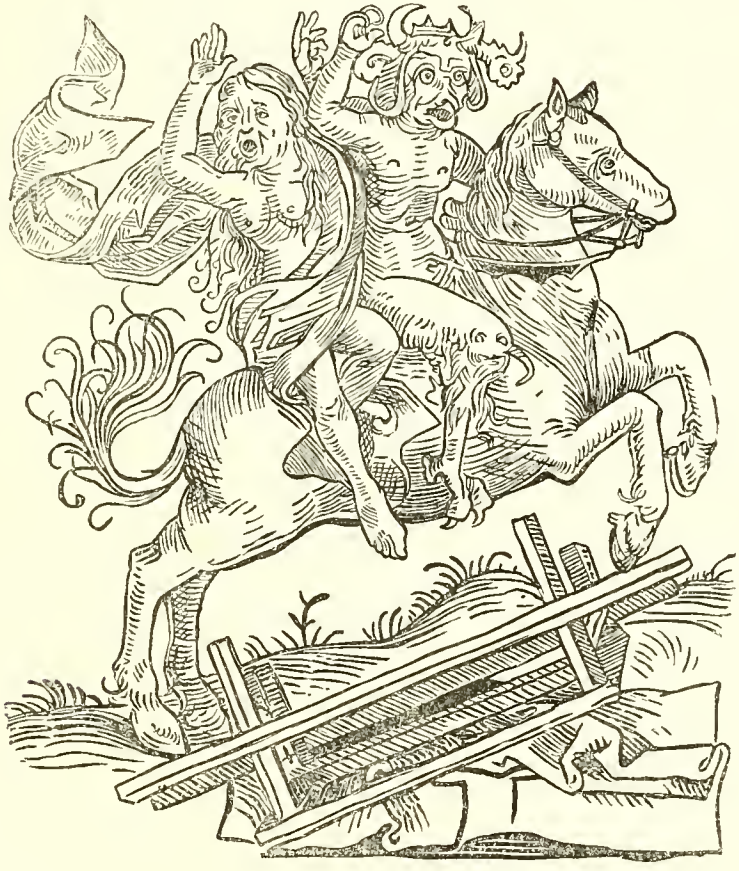
(*b*) Matth' Westm', Will' Malm', Bromton and others.

(*c*) Nuremb' Chron' p' 190.

§ 88. "About that time [A' D' 852] a certain wicked woman living in a town called Berkeley, a lover of gluttony [*gulæ*] and of impudence [*petulantiæ*] setting no bounds to her wickedness and her wicheries [*auguriis*] even as far as old age, continued an immodest woman even till the time of her death. One day while she was sitting at dinner, a raven which she kept as a favorite, began chattering some thing. On hearing this, the knife fell from the woman's hand, and her face began to turn pale; and groaning she said, this day I shall receive a great mischief, this day my plough is come to it's last furrow. Upon this a messenger of ill-news arrived and the woman asking him, what was the cause of his coming, I bring you, said he, news of the death of your son, and the destruction of the whole family by the fall of a house. Being grievously moved by this calamity, she immediately took to her bed, and was very sick: and perceiving the disorder creeping on toward her vitals, she summoned by a letter her surviving children, a monk and a nun. When they arrived she said to them in a sobbing voice, O my children, I have always brought on [*inservivi*] my own wretched fate by devilish arts, I have been a sink of all vices, a mistress of all charms. Yet amid all these evils, my hope was in your religion, which fortified my despairing soul, I hoped for you as my defenders against the devils, my guardians against those very cruel enemies. Now then since I am come to the end of my life, I beseech you by your mother's breast, that you would endeavor to alleviate my torments. When I am dead, sew me up in a deer-skin, and then put me into a stone coffin, and fasten down the cover with lead and iron, and lastly gird the stone with three very strong iron chains; and bring here 50 clerks, singers of psalms, and as many priests, to celebrate masses for three days, who may drive away the ferocious attacks of the enemies. Then if I shall lie safe for three nights, on the fourth day bury me in the ground."

§ 88. *b*. "It was done as she had directed: but alass, nor prayers, nor tears, nor chains were of any avail: for on the two first nights, when companies of singing men stood near the body, the devils coming to the door of the church broke it open, although fastened with an immense bolt, and broke asunder the two outward chains with very little difficulty:"

" but the middle chain, which was stronger, remained unbroken. But the third night about cock-crowing, the whole monastery seemed to be moving from it's foundations at the noise of the enemies approach. One of the devils therefore, more terrible in his aspect and taller of stature than the rest, shook the gates of the church with dreadful violence, and scattered them in pieces. All were stiff with fright, clerks as well as laymen, their hair stood on end, and the singing of psalms was stopped.



Whereupon the devil going to the grave with insolent step, loudly called on the woman by name, and ordered her to rise ; and when she answered, that she was unable to rise by reason of the chains, you shall be released from them (said he) to your cost, and immediately the chain, which had baffled the ferocity of the other devils, he broke like thread ; and then kicking away the cover of the grave, he dragged the woman out of the church in the face of them all to the gates, where stood a black horse"

"proudly neighing, having iron hooks and nails fastened all over him, on which the wretched woman being thrown disappeared from the sight of those, who stood near: but her horrible clamours calling for asistance were heard for as much as four miles." The author adds that this ought not to appear incredible, because the same thing had happened to others, particularly to the famous hero Charles Martel.

§ 89. At the Conquest the Lordship of Berkeley was granted without doubt to Willm' Fitzosbern, earl of Hereford, the King's steward [*dapifer*] when duke of Normandy, "to whom he granted all Glocestershire, and the southern part of Monmouthshire, as a county-palatine, or at least with all the rights of the Crown." And this he did, it is evident, for the sake of making a firm barrier against the Welsh; as he settled Hugh Lupus at Chester for the same reason, granting to him the whole county of Chester as a county-palatine (*d*) to hold it as freely by the sword, as the King himself held England. The only things recorded of Fitzosborne, relative to Berkeley are, that he kept a Prepositus of Berchelai to take care of his rents and services; and that he (*e*) withdrew five hides of land out of the farm, thereby making them his own demean, intending there to build a small castle. These five hides were at a place called *Nesse*, belonging to Berchelai; which I suppose to be Sharp-ness, and that earl William intended to build a castle at the point which there projects into the Severn; but did not live to execute his design. These five hides Roger de Berkeley at the time of Domesday survey claimed as his own; earl William probably gave them to him: he had done a similar thing at Cirencester, where (*f*) he withdrew some land out of the farm, and gave it to a vassal of his own.

§ 90. On the death of earl William, and the subsequent attainder of his son Roger in 1074, this manor together with all his other

(*d*) Tenere totum hunc comitatum sibi & hæredibus suis, ità liberè ad gladium, sicut Rex ipse tenebat Angliæ Coronam.

(*e*) *In Nesse sunt quinque hidæ pertinentes ad Berchelai, quas Willelmus Comes misit extra ad faciendum unum castellulum: has Rogerius calumniatur.* Dom' day fo' 163, 2. I translate *misit extra, withdrew them out of the farm,* because the word *firmam* is often in other parts of the book inserted after *misit extra.*

(*f*) *Hanc terram misit extra firmam, et cuidam suo homini dedit eam.* Domes' fo' 162, 4.

possessions, Bristow, Barton &c must have fallen into the King's hands. Berchelai was then granted at farm to one Roger, who from thence was called Roger de Berchelai, and who held it at the time of the Survey in in 1083—1087. Of him and his successors, until the union of his family with that of Robert Fitzharding, the following particulars may be collected out of Domesday book, and out of (*g*) Dugdale's account of the monasteries of Gloucester and Kingswood. The Hernesse of Berkeley was at that time a very great and valuable possession, having attached to it many subordinate manors [*Berewitæ*], such as Camme, Dursley, Cowley, Uley, Nymphsfield, Wotton, Kingscot, Ouzleworth, Almondsbury, Horefelle [Horfield], Weston [Kingsweston], Elberton, Arlingham and others, as described in Domesday book. There was also at Berchelai a market and 17 vassals, or homagers [*homines*] dwelling in it, who paid their tax in the rent [*reddunt censum in firmâ*]; "which rent or farm paid by Roger de Berchelai to the Crown was (*h*) £170, equal to about £500 of our present standard silver money;" but for the purchase of commodities worth between £2000 and £3000. He also held at farm Barton near Bristow; and probably Bristow also, as mentioned above (*i*). And he held many estates of the King, not at farm, but (as it seems) by military service; so that on the whole this Roger was a wealthy and powerful lord. He had a brother, called Radulph or Ralph de Berchelai; who held Wapley and Stanley by military service.

§ 90. *b*. This Roger must have been the person, who entertained the Conqueror at Berkeley in (*k*) 1080. When Domesday survey was made, he caused Nymsfield, one of the subordinate manors above-mentioned, to be set down as belonging to the King's (*l*) table. It belonged to the Abbey of Glocester, and he himself probably held it by

(*g*) Sir Robert Atkyns here, as elsewhere, has translated Dugdale.

(*h*) Domesd' B' p' 163, 2.

(*i*) See Chap' V § 4, and Chap' IV § 51.

(*k*) See above Chapt' IV, § 45. *b*.

(*l*) A' D' 1087, Rogerus, senior, de Berkelee in descriptione tocius Angliæ fecit Nymdesfeld describi ad mensam regis, abbate Serlone nesciente. Dugdale Monast' Glocestr'. But no appropriation of this sort occurs in Domesday book itself.

lease from the Abbey, but thought it would be more advantageous to himself to hold it under the King, than from the Abbey. However, this dishonest craft seems to have preyed on his conscience, for in 1091 he became (*m*) a monk of that Abbey, and restored to it the manor of Shoteshore, which he had long unjustly detained: and in 1093 his successor Eustace (*n*) restored Nymsfield also. In the time of this Roger i' e' A' D' 1089 Berkeley was plundered, as related above (*o*): from whence it is clear that he took part with king William Rufus against Robert, duke of Normandy.

§ 90.*c*. Eustace above-mentioned succeeded to the lordship. After him another Roger succeeded, who obtained leave from "Henry, king of the English" [Henry I] to erect some religious house, and to endow it with certain lands. It is probable therefore, that this was the person, who entertained king Henry I and his young queen at Berkeley, Easter 1121. The land was to be held by service of a knight's fee, and Roger de Berkeley had probably bound himself to carry the proposed measure into effect; but he was prevented by death. His nephew William compleated his uncle's intention by founding an Abbey of Cistertians at Kingswood in Wiltshire in 1139; which foundation was confirmed by the Empress Maude, who was in England from 1139 to 1148. This William must be the person, who in 5 Stephen [A' D' 1140] is recorded (*p*) to have holden the lordship of Berkeley under the Crown, paying a ferm of £234 13*s* 4*d* by weight.

§ 90.*d*. Another Roger de Berkeley, son of the last William complained that the Abbey founded by his predecessors was removed to

(*m*) Rogerus de Berkeleye senior, in die S'ti Sebastiani sub dompno Serlone Abbate monachus effectus, reddidit Deo et S'to Petro Glouc' Shoteshore liberam et quietam, quam diu injustè tenuerat, rege Willielmo seniore [*lege* juniore] confirmante. Hoc factum est A' D' 1091. Dugdale Monast' Vol 1, p' 119.

(*n*) A' D' 1093 Eustachius de Berkeleyee reddidit Deo et S'to Petro Gloucest' Nymdesfeld tempore Serlonis Abbatis. Dugdale Monast' Glouc'.

(*o*) See above Chapt' V, § 9.

(*p*) The original is as follows. "Willelmus de Berchelai reddit compotum de firmâ de Berchelai in Thesauro cc et xxxiiij £, et xiij *s*, iiij *d*, ad pensum." *Magn' Rot* 5 *Steph.* Apud Madox Exch' X, 2, p' 297. In the Index it is thus entituled "William de Berchelai Custos of the Honour of Berchelai 5 Steph."

Tetbury, and demanded either that it should be brought back to Kingswood, or that he should have his land again. He compromised the matter for a sum of money. In 1148 Roger de Berkeley (the same I suppose, who was last mentioned) confirmed to the monastery of Kingswood all the lands &c of Kingswood; and released it from the service of a knight's fee which William de Berchelai owed to him, for the fee due from the Abbat. "The monks in their Chapter have again acknowledged and received me [the aforesaid Roger] as their Founder." Roger de Berkeley the Elder, still the same (I suppose) as before, granted to the church of the Blessed Mary of Kingswood the manor of Acholte: the witnesses are Simon, bishop of Worcester, the Abbat of S't Augustine in Bristol, Robert Fitzharding, Henry Lovell, and others.

§ 90.*e*. For the grant of Acholte this Roger de Berkeley or his grandfather had previously received a licence from k' Henry I; but it appears from the names of the witnesses that the grant itself was not made earlier than 1141, the date of the foundation of the Abbey of S't Augustine, nor later than 1149 or 1150 the year of bishop Simon's death: from which dates it is almost certain, that this Roger de Berkeley, of whom we are now speaking was the person who, as related (*q*) above, was seized and almost killed by Walter of Hereford about A' D' 1144, or at least before the death of the earl of Gloucester in 1147. The presence of Robert Fitzharding and the Abbat proves almost to a certainty that the grant of Acholte was made at Bristol, where he was probably brought after his cruel treatment: and since we are told in the passage just now quoted, that he was kept prisoner, it is therefore nearly certain, that he was confined in the castle of Bristol, and that the Empress and her brother, although they might not have given orders for taking him, yet kept him, when he was in their power. It is said above (*r*) that Philip, the Earl's son had revolted from his father, and married the niece of this Roger de Berkeley; and taking up arms in his favour, had threatened to lay waste the whole province: the meaning must be, that he threatened his father with extreme hostility, unless Roger de

(*q*) See above § 69.

(*r*) VIII, 69.

Berkeley were released from captivity. It is evident that there was some connection between the marriage and the revolt: the one was probably the cause of the other.

§ 91. Roger de Berkeley is said (*s*) above to have been a friend of king Stephen; his father (*t*) William paid his rent to that King, and he himself did not pay it to (*u*) the Empress; he is also said to have been a quiet man, and perhaps endeavoured to keep himself on good terms with both parties; but whatever was the reason, the Empress and the earl of Glocester having him in their power stripped him of part of his great property, as before related, giving Berkeley to Robert Fitzharding, and leaving him in possession of Dursley; after which he is sometimes called by the friends of Fitzharding Roger de Dursley. He had a son, Roger, who succeeded him, and two other sons, Philip and Oliver. He probably died in 1150 or 1151.

§ 92. Roger de Berkeley the younger, son of him who released the knight's fee, confirmed his father's grants; and among the witnesses to this confirmation are his son William, his two brothers, Philip and Oliver, and his nephew Robert de Berkeley. He says, that "the monks in their chapter did receive the aforesaid Roger my father and his heirs for their Founder, by the consent and agreement of the aforesaid William de Berkeley." It was probably during his time that the quarrel with the family of Fitzharding was carried on with great violence; and that with *him* rather than with his father, Robert Fitzharding in 1153 or 1154 made that singular marriage-contract so often mentioned. The names of his successors may be seen below § 97, 5. Abbat Newland (*v*) writes, that "he was of the blood of Edward the Confessor;" but he does not say in what manner he could be descended from that King, nor does he quote any authority for the fact. The first Roger de Berkeley was more probably a Norman. The Conqueror would scarcely have granted so large a ferm to a mere Saxon. He might however have married a relation of the Confessor, or otherwise his descent might have

(*s*) See VIII, § 82 &c.
(*t*) See above § 90 *c*.
(*u*) See above § 84.
(*v*) See below VIII, 97, 2.

been Saxon and Norman jointly, and in that way Newland's assertion may be well founded.

§ 93. It was mentioned (*w*) above, that earl William Fitzosborne intended to build a castle at Nesse. Whether there was at that time a castle adjoining to the town of Berkeley as at present, may be questioned. It was said above § 81, that licence was granted to Robert Fitzharding *firmare castellum*. Unfortunately this expression is ambiguous; it often signifies *to build a new castle*. In Hoveden (for example) who wrote in the reign of king John or Henry III, I have observed perhaps 100 passages, where it has that signification, and not one, where it signifies *to strengthen an old one:* and in one place of that author the following line occurs, *castella nova firmavit et vetera effortiavit*. But in other writers the practice is not so regular; as in (*x*) this, *Castellum de Flint de novo fundavit, castrum de Rudelan firmavit*. The imperfection of the Latin language also contributes to the uncertainty; it has no definite article, as the Greek and the modern languages of Europe have, no mean of distinguishing between *a* castle to be built anew, and *the* castle already built. From the mere words of the grant therefore, *pepigi ei firmare castellum*, we cannot be certain, whether Fitzharding were the original builder of Berkeley castle, or whether he only strengthened and improved the fortification already existing.

§ 94. Two historical circumstances have been mentioned in the preceding (*y*) pages, which favor the latter supposition. Henry I spent his Easter at Berkeley in 1121; which he would scarcely have done, had there not been a fortress there. The second circumstance is that, which was related above § 69, and which proves that the lord of Berkeley had a castle in the neighbourhood in A' D' 1145 or thereabout. It may be said in contradiction, that although Roger de Berkeley is here said to have had a castle *in the neighbourhood*, yet it might have been at some other place and not at Berkeley. This objection has little probability, for Berkeley was surely the head of the Honour: and it may therefore

(*w*) See § 89. (*x*) Anon' ap' Leland.

(*y*) See Chapt' VI, § 23: and Chapt' VIII, 68.

be assumed nearly as a certainty, that the castle of Berkeley, or at least the most ancient part of it, existed before that estate was granted to Robert Fitzharding: and if so, it must have been built either by William Fitzosbern, or by one of the first lords of Berkeley, before the year 1121.—And here ends the particular history of the lords of Berkeley, before the union of the two families, so far as I have collected it: I now return to the remaining part of Robert Fitzharding's history.

§ 95. By referring to the TABLE given in § 79 *b*, it would be easy to arrange under probable dates the grants above-mentioned made to Fitzharding: but there will appear to be a difficulty in settling the exact time, when the double marriages were celebrated. All the writers, who mention them, agree that the ceremony took place in Bristow in the presence of king Stephen and duke Henry. It must therefore have been after Nov' 7, 1153, on which day they first met as friends; and it will appear by turning back to the account of their progresses given (*z*) above, that although the time was short, yet there was just sufficient for a journey to Bristol both before and after Christmas. It must be confessed, that Bristow is not mentioned by any of the historians, as one of the places, where they made public entries together: nevertheless, I see no sufficient reason for questioning the fact: and it was to be expected, that since Henry was to make his appearance at Winchester and London, Stephen likewise should appear at Bristol.

§ 96. By this singular and romantic matrimonial alliance, the peace of these two families was preserved; at least we have no account of any further disagreement. Robert Fitzharding lived till 1170, "to see (*a*) his children's children grown to ripeness of years." The benefit he conferred on this his native city by administering it's government and preserving it in safety during the civil wars of a whole reign; the wealth he here acquired and so honourably expended in supporting the cause of his sovereign, in founding one of the most illustrious families in England, and in erecting a house of religion inferior to few of that age; added to the private virtues of the man, justify his historian in saying, that

(*z*) See § 77 and § 78. (*a*) Smythe.

"the life of this lord deserves to have been written in brass:" and in fact our city still cherishes his memory, there being many of the hereditary inhabitants, who still mention Fitzharding with pleasure. "The (*b*) seal which this lord Robert used both in green and yellow wax hath the impression of a knight armed and mounted as for present onset in the wars; and is circumscribed about the ring with these words *S: Rob: fil: Hard:* in breadth about three inches." Mr. Lysons (*c*) gives a very different seal; a strange, uncouth beast, with a long narrow neck and a long tongue. "By (*d*) his wife Eva he had issue five sons, and two daughters. After her husband's death she founded that religious place, to this day called *the Magdalens* by Bristoll [now the king David inn on St Michael's hill]; and having endowed it with competent possessions, she herself became Prioress thereof, where she died the 12*th* of March 1173, or near thereabout, and is buried in the monastery church of St Augustine by her husband, between the stalls of the Abbot and Prior."

§ 97. The descendants of Robert Fitzharding being lords of Berkeley and intimately connected with the ancient history of Bristow, it will be convenient to give an account of the early lords in one place: omitting for the present those circumstances, which may more properly be placed in the topographical account of the Abbey, or in other parts of these Memoirs.

1. Robert Fitzharding born 1085, and died in 1170. 'His (*e*) eldest son Maurice succeeded him. His second son was Nicholas; of whom something will be said in the account of the Abbey.—Robert, his third son had from his father the three hundreds of Portbury, Bedminster, and Haverclive, and also the church of St Nicholas by Bristol and divers lands there. He married (*f*) Hawisia de Gurney &c.' "Thomas (*g*) the fourth son of Rob' Fitzharding, was a clergyman, and archdeacon of Worcester.—Henry the fifth son was also a clergyman and archdeacon of Exeter, and was also Treasurer to Henry, duke of Normandy [k' Henry II]. He was also a witness to the two first Charters, which"

(*b*) Smythe, p' 52. (*c*) Glouces' Antiquit' Plate 106. (*d*) Smythe.

(*e*) Smythe. (*f*) See Chapt' XXXVIII, concerning the monastery of St Mark.

(*g*) John Smythe, p' 48.

"Henry II made to his father Robert, as before appeareth; which shew him also to be then Treasurer to that King.—Helena, eldest daughter of this lord Robert was, according to the said agreement at Bristol, married to Robert son and heir of the said Roger of Berkeley, in the time of king Henry II at her father's house in Bristow. - - - - She died the 12*th* of January about the 10*th* year of the reign of king John."

2. "Maurice (*h*) de Berkeley, eldest son of Rob' Fitzharding succeeded him in the barony. He quitted Bristol, making the castle of Berkeley his residence, and assuming the name, being usually called *Maurice de Berkeley*. He was born at Bristoll about A' D' 1117, not long after the death of Harding, his grandfather, bred up with his father the lord Robert in his great stone house, built by him upon the bank of the river of Frome there; where he spent part of his life after his father's death. Age, time, place, occasion, affection of parents and other circumstances so amply concur, that I seem warranted to say, that when that King (then not Duke) followed his mother the Empress in the 8*th* [it ought to be 7*th*] year of king Stephen into England, and was for his education settled for four years in Bristol under one Mathewe his schoolmaster, that if he and this Maurice were not scholars together under the same master; yet upon the Duke's, second (*i*) abode there for two years more in the 14*th* and 15*th* of king Stephen, there were many affectionate relations and passages between them, which relished to this lord's issue also."—"The (*k*) wife of this lord Maurice was Alice, the eldest daughter of Roger de Berkeley, lord of Dursley, whom he married at Bristol according to the fore-mentioned agreement, whereby their parents became attoned: with whom he had the manor of Slymbridge, the ancient inheritance of her father, of the value of ten pounds by the year. - - -And the said Alice at the time of her marriage had assured to her for her life 20 pound land by the year out of the manor of Berkeley. By her he had issue six sons and one daughter. She survived her husband and lived till extreme old age, and died his widow: and did so reverently esteem of her husband's memory, that in her conveyances (whereof many yet remain) she never mentioned the name of her husband, but she annexed the adjuncts of *my lord Maurice* [*dominus meus Mauricius*]."

(*h*) John Smythe, p' 56. (*i*) See above § 76. (*k*) John Smythe, p' 65.

" - - - - Of her Abbot Newland hath thus: Alice, the wife of this lord Maurice, lord of Berkeley, was the daughter of Roger of Berkeley, lord of Dursly, which was of the blood (*l*) of Edward the Confessor: and this marriage was made at Bristow in presence of king Stevyn, and of Harry duke of Normandy. So the Abbot. This Maurice sat lord Berkeley 18 years, 4 months and 11 days after the death of his father, and died 16 June 1189 [1190] (*m*) 1 Ric' I, and lieth buried in the parish church of Braynford, seven miles westward from London, at the first building whereof he was a special benefactor." He was succeeded by his eldest son

3. " Robert (*n*) the second of that name, who was born about 11 Hen' II, [1165] and had his youth's education many years in that King's court." This lord Robert was Constable of the castle of Bristol. In his time ' king John (*p*) seized Berkeley castle &c, and appropriated the revenue of the land to the maintenance of Bristol castle, where he kept a garrison.' ' His (*q*) first wife was Juliana, and his second Lucia:' ' but he (*r*) died without issue 13 May, 4 Hen' III, [1221] aged 55 or thereabout.' He was succeeded by his brother

4. Thomas de Berkeley born about 1167. " He was lord 23 years and a half after his brother's death, and died 29 Nov' 28 Hen' III, 1243, aged about 76." He was succeeded by his eldest son

5. Maurice de Berkeley the second of that name, who was born about A' D' 1218 [3 Hen' III]. " This (*s*) lord Maurice the second bought a release of all right in the manor of Berkeley &c from Henry de Berkeley, lord of Dursley. This Henry was son of John Berkeley, son of Henry, son of Roger, son of Robert (and of Helena his wife, daughter of Robert Fitzharding) son of Roger Berkeley lord of Dursley, mentioned in the fore-mentioned composition made at Bristoll in the time of king Stephen, touching this manor and barony of Berkeley here released." This Roger de Berkeley, lord of Dursley, son of Fitzharding's daughter, must be the person, who is (*t*) recorded to have ' mortgaged his land in Derelega [*Dursley*], Stanlega and Dodinton to the'

(*l*) See above § 92. (*m*) See Chapt' X, 7. (*n*) Smythe p' 72.
(*p*) Smythe p' 84. (*q*) Chartul' Sti Aug' fo' 45.
(*r*) Smythe. (*s*) Smythe p' 125. (*t*) Magn' Rot' 9 John apud Madox Exch' VII, 7.

'Jews of Bristol and Gloucester for a debt, which he owed to them. Afterward, he paid a fine to the King of 50 marks, that he might hold possession of the lands, paying the annual value of them to the Jews.' "Lord (*u*) Maurice died St Ambrose day 4 April 1281 in the 9*th* year of king Edward I, then aged 63, being his great climacterical year; of which he sat lord 37 years and 5 months." He was succeeded by

6. 'Thomas (*v*) the second of that name, his second son, and not by Maurice his eldest son, as Newland says: for Maurice was slain at a tournament at Kenilworth during his father's life.' "Lord (*w*) Thomas was born at Berkeley A' D' 1245, 30 Henry III, where part of his pupillage was spent; his next days at Bedminster by Bristol; which manor his father for support of his youthful expences, and for his first initiations in husbandry conferred on him: in which course and until the time of his mariage he continued; having the Abbot and Prior of St Augustin's monastery by Bristol, and the Master of St Katharine's hospital, (confining upon this manor of Bedminster) creatures begot by his ancestors alms and devotions, his guides and instructors." - - - - - "He procured (*x*) from the King, Edward I, in reward for services in the Welsh war, a grant under the great seal, that at all times during his life, (unless *in mense vetito*) he should have liberty with his own dogs to hunt the fox, hare, badger and wild cat in the King's forest of Mendip and in his chase of Kingswood on both sides of the water of Avon near Bristol; and the same to take and carry away." - - - - This lord Thomas and his son Maurice had violent disputes with the burgesses of Bristol; which will be related in their proper order. He carried the power and splendor of this family to it's utmost height. The following lines (says Smythe) were written by one of his Chaplains, and said to be "in an ancient MS in Berkeley Castle, not now to be found.

While thulke Lord lived,
All thinge by his powre
was in gay plight;
for gile was hidde,
good peace was kidde
and honesty had might."

(*u*) Smythe p' 131.
(*v*) Smythe p' 128.
(*w*) Smythe p' 135.
(*x*) Smythe p' 149.

'He (*y*) was summoned Oct' 4, 26 Edw' I [A' D' 1298] to attend the King in Scotland in his army. The only three summoned in Glocestershire were John Abadam, John Gifford de Bromfield, and this lord Thomas.' In the year 1314 this lord Thomas with his son were at the battle of Bannock-bourn; where some Welshmen, whom he commanded, refusing to fight, lord Berkeley and his son were taken prisoners. He was brave and magnificent; and according to the manner of that age he was religious; that is, he was liberal to the church and churchmen. "He (*z*) used, when in Glocestershire, each lent-season or near that time of the year, to feast the Abbot and covent of St Peter's of Glocester at Glocester, and the Abbot and covent of St Augustine's by Bristol at Bristol." 'He was the first, who assumed the ten crosses: his supporters at first were two flying serpents; afterward two mermaids.' His historian says from good authority, that 'when as many as 60,000 persons in England took the vow to go against the infidels, many noblemen assumed crosses in their shields, and among them probably this lord. And he gives good reason for believing that he took the vow; and and that many years afterward, money was given to another person, to go to the Holy-land in his stead.' And the historian afterward (*a*) adds thus: "from the vow, which this lord made to have gone into the holy land in aid of the Christians prevented by his death, this family may observe the religious obedience of his son and grandchild, who held not themselves quieted in peace of concience, till that pilgrimage and journey, in the person of others at their charges, was performed." He married Joan, daughter of William de Ferrars the younger, earl of Ferrars and Derby; an excellent woman, and particularly a good economist. He died at the castle July 23, 1321, 15 Edw' II.

7. Maurice the third of that name, his eldest son, succeeded him. He was born A' D' 1281 about April. He was married at eight years old to Eve, daughter of Ewdo, lord Zouch; and his eldest son Thomas was born before he was 14 years old, his wife being no more: a thing which John Smythe says, "he is as unapt as any, to give faith unto," but

(*y*) Madox Exch' XVI, 5, p' 655.

(*z*) Smythe. (*a*) Smythe p' 191.

he is convinced by numberless evidences: and he quotes the case of Josiah, (*b*) and others similar. "Bedminster (*c*) near to Bristol was his first seat: where and at Naylesey near adjoining, from the time of his marriage till about 20 years of age, he much frequented those downs in all martial exercises, running with lances, hastiludes, spear-plays and the like, suitable to those active times." In the year 1321 being at enmity with the King on account of his opposition to the Spencers, he surrendered himself prisoner, and was shut up in Wallingford castle: and "on the (*d*) 18*th* of February in the same 15*th* year [of Edw' II, that is 1322] the King commits to Richard Lovell the (*e*) custody of this lord's manors of Portbury, Haverclyve and Bedminster, to hold of the King's pleasure, as before." The same was done with all his lands &c. After an ineffectual attempt to escape, he died a prisoner in Wallingford castle May 31, 1326, 19 Edw' II, aged 46.

8. 'Thomas (*f*) the third of that name succeeded. He was eldest son of the preceding lord, born about the 22d Edw' I [1295] in the days of his grandfather, who lived to see him about 26 years old. He was about 30 at the death of his father. He married Margaret daughter of the lord Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, the Queen's adulterous companion, some time before the Sunday after St James's day, 13 Edw' II. He was prisoner with his father at the time of his death, but released on 16 Oct' out of Pevensey castle by order of queen Isabella.' In his time king Edw' II was murdered at Berkeley castle. "In (*g*) 6 Edw' III he purchased divers houses and lands in Bristol of several persons by divers deeds." "Edward III (*h*) on July 1, the 7*th* year of his reign, gave this lord leave to cut down certain oaks to the value of £40 within his manor of Bedminster, being within the King's chace of Fillwood near Bristol, and to dispose of them at his pleasure."—"He (*i*) often held in one year four leets or views of Frankpledge in Berkeley burrow, wherefrom by imposing 4*s* 6*d* upon a brewing of ale, and renting out a toll or profit of the

(*b*) 2 Kings 23, 36. (*c*) Smythe p' 196. (*d*) Smythe p' 205.

(*e*) John Smythe quotes for this Rot' fin' 15 Edw' II, m' 17, 15.

(*f*) Smythe. (*g*) Smythe; who quotes *Cartæ in castro de Berkeley.*

(*h*) Smythe p' 296, who quotes *Pat' 7 Edw' III; pars* 2, *m'* 28.

(*i*) Smythe p' 297, who quotes *Comp' Burgi de Berkeley,* 13 *Edw' III & al.*

wharfage and market there to the Maior of the town, he drew yearly from that act much more than the rent of the borough. In the 13 Edw' III, 284 tollecesters, which I call *brewings*, yeilded to him upon the catch-poll's account, £8 14*s*, which now yeild nothing." The power and magnificence of this lord were nearly equal to those of his grandfather. "His (*k*) seal of arms was the Chevron and ten crosses borne cornerwise; circumscribed *Sig' Thome de Berkelee;* supported with two mermaids; having the bishop's mitre for the crest, which now by him was first assumed, but not charged with the crosses. He died on the eve of St Simon and Jude the 27th Oct' 1361 in the 35 Edw' III aged 68 years, and somewhat upward, and was buried in Berkeley church."

9. His eldest son Maurice, the fourth of that name, succeeded him; who was born in the latter part of 4 Edw' III [1330]. "He (*l*) married Elizabeth daughter of Hugh lord Spencer, in Aug', 12 Edw' III:" of whom it is recorded, that in the year of her husband's sickness she made a new gown for herself of cloth furred throughout with cony skins out of the kitchen. It appears from the following authorities, that he was grievously wounded at the battle of Poitiers, fought 19 Sept' 1356; that he was taken prisoner by the French and forced to ransom himself. "*In* (*m*) *bello de Poyters &c.* In the battle of Poitiers Sir Robert de Bradeston, as it was said, was slain in the very entrance, for he first entered the gate. And Maurice de Berkeley, son of Roger de Berkeley, entered and was dreadfully wounded." In other places Leland says that it was Thomas, lord Berkeley, who was taken prisoner, and wounded at Poitiers. "Thomas lord (*n*) Berkeley, as old Sir William Berkeley of Over and Beverstane told me, was taken prisoner in France; and after recovering his losses with French prisoners and at the battle of Poyters, builded after the castle of Beverstane thoroughly, a pile at that time very pretty." In another (*o*) place Leland says, "John lord Berkeley was wounded and taken, as some say, at the battle of Poiters. After, he was redeemed and well recovered his losses of the Frenchmen." It was certainly

(*k*) Smythe p' 310.

(*l*) Smythe p' 323. If this date be correct, lord Maurice was only eight years old at his marriage. These early marriages were contracted for the purpose of avoiding the enormous expence of Wardships, and for other causes.

(*m*) Leland Coll' 2, 307. (*n*) Leland Itin' 6, 74 [77]. (*o*) Leland Itin'.

Maurice de Berkeley who was taken prisoner at Poitiers in the lifetime of his father *Thomas;* nevertheless Froissart calls him *Thomas*. His description of the battle is curious and circumstantial. He says, that 'the lord of Berkeley, a young knight, who for the first time had that day displayed his banner, after being desperately wounded by a sword, which passed through both his thighs, surrendered himself prisoner to the esquire who wounded him, at whose house in Picardy he remained more than a year before he was quite cured, although he continued lame. When he departed, he paid for his ransom 6000 nobles, so that this squire became a knight by the great profit, which he got from the lord Berkeley.' Froissart adds that "the pursuit continued even to the gates of Poitiers, where there was much slaughter and overthrow of men and horses; for the inhabitants of Poitiers had shut their gates, and would suffer none to enter, on which account there was great butchery on the causeway before the gate. - - - - and there were many English archers, who had 4, 5 or 6 prisoners." One of Leland's accounts quoted above seems to mean, that Maurice de Berkeley received his wound at this gate. "On (*p*) the 8*th* of June, then the feast day of Corpus Christi, in the 42 of Edw' III 1368 his soul returned to Him who gave it, after a lingering sickness of many months at his castle of Berkely, then of the age of 37 years and upwards; never for ought I can perceive thoroughly cured of the wounds he received at the battle of Poitiers."

10. Thomas, the fourth of that name, eldest son of the last lord Maurice, succeeded. "He (*q*) was born 5 Jan', 26 Edw' III, 1352." He married Margaret, daughter of Warren de Lisle, and "died (*r*) 13 July 1417, and was buried at Wotton under edge." His great possessions were divided; the chief part went to his daughter Elizabeth, who was married to Richard Beauchamp, son of the earl of Warwick; and in this parcel were contained his houses in Bristol: the remainder went to his nephew and heir male James. His wife Isabella Mowbray died at Glocester 21 Hen' VI, 1442, and was buried in the chancel of

(*p*) Smythe; who adds the following Note. "Newland's pedigree saith, he died 8 Junii 1369, but erreth therein. *Comp' de Slimbridge, Ham, Hinton et Blidestoe* 43 *Edw' III in castro de Berkeley.*"

(*q*) Smythe. (*r*) Id' p' 359.

the church of the Friars Minors (alias the Grey Friars) at Glocester, [now Mr. Goodyer's breakfast parlour.]

11. James son of James, younger son of Maurice the *4th*. He married Isabella, daughter of the duke of Norfolk, and died at the end of Nov' 3 Edw' IV [1463], and lieth buried in Berkeley church under a fair tomb of alabaster beautified with the escutcheons of his arms, in the chapel on the south side of the high altar. He was succeeded by his son

12. William born 4 Henry VI, 1426. "He (*s*) was created Viscount Berkeley 21 April, 21 Edw' IV; and on the 5 March, 23 Edw' IV [1483] he was made one of the Privy Council; and for his better attendance thereat, the King gave him 100 marks per annum out of the subsidies of London and Bristol during his life." - - - - "28 Jan' 4 Hen' VII he was created Marquis Berkeley to him and the heirs male of his body, with £35 fee, out of the lesser customs of London." In his time and under his command was fought the famous battle of Nibley Green, which will be related in it's chronological place. It appears that this lord William was at one time of his life as great and wealthy as any one of his predecessors, if not more so; but before his death he had given away or otherwise wasted in a manner unaccountable the greater part of his property. The historian of Berkeley gives him a bad character. He had three wives; but he died without issue surviving him, 13 Feb' 7 Hen' VII, 1491, and was buried in the church of the Austin friars in London; which was burned in 1666. He was succeeded by his brother

13. Maurice the *5th* of that name. "He (*t*) was third son of James and lady Isabel, born at Berkeley in 1435, 14 Hen' VI; and at the age of 56 years (by the death of the two elder sons without issue) becometh in the 7 Hen' VII heir to his father's barony, but without any of that land. In the 5 Edw' IV about a year and a half after his father's death, this lord Maurice, then in the 30th year of his age, married, and lived with his wife at Thornbury; where (of his own and hers) he had fair lands, and thereby was commonly called *Maurice Berkeley of Thornbury Esq'*, until the *5th* year after, when he asisted his elder and"

(*s*) Smythe p' 419; who quotes *Pat'* 22, 23 *Edw' IV p'* 2, *m'* 2 *in uno rotulo.*

(*t*) Smythe p' 466.

" younger brothers in the encounter at Nibley Green, whereat the lord Lisle by them was slain: for which felonious fact he was outlawed and inforced for some time after (till peace was made and pardon procured) to withdraw himself and leave Thornbury, as formerly is related; whither after he returned and for many years remained."—" The (*u*) wife of this lord Maurice was Isable daughter of Phillip Mead, esquier, and of Isable his wife, son of Thomas, son of Thomas Mead, descended of the ancient family of the (*v*) Meads of Mead-place in Feyland in the parish of Wraxall near Portbury in the county of Somerset, where anciently they had continued; whom this lord married in the 30*th* year of his age about 18 months after his father's death; she then a widow, and mother of three children, who all died very young. At the time of this second marriage, her (*w*) father was an Alderman of Bristol, and at divers times Maior there: and for her dowry beside her personal estate, she brought to this lord, her husband, then a younger brother, divers lands in Somersetshire, and others in Thornbury in Gloucestershire (where this lord then also had (*x*) other lands both of his own purchase, and of the gift (*y*) of his elder brother) and a lease of the said Meads-place for one and twenty years, and was afterward one of his executors, as his Will shows. For her jointure she had from this lord her husband, all the lands in effect, which he then had; which he also in the latter part of his life (for the longer they lived, the more they loved) much augmented with divers manors in the counties of (*z*) Huntingdon, Leicester, Warwick and Glocester, and in the counties of the cities of Coventry and Gloucester.—This lady Isable had one only brother called Richard Mead; who first married (*a*) Elizabeth; and after married Anne, daughter of Thomas Paunsfoot of Hasfield in Gloucestershire Esq', a family in antiquity inferior to none in that county, this of Berkeley"

(*u*) Smythe p' 485; who quotes *Volunt' Phill' Mead, probat' anno* 1475, *anno* 15 *Edw' IV.*

(*v*) Here he quotes *An ancient Pedigree with William Dennis Esq'.*

(*w*) Smythe quotes in this place *Register Roberti de Ricart, cum Maiore de Bristoll.*

(*x*) Smythe here quotes *Carta* 14 *Edw' IV in castro de Berkeley.*

(*y*) Here he quotes *Carta* 20 *Oct'*, 7 *Edw' IV in castro de Berkeley.*

(*z*) Here he quotes *Carta* 9 *Dec'*, 22 *Hen' VII in castro de Berkeley.*

(*a*) Smythe quotes *Carta cum Rogero Kemis de Wick-wick.*

" excepted. But his issue dying very young without issue, about 3 Henry VII, this lady Isable became heir to divers manors and lands in the county of Glocester, and to divers messuages, lands and tenements in Bedminster, Felonde, Ashton, Wraxale and midle Tykenham in the county of Somerset.—How little cause the Marquis Berkeley had to complain of the obscure (*b*) parentage of lady Isable, which he vainly called *base*, and of the unworthiness of his brother's match with so *mean blood*, as he reproached it, making that a motive for his own vast expences, and of the disinheritance of this lord his brother, lest any of her base blood should inherit after him, may to his further reproof be returned upon his memory to be but a feigned and unbrotherly quarrell, picked on purpose to give color for his own exorbitances. Like vain were his exceptions to his said brother and heir, for defending the virtue of his wife, and worthiness of her parentage. She was a virtuous lady, and evermore content with better or harder fortunes: and what goodness and disposition she was of in her last widowhood, after this lord her husband's death, may be conceived out of these few relics of her many devotions." Then follows an account of her gifts to the friars Eremites of St Augustine in London. " She (*c*) died at Coventry in the 8 Henry VIII, then aged 70 years, having outlived her husband about nine years; and with him lieth buried in the Augustine friars in London, leaving issue three sons and one daughter." Then follows a most curious account of her funeral. ' By (*d*) the said lady Isabel, lord Maurice had issue Maurice, Thomas, James and Anne: of whom James the third and youngest son married Suzan the daughter of Mr. Henry Viell, and widow of William Vele Esq': both of them probably of Bristol families. This lord Maurice died in Sept', 22 Hen' VII, 1506. He (*e*) left great estates recovered for the most part, out of his brother's grants, by law-suits with the possessors'.

14. He was succeeded by his eldest son Maurice, the sixth of that name. " He (*f*) was high sheriff of Glocestershire 1516: appointed governor of Calais and created a baron by writ 14 Henry VIII, 1523. His"

(*b*) He here quotes *Vetus Manuscr' in castro de Berkeley.*

(*c*) Smythe p' 487.

(*d*) Smythe p' 489.

(*e*) Smythe p' 497.

(*f*) Barrett.

" wife was Katharine daughter of Sir William Berkeley, of Stoke-Giffard." She died A' D' 1526, and was buried at Yate in Glostershire. He died at Calais 12*th* Sept' 1523 without any legitimate issue, and was buried at Calais in Trinity chapel in St Nicholas church.

15. His brother Thomas, fifth of that name, succeeded him. He was only Constable of Berkeley castle, the property being then vested in the Crown by virtue of the will of William Marquis Berkeley. He died 22 Jan', 24 Hen' VIII, 1532. He was first buried at Mangotsfield, where he died; and was afterward removed to a new tomb, set up according to his will, beside Eleanor his first wife, in St Aug' Monast' in Bristol: the exact place is not known.

End of Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

HENRY II.

1, 2. *The King seizes the Castles.*—3. *Earl William is taken prisoner.*—4. *His piety: his wife: his family.*—5. *A Charter.*—6. *Dermot, a king of Ireland, in Bristol.*—7, 8. *The King sails to Ireland: grants Dublin to the burgesses of Bristol; and makes other Grants.*—9. *Surrender of Bristow castle; Prince John affianced to earl William's daughter.*—10. *John's former espousals.*—11. *Earl William's death: his seal.*—12. *A Deed and Seal.*—13. *Bristol falls into the King's hands.*—14. *Bristol fined.*—15. *King Henry's death.*

§ 1. ON the death of Stephen, Henry, duke of Normandy began to reign over England.

§ 2. During the civil war of the last reign, "there (*a*) were as many kings, as lords of castles, each having his own proper money, and judging his subjects in regal manner." Nothing could be more dangerous to the monarchy, than this system; and therefore "king (*b*) Henry soon after his accession began to recall to his own jurisdiction the cities, castles and towns, which belonged to the crown; destroying the castles"

(*a*) Chron' Hemingf'.

(*b*) Annal' Waverl' and Chron' Norman' ap' Duchesne literally the same. Matth' Paris gives the same account.

"lately built, particularly those belonging to the Flemings, and expelling those foreigners from the kingdom; and putting down some imaginary and false earls [*pseudocomites*] to whom king Stephen had incautiously distributed almost every thing belonging to the treasury." This measure appeared to the young King of so much importance, that he spared not the castles of his best friends. The Norman Chronicler (*c*) writes thus. "A' D' 1154. This year the discord was composed which had arisen between Henry king of the English, and Roger son of Milo of Gloucester, on account of the castle of Gloucester. The said Roger, earl of Hereford, died soon after; and his brother Walter succeeded him, but only in his paternal inheritance; for king Henry detained the earldom of Hereford and the city of Gloucester in his own hands." The facts are doubtless correct; but the date 1154 is certainly too early; one or two years later would be more probable. Only of the castle of Bristol, whatever might be the cause, he did not gain possession for nearly twenty years.

§ 3. It was said (*d*) above that Robert, the great earl of Gloucester died in 1147. He was succeeded by his son William, who consequently became lord of Bristow, and held the castle and all the other estates in the interest of Matilda and Henry, as his father had done, during the whole reign of Stephen. His character was mixed: it has been already mentioned, (*e*) that he was generally mild and unwarlike; one proof of which is, that "in the year (*f*) 1158, he and his countess Hawysia were taken prisoners by the Welsh in the castle of Cardiff" where he chiefly (*g*) resided. Giraldus Cambrensis (*h*) gives the following account of this transaction. "In the castle of Caerdif happened in our own time a thing not unworthy of mention. William, earl of Gloucester, son of earl Robert, who with the said castle possessed by hereditary right the whole province of Gwladvorgan, i' e' *the land of Morgan*, happened to be at war with a certain vassal of his, named *Yvor*, who was surnamed *Modicus* [*the little*]. He was a man of moderate stature, but of prodigious"

(*c*) Chron' Norman' apud Duchesne.
(*d*) Chapt' VIII, 71.
(*e*) Chapt' VIII, 70.
(*f*) Ann' Margan, and Leland Itin' 3, 49.
(*g*) Atkyns.
(*h*) Itin' Cap' 6.

"courage, possessing after the manner of the Welsh certain mountainous and woody places, which however the Earl was very desirous of wholly taking away from him, or of lessening. On a certain night therefore although the castle of Caerdif surrounded by very strong walls was defended by the watchwords of a multitude of guards, by 120 soldiers and by many archers, and although the city abounded with very many hired soldiers, yet in the midst of so many defences and proofs of security, the aforesaid Ivor secretly got over the walls by means of scaling ladders, and carried away with him into the woods the Earl and Countess and their little son, the only one whom they had, and did not set them at liberty, until he had recovered what had been unjustly taken from him and more." Yet sometimes earl William shewed himself not unfit for military service, as in the action recorded (*i*) above; and 'in 1173 he was (*k*) actively employed against the rebel earl of Leicester in defence of the King, who was in the utmost danger.

§ 4. He appears to have been a man of piety according to the notions of that age; for his charters contain many grants of lands &c to the abbey of Tewkesbury and the priory of St James in Bristol, which will be found in the history of the latter. "He (*l*) confirmed all the charters, confirmations, liberties, and donations, which his father, or any of his ancestors, had granted unto Tewkesbury. This Earl did moreover grant unto the church and Priory of Goldclive, that the Prior and all his tenants should be for ever free from paying toll in England and Wales, within Bristol, Cardiffe, Newport, Caerleon and Chepstow." He married Hawis or Haweis, written in Latin *Hawisia* and sometimes *Avisa*, daughter of Robert, commonly called *Bossu* or *Hunchback*, earl of Leicester. She appears as witness to several title-deeds in my possession: her own Grants begin thus, *H. Comitissa de Gloec.* They (*m*) had three daughters, and two sons, Robert and Roger. The latter was a priest and a bishop: but Robert, who was born at Cardiff (*n*)

(*i*) Chapt' VIII, § 70.

(*k*) Hoveden 2, p' 536; where by mistake he is named *Robert.*

(*l*) Dugdale Monast' Tewkesb.

(*m*) Leland Itin' 6, 92 [97].

(*n*) Ann' Margan; and Lel' Itin' 8, 49.

died there when young in 1166 during his father's life, and was "buried at (*p*) Kainsham, then a small priory; and after, the Earl newly repayred and endowed it, making it an Abbay of Canons Regular to the memory of his son:" at whose (*q*) request he founded it. An other (*r*) author says that "his body was honorably buried, as it ought to be, in the abbey of the Canons of Keynsham, near his son Robert, which abbey he had founded in memory of his son, and had endowed it with lands, ornaments and liberties."

§ 5. We have no account of any favor granted by Henry II to the place which had so firmly maintained his cause, and where he had received a part of his education, until Jan' 1163-4, when being at Clarendon Park near Salisbury, earnestly engaged in enacting the famous Constitutions of Clarendon, he granted a short Charter of Privileges to the burgesses of Bristol, whom as sovereign Lord he calls *his* Burgesses, although they were then under the lordship of the earl of Glocester. This Charter (*s*) contains only an exemption from toll and passage and other customary payments for themselves and their goods through the King's own lands; with a confirmation of their existing privileges and liberties. And even this exemption from toll given to Bristol was balanced by similar exemptions given to other places. King John in a Charter (*t*) granted to the monastery of Glocester gives to it and it's tenants freedom from toll in Bristol; and the earl of Glocester granted (*u*) to the Prior of Goldclive exemption from toll in Bristol, Cardiff &c.

§ 6. Dermot, king of Leinster, having being driven out of his kingdom had gone to king Henry, who was in Aquitaine, and sollicited his asistance for the purpose of recovering his crown. The king of England being 'engaged (*v*) in other affairs which prevented him at that time from undertaking an expedition to Ireland, granted Dermot letters patent authorizing any of his subjects to asist the banished king in'

(*p*) MS Tewkesb' apud Leland Itin' 6, 80 [85].
(*q*) Leland.
(*r*) Anon' apud Dugdale Monast' 1, p' 156.
(*s*) See the Charters of Bristol No. I.
(*t*) Dugdale Monast' Vol' 1, p' 118.
(*u*) See above § 4.
(*v*) Lyttleton's Hist' of Hen' 2.

'recovering his dominion. With these letters he came to Bristow, and settled here for some time, living on a decent allowance granted him by king Henry.' One of our MS Calendars says, that "he came to Bristol in 1168 with sixty friends and attendants, and was here entertained by the ancestors of the lords of Berkeley, that is by Robert Fitzharding or his family. By means of the trade to Ireland he kept up a correspondence with his adherents in Leinster, and by publicly reading the King's letters patent he endeavoured to induce persons of wealth and power to embark in his cause. No one in Bristol was found able or willing to undertake a military expedition of this kind; and when at length Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, who resided at Chepstow castle, and probably came over to Bristow for this purpose, offered his asistance, the Irish king quitted Bristol and went to St David's, where he resided for some time and procured additional succours. In the autumn of 1168 he passed over into Ireland, where he prepared for the reception of his auxiliaries." In Bristol therefore was the commencement of that political connection between England and Ireland, which, after having endured with many dangerous vicissitudes for 600 years, has now terminated in an Union, which promises security and prosperity to each, and strength to the whole kingdom of united Britain.

§ 7. In the year 1172, (*w*) anno r' 18, king Henry took ship at Pembroke, and sailing to Ireland landed at Waterford Oct' 18. While he was at Dublin, where he continued from Martinmas (Nov' 11) till Lent, he granted to his men of Bristow a Charter, by which the city of Dublin was given to them, to inhabit. It was first published by Lord Lyttleton; from whom it was copied into the Charters of Bristol III: and now by favour of Mr. Harding, of the Auditor General's Office in Dublin castle, I am able to present the reader with a *fac simile* of the original, which remains in the Town-clerk's Office on record.

§ 8. This is a very extraordinary grant; no memorial of it has been found in Bristol, and Lord Lyttleton is at a loss for it's meaning. He supposes, that Dublin might have been much depopulated by the

(*w*) Stowe.

expulsion of the Ost-men, and that the vacant houses might be granted to the men of Bristow, with the view of inviting them to settle there: the commercial intercourse subsisting between the two cities might have been the reason why Bristow was preferred. Camden has the following note. (*x*) "An English colony was transplanted from Bristol hither [to Dublin] by king Henry II, giving them this city, which perhaps at that time was drained of inhabitants) in these words, 'with all the liberties and free customs, which those of Bristol enjoyed. From that time it flourished more and more &c." There is another singular circumstance relative to this grant of Dublin: the King afterwards gave it away a second time. "King Henry (*y*) gave and by his charter confirmed to Hugh de Lacy the whole county of Meath with it's appurtenances, and the city of Dublin; and made him Justiciary of all Ireland." In the year next after the above-mentioned grant was made to Bristol, the King granted a Charter of privileges to his burgesses of Dublin, which is almost a literal copy of that granted to Bristol in 1163-4.

§ 9. The King had now gained possession of most of the castles in the kingdom, and had demolished or dismantled the greater part of them. "In 1175 (*z*) about Midsummer the earl of Gloucester surrendered his castle of Bristow [*turrim de Bristoue*], of which until now the King was never able to get possession." Nevertheless we shall find, that it still continued to be the Earl's residence, inasmuch as he died there: the surrender therefore could have been only partial or conditional; if it took place at all, it was probably only a part of the following transaction; the difference of one year in the date may easily be accounted for. "In (*a*) the year 1176 the Earl having no male issue made the following agreement. He made the King's youngest son John [afterward king John] his heir of the earldom of Gloucester; and the King granted that his son John should marry the Earl's daughter, if the court of Rome would allow it on account of their consanguinity. If not, the"

(*x*) As quoted by Barrett p' 49. (*y*) Leland Coll' 1' 131 ex Hoveden.

(*z*) Hoveden p' post' p' 544. In this passage, and in the last quoted from the same author, he calls the Earl by mistake *Robert*.

(*a*) Bromton Chron'; and Hoveden's account is to the same effect.

"King by the agreement was to grant in marriage the said Earl's daughter in some very honourable alliance: and nevertheless the king was to give £100, equivalent to £1500 at this time, says Lyttleton, of rents in England to [(*b*) Mabile] the wife of (*c*) Almar, earl of Evereux; and other £100 of rents to [Amice (*b*)] the wife of Richard earl of Clare; each being a daughter of the earl of Gloucester: and if the Earl should have any legitimate son, then that son and John the King's son should divide the earldom of Gloucester between them." Both parties were under age: John was only ten years old, born at Oxford Dec' 24, 1166; the lady's age is not mentioned. Her name was (*d*) Isabella, the Earl's youngest daughter.

§ 10. Young as prince John then was, it was not the first matrimonial alliance which the crooked policy of his father had provided for him. "A' D' 1173 (*e*) Henry king of England received as wife [*sponsam accepit*] for his son John by surname *Lackland*, scarcely yet seven years old, Alice the eldest daughter of Humbert earl of Maurienne or Moriana (the present *Savoy*) whom he had by the widow of Henry duke of Saxony. And because no hope remained [*nulla spes supererat*] of male issue, four castles belonging to the earl, which were thought to be stronger than the rest either by the nature of their situation or by art, were according to the King's wish entrusted to his custody." The lady however died, and her father married again, which nullified the treaty: she must have died before 1176 otherwise it is incredible that Henry would have made a a second contract of marriage for his son.

§ 11. Before John's marriage with Isabella could be solemnized, the earl of Gloucester died. "Earl William dyed (*f*) in Brightestow"

(*b*) Tewkesbury MS ap' Leland Itin' 6, 80 [84].

(*c*) Leland 6, 92 [97] says she married Almerike a Britaine.

(*d*) Lyttleton and his authorities call her Isabella; and so Leland's Tewkesbury MS; and Madox Exch' XIII, 2, which last is decisive evidence. Rapin and his authorities call her Haweis: so does Burton Ann'; and Matth' Westm' an' 1200.

(*e* Diceto; and Hoveden's account is similar, and much more circumstantial.

(*f*) Leland Itin' 6, 92 [97].

"castel, and willed to be buried with his father at St James; but he was prively conveyed by night unto Cainsham, to which he had given the whole lordship of Marschefel, and impropriated the benefice thereof unto St James's Priory; and the benefice consequently came to Theokesbyri. The anonymous historian of that Abbey in Dugdale (*g*) places his death under the year *mclxxiij*, and so does the authour quoted by Leland (*h*): these two however are really but one authority, and it is manifestly an error (one *x* being omitted) because his transactions in 1175 and 1176 have been just mentioned. The Annals of Waverley are as follows. "William, earl of Glocester died A' D' 1183, on the same night on which he was born, that is on the night of St Clement:" [Nov' 23] which is no doubt correct. His large seal is 2½ inches in diameter, having a Tiger (*i*) passant before a tall upright plant.

There was, as it is said, a nunnery at Marschefelde.

§ 12. One of his Deeds, which conveys land in Lewins-mead and Broad-mead, has something observable. It is as follows, copied from two coæval patterns: the brackets contain the differences of one from the other.

-------- "Clericus Com' Gloecestr', Omnibus hominibus suis de Brist' -------- salutem [omnibus amicis et fidelibus hominibus suis de Bruist' salutem]. Notum sit vobis, me dedisse et concessisse Roberto fil' Suein et Christianæ uxori ejus et eorum heredibus, terram et domum quas Blachemannus [Blakemannus] tenet de me in feriâ [feirâ] de Brist', et terram et domum, quas Lefwinus [Lewinus] (*k*) Lari tenet de me in feriâ [feira] de Bruist' [Brist']; et terram & domum quas Hugo Margam [Morgon] tenet de me in feriâ [feira] de Bruist' [Brist']; et illam longam domum & terram, quæ est juxta domum Will' Traine in feriâ de Brist' [in feirâ de Bruist']; et servicium Willelmi de Hereford [Herefort] de terrâ quam de me tenet in sæpe dicta feria [feira], scilicet unam libram cumini per annum. Testibus Magistro Moise, nepote meo; Waltero Clerico; Willelmo capellano; Roberto fil' Osb'; Elia de Hintana [Hinetunâ]; Roberto de Paris; Roberto de Penedoc; Waltero Hachat [Hacat]; Petro Camerario."

The corner at the beginning of both copies is unfortunately decayed, and one or two words are lost; whereby the following difficulty occurs: if the beginning of the Deed was thus, "Willelmus Clericus, Comes Glocestriæ," it must be supposed that William earl of Glocester in the

(*g*) Monasticon Vol' 1, p' 156. (*h*) Itiner' Vol' 6, p' 80 [84].

(*i*) See an engraven representation of this Seal in Plate VII, 19.

(*k*) Probably the person from whom *Lewins-mead* takes it's name.

latter part of his life entered into Holy Orders. But if the beginning contained only the name of the (*l*) Clerk who wrote the Deed, thus, "Magister A. de Heli, Clericus Comitis Gloecestriæ," how is it that he writes in his own name "de *me* tenet," and not in the name of his lord? The seal also of this Deed is worthy of notice; it is a Jupiter sitting, having a helmet on his head, holding a thunderbolt in his right hand, and an upright spear in the left: it seems to have been a gem or a seal of Roman workmanship, left by the Romans and preserved ever since their departure. Round the gem is a rim added to it by a late owner, having this inscription + SIGILLVM ADAM DE HELI. The size of the gem without the inscription is 8-10*ths* of an inch by 6-10*ths*.

§ 13. On the death of earl William the Honour with the lordship of Bristow devolved a second time on daughters; and a second time the King by feudal right took it into his own hands, and held it for six years, as long as he lived, as it's lord, receiving the rents and other profits, and exercising the feudal rights and authorities; one of which was the wardship of minors.

§ 14. "In 23 Hen' II [i' e' A' D' 1176 or 1177] the (*m*) Burgesses of Bristow were at the King's mercy, and were fined fourscore marks for Sturmis the usurer." The fine is heavy; probably the Burgesses had either killed him or plundered his property; and the King, who according to the maxims of that age considered (*n*) the plunder of the Jews to be his own prerogative, punished the townsmen for infringing it.

§ 15. Nothing further occurs concerning Bristol during the reign of Henry II: that "King died (*o*) Thursday July 6, 1189," and his son Richard succeeded him.

(*l*) Madox Exch' XIV, 8, records such an officer; *Magister Ærnisus, Clericus Comitis Gloecestriæ.*

(*m*) Madox Exch' VI, 2 note (*i*). (*n*) See below XI, 14. (*o*) Bromton.

End of Chapter IX.

CHAPTER X.

RICHARD I.

1, 2. *Prince John, earl of Moreton, and lord of Ireland.*—3, 4. *The King's liberality to his brother.*—5. *The King becomes guardian of the Countess of Gloucester's property.*—6. *The value of that property.*—7. *John grants a charter to Bristol: it's date.*—8, 9, *&c to* 24.—*The nature and form of a burg or a vill; their privileges, officers, courts &c.*—25. *Other charters of the same kind; not granted gratuitously.*—26. *Ancient privileges of Bristol.*—27, 28. *Increasing importance of the towns.*—29. *Earl John's disloyalty. Burgesses of Bristow fined. Tax paid by a Jew of Bristow.*—30. *The faire Maid of Bristow.*—31. *John deprived of his honours &c; his castle of Bristol besieged; he is reconciled to the King.*—32. *Bristol pays a tallage.*—33. *A new charter.*—34. *Death of king Richard.*

§ 1. THE first event in this reign which had any relation to our city, was the marriage of prince John to Isabel countess of Gloucester, lady of Bristow. He was at this time 23 years of age, and earl of Moreton or Mortaigne in Normandy, although it be uncertain, by what means he acquired it. One author says, that his father Henry purchased it for him; and another that his brother Richard gave it to him. Hoveden (*a*) says, that 'Henry II was seized with a dangerous disorder A' D' 1170, and that he then divided all his foreign possessions among his children; to John the youngest he gave the earldom of Moreton.' These

(*a*) P' post' p' 518.

two accounts may be both true, and are not incompatible one with the other. His father endeavoured also to raise up a kingdom for him in Ireland. Bromton says, "After Easter A' D' 1177, Henry II being at Oxford in the presence of the bishops and princes of his realm constituted his son John, king of Ireland. And after he made many of his friends, to whom he gave lands in Ireland, swear allegiance and do homage against all men to him and his son John." Another writer expresses it thus. "John, (*b*) son of Henry II was appointed king in Ireland in a general Council at Oxford, Alexander the Roman Pontiff confirming the appointment.

§ 2. The attempt however seems to have failed; for John although frequently called *lord of Ireland*, yet never in his charters stiles himself King of that country. Probably no more is to be understood, than may be collected from the following passage. The (*c*) historian in rekoning up the fortunes and situations of the children of Henry II, says that "John, being secured by the promise and provision of his father, will reduce different parts of Ireland into a monarchy, if it shall hereafter be granted to him." Being rather obscure, I subjoin the original. *Johannes de promissione patris & provisione securus, diversas Hyberniæ portiones, si desuper ei datum fuerit, in monarchiam reducet:* that is, he shall have a kingdom, if he can win it. In pursuance of this scheme, the (*d*) King, 'having knighted him at Windsor March 31, 1185, sent him over to Ireland with a body of soldiers.' Some few lines further we read, that "John, son of the king of England, called lord of Ireland, doing little good there, returned to England, Dec' 17 in the same year." The Annals of Margam notice the expedition thus. "John, son of king Henry, attended by a great army, in the month of April 1185, took a journey to Ireland for the first time, being previously knighted by his father at Gloucester. He staid in the island about eight months; but although he incessantly harrassed the Irish with battles and other evils, yet he could not subdue the land to himself." Nicholson's (*e*) opinion seems to be

(*b*) Lel' Coll' 1, 134 ex Hovedeno. Hoveden also p' p' 566 is quoted by Prynne 4 Inst' p' 360; but quære locum.

(*c*) Diceto Imag' Hist'. (*d*) Bromton and Diceto. (*e*) Hist' Library p' 208.

correct. "John was not so much as a Viceroy, till the throne was in the possession of his brother Richard, who made him *Dominus Hyberniæ*, but no *Rex*."

§3. Earl John's marriage with the lady Isabel of Glocester was celebrated, as soon as might be after the accession of his brother Richard; he married her (*f*) at Marlborough Aug' 29, 1189, seven weeks after the death of his father. The Tewkesbury MS (*g*) says, that the marriage took place in the last year of king Henry's reign: but there is abundant evidence against that date. Robert of Glocester's rhymes shall be the first.

> "Richard now was king, and gave his brother John
> the earldom of Gloucestre; and let him spousy anon
> Isabel, that was heir; and great lands thereto
> gave him here in England, and beyond sea also."

Bromton's account is that "Richard came into England soon after the death of his father, and gave his brother John the earldom of Moreton, the earldom of Cornwall, Dorset, and Somerset, the earldom of Nottingham and of Derbyshire and of Loncastre, and the eastle of Marleberge [Marlborough], and of Lutegareshale [Ludgershal] with their forests and all their pertinences; and the Honour of Walingford, and the Honour of Tikehill, and the Honour of Hay, and the earldom of Gloucester, and the daughter of the Earl, whom he caused to be married [*desponsari*] to him immediately; although Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury forbad the marriage because they were cousins in the fourth degree."

§4. Bromton writes that Richard within few weeks after his father's death, and before he came over to England, "gave to his brother John all the lands, which his father had given to him, viz, 4000 *l* of lands in England, and the earldom of Moreton with it's appurtenances: and he gave him also the daughter of the earl of Gloucester with that Honour." - - - - And a little after he writes, that after he came to England, he gave to his brother John the daughter of the earl of Gloucester with the same earldom, the castle of Marlborough with that Honour, and the castle of Luttegareshale with that Honour, and the castle of Peek with that"

(*f*) Bromton p' 1157. (*g*) Monast' Vol' 1, p' 155, and Leland Itin' 6, 80 [84].

"Honour, and the castle of Bolesover and all the land which belonged to William Peiterel, and the town of Nottingham with that Honour, and the castle of Lancaster with that Honour, and Darbyshire, and the Honour of Wallingford, and the Honour of Tikehull: [to which Matth' Westm' adds the earldoms of Somerset and Dorsetshires.] All these and many more he gave him with towns and forests, and all their other appurtenances. These things being thus finished, John married the daughter of the earl of Gloucester Aug' 29 at Marlborough, contrary to the prohibition of Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, because they were cousins in the third degree." And Matth' Westm' adds, that "Archbishop Baldwin put all the lands of earl John under an interdict, because he had married the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, who was related to him in the third degree of consanguinity." Their relation was thus

Henry I—[Empress Matilda —— king Henry II —— John.
[Robert Consul —— earl William —— Isabella.

§ 5. On the death of earl William in 1183, the guardianship of his property and of his daughters by the ordinary rules of feudal law must have devolved on the King; and there is special notice, that it did actually so devolve. The great Roll 31 Hen' II [1184, 1185] rot' 10*b* contains the particulars of *the land of the earl of Gloucester* in the King's hands. Hugh Bardulf, afterward one of the King's Justices, probably then a bailiff or prepositus, among many similar things "renders (*h*) an account of 119£ 7*s* 5*d* from the issues of Bristou, and of the mills and of the fairs; - - - - - and for hiring a house at Bristou, where the King's rents are received 10*s*; and [expended] in the livery of the clerk [*in liberatione clerici*], who collects the King's rents at Bristou 60*s* and 10*d*; - - - - - and [expended] in the repair of the castle [*turris*] of Bristou; and for hiring carpenters, and for millstones, and in repairing houses throughout the manors 14*l* and 5*d* by the King's writ." The same thing appears from the anonymous historian (*i*) of Tewkesbury, who writes that Henry II detained this property in his hands for six years; which must be until his death in 1189, when it would regularly devolve to his son Richard I. One author (*k*) says that Henry II detained it in his

(*h*) Madox Firma B. p' 17.
(*i*) Apud Dugdale, Monast' Vol' 1, p' 155.
(*k*) Anon' apud Leland Itin' 6, 80 [84].

hands for 8 years; but since earl William died in 1183, and k' Henry in 1189, the figure 8 must be a mistake for 6. Why the king kept these estates so long in his hands, thereby delaying the marriage of his son John, we know not certainly: it has been said, that the earl of Morienne's daughter, whom he first espoused, lived till A' D' 1189; but it is (*l*) not probable.

§ 6. What was the precise value of the estates and other property which John received by his wife, it would be difficult to ascertain. Some part of earl Robert's property had no doubt been sold and dissipated in the civil war; yet the residue must have been exceedingly great. Some estimate of it's value may be made hence. In 14 Hen' II [A' D' 1168] William earl of Glocester (*m*) held above 260 knights-fees. And in 15 Johan' the Earl (*n*) accounted for above 337 fees. When John divorced his wife, and gave permission to Geoffry de Mandeville earl of Essex to marry her, a' r' 16, he agreed for a fine of (*o*) 20,000 marks, which however was not paid in 2 Henry III, that he might have her, with all her lands and knights-fees: and it will be noticed below, that out of it John kept to himself the honour of Gloucester, with the castle and town of Bristow, and hundred of Barton-regis. Now if we suppose the value of money to be 15 times greater than at present, the sum will amount to £200,000 of our money. Such was the fortune which the lady Isabel of Gloucester brought to this unworthy youth.

§ 7. It is likely, that he came to Bristol immediately after his marriage to inspect his lately acquired property, and to receive the homage of his vassals: and ever after, his visits to this place seem to have been frequent. It was probably about the middle of the year 1191, that he granted to his burgesses of the town that charter or letter patent, which is the foundation, or rather the earliest record, of our franchises. It is directed to his men of England, France, Wales and Ireland. His English were many and various; his French those of Moreton and elsewhere; his Welsh those of Glamorgan; who were his Irish, is not

(*l*) See above Chapt' IX, § 10.

(*m*) Madox XV, 2.

(*n*) Madox Exch' XVI, 1.

(*o*) Madox Exch' XIII, 2.

mentioned; but although his success in Ireland had been but little, yet he must have made some conquest. The exact date of this charter is not wholly free from doubt: I had (*p*) supposed that it was 1188; but now 1190 seems more probable. If the late King held the estates six years, as is said above § 4, 1189 is the earliest possible date. Next, since it is not likely that John possessed the estates until his marriage, the charter could not be granted until August 1189. Moreover the words of the charter are that "the burgesses shall have their liberties &c, as well as ever they had them in *my* time or the time of any of my predecessors:" which words seem to imply that he had been in possession some time; half a year, or a year perhaps. If so, the date must be some time in 1190. There is an objection to this date, which must be removed. Maurice de Berkeley, one of the witnesses, is said by the family (*q*) historian to have died 16 June 1189, 1 Ric' I. Mr. Smythe must have here made a slight mistake; 16 June 1 Ric' I is in A' D' 1190. I suppose, that the date which he saw in his original authority, was 16 June 1 Ric' I; and that in calculating the correspondent A' D', he made an error of one year. If so, the lord Maurice de Berkeley witnessed this charter not many months before his decease.

§ 8. The nature of a burg or borough during the Saxon and Norman periods of our history is a matter of curious enquiry: something concerning it has been (*r*) already said, and something more may be learned from (*s*) this charter of earl John. In the Saxon age every place of note, being fortified or at least well inclosed, was a *burg* or *burh*; which and *ceaster* were the only two words (*t*) in use to signify such a place: for *villa* in Domesday book signifies a *rural district*. No wonder therefore that Bristow in the Saxon Chronicle (*u*) is called a *burh*, and the townsmen *burh-waru*, and in Domes' b' *burgenses* i' e' *burgesses* or *burghers*. These Saxon boroughs, with the privileges annexed to them, were derived from the licence and pleasure of their lords, on whose lands

(*p*) Vide Charters of Bristol p' 11, note.

(*q*) See above VIII, 97, 2.

(*r*) Chapt' IV, § 49.

(*s*) See the notes in *the Charters of Bristol*, III.

(*t*) Madox Firma Burgi p' 2.

(*u*) See above IV, 2.

they were built, and under whose protection they grew up: thus much seems to be proved by Dr' Brady in his treatise *On Boroughs*. He wrote that book, when Charles II was seizing on the charters of towns, and his principal object was to lower their rights in order to exalt the prerogative of the Crown. One of his positions is that just mentioned, that burgs and their privileges were originally derived from the grant or permission of their lords; which he seems fairly to have proved from Domesd' book, however he may fail in other respects. It may therefore be presumed, that when at the Saxon Conquest a Roman or British town stood in the district allotted to any of the conquering Chiefs, that Chief took possession of all the lands and those houses in the town which remained, as landlord or lord of the manor, obliging the former possessors, whether allodial or feudatory, to pay him a small rent or some other service; but probably confirming many of their British and Roman customs, privileges, courts &c: and in this manner it is probable that Bristol and a multitude of other *municipia* became Saxon boroughs.

§ 9. It has been said by some one, that a burgh belonged to one manor and one lord. If it were so at first, that regularity was soon broken. For example; "the (*v*) city of Leicester had four lords, the King, and the bishop of Lincoln, and Simon the earl, and Yvo Fitzhugh. But the Consul of Mellent cunningly came in by means of Yvo's part, who was governor and sheriff, and the King's farmer; and by the King's aid and his own craft, he brought the whole city to himself." And Robert Fitzharding in the Deed above (*w*) recited mentions lands in Bristol, which belonged to three different Baronies. So also we read "Terram (*x*) quæ est de feodo Canonicorum de Keynsham: habendam cum omnibus consuetudinibus, quæ ad terram Baroniæ in Bristollo pertinerent." Of many of these boroughs the King was the immediate lord, which were then said to be parcel of the King's Demean, and there were few or none, which by some means or other did not sometimes fall into the King's hands, as Bristow frequently did: and even over those, which were holden by their own lords, the King

(*v*) Order' Vital' lib' 11, p' 805.

(*w*) Chapt' VI, § 20.

(*x*) Chartular' Sti Aug' fol' 189.

had a supreme dominion, as being supposed the original grantor. And their lords could not talliate [tax] them (some of them at least) without the king's precept, or when the King talliated the whole kingdom.

§ 10. They had various privileges. Many, perhaps all, possessed common property, as a modern corporation. The burgesses (*y*) of Exeter possessed 12 carucates of land outside the city, which land paid no *consuetudinem*, but to the city itself; and others held land of the King, as Canterbury. So in this charter of ours, earl John grants all void plats of ground to the burgesses to be built on at their pleasure; by virtue of which grant they still hold houses and other land, as common property. Another custom or privilege belonging to a burgh was that of having within it certain *gilds* or companies, some of them religious, but for the most part secular; which latter were companies of tradesmen, associated together for the protection and regulation of their several trades: a full account of which may be seen in (*z*) Madox. Earl John in his charter grants to our burgesses, that they shall have all their reasonable gilds as well as they had them in the time of his wife's father and grandfather, or better; which brings them nearly to the Saxon age, and in that age they certainly existed. They were therefore Bodies-corporate by prescription; some few of them remain in Bristol to this day; the greater part fell into disuse within our own memory. He mentions their *reasonable* gilds; probably because there had been associations of this kind for unlawful or trifling purposes.

§ 11. Another privilege, which the boroughs had in early times, was that of buying and selling within their walls. By the laws of (*a*) William the Conqueror no public market was to be holden but in a borough or castle: beside which, the right of buying and selling, and making a

(*y*) Domesday book.

(*z*) Madox Fir' B' p' 23.

(*a*) Item, nullum mercatum vel forum sit, nec fieri permittantur, nisi in civitatibus regni nostri, in burgis & muro vallatis, & in castellis & in locis tutissimis. Charta Will' Conq' 11. The authenticity of these laws has been questioned; but if not a Code of the Conqueror, still they are the laws and rules of that age.

profit thereby, was strictly confined to the boroughs, and not permitted elsewhere; probably for the sake of securing the customs of the King or the lord. Even in the boroughs this right was not inherent in the subject or vassal, but was the grant of his lord; and in some boroughs this right was not common to all the burgesses, but was appropriated to the members of the merchant-gild, who had many peculiar rights above their fellow-citizens: as for example Richard I in granting liberties and privileges to Winchester, grants (*b*) them not to the citizens in general, but to those *de gildâ mercatoriâ*. But others were *free* boroughs, and the burgesses were *free* (*c*) burgesses, that is, they all had the right of buying and selling, without paying toll, lastage, pontage &c; as at Great Yarmouth, which was of old a burgh, but by 34 Edw' I was (*d*) constituted a *free* burgh: and several other examples of the same practice are quoted by Dr' Brady. This I suppose to be the case of Bristol, the burgesses of which are usually denominated *free burgesses*.

§12. Who were the burgesses? is a material question. In common discourse, then as now, it may be supposed that *all* the inhabitants of the burgh were called burgesses, men, women and children, housekeepers and not housekeepers, bond and free; whom we now call *the burgesses and commonalty:* in which sense it is certainly used in the Saxon Chronicle quoted above (IV, 2), where it is said that the burh-waru, i' e' the burgesses, defended the walls. This however is not the legal sense of the word: the *legal* burgesses were the lord's immediate tenants, the holders and occupiers of the burgages, i' e' the houses within the burgh. Domesday book testifies undoubtedly, that this was the case at the Conquest. It is there said, that in Thetford in the time of king Edward were 944 burgesses, but at that time only 720, and 224 void habitations [*mansuræ vacuæ*]; but 720 + 224 = 944: and the same thing may be observed in Ipswich and other places. Therefore the mere occupancy of a *mansura* constituted a burgess. The case appears to have been the same in Scotland: for we (*e*) read, that there the purchase of a burgage constituted a burgess.

(*b*) Brady app' p' 45.
(*c*) Brady p' 33.
(*d*) Brady app' p' 9.
(*e*) Ll' Burg' Scot' c' 17.

§ 13. Madox's (*f*) opinion is somewhat different. "They were esteemed *townsmen* (he says), who had a settled dwelling in the town, who merchandized there, who were of the hanse or gild, who were in scot and lot with the townsmen, and who used and enjoyed the liberties and free customs of the town. To have a settled dwelling or abode in the town made a part, but not the whole of the description of a *townsman*." I apprehend that this description is intended for a much later period, than that of which we are now speaking: nevertheless, if the word *mansura* be understood to signify, not merely a house of ever so mean a condition, but such a one as was of sufficient value to be holden of the lord immediately, there will be but little difference between the burgesses of Domesday book, and those described by Madox.—I conclude that the original burgesses of Bristow were the lord's immediate tenants: and since by gradual amelioration, these burgage tenures are for the most part changed into modern freeholds, it follows that the modern *freeholders* are the genuine successors of the original burgesses; and that the modern *burgesses*, who derive their right from inheritance, servitude &c, are such by an innovation, although a very ancient one; probably by special grant from the Corporation, so generally conceded, that it came to be demanded as a right.

§ 14. Every burgess had a right to sell his burgage to any one who engaged to perform the usual service: at least the burgesses of Hereford had this right, and probably most other towns had the same.

§ 15. Who were the rulers or governors of the burgh is a disputable question. One of Dr' Brady's positions is, that the authority and government of the burg were from the first in the hands of the principal burgesses, and not of all collectively; and that *communitas* means the *chief-burgesses*. In proving this he utterly fails. The *whole* body of burgesses seems to have met for public purposes; and in an age, when their number was but small, the power of their lord great, and the influenc of the wealthier burgesses such as it always must have been, and always will be, there was little danger of any tumultuous or unlawful

(*f*) Firma Burgi, p' 269.

proceedings. That such was the practice in Bristol at least, we have good reason for supposing; for an attempt to withdraw the management of public affairs from the burgesses in general produced the *Great Insurrection* A' D' 1312.

§ 16. The limits of the town were much enlarged before earl John's time. At first Bristol, as other boroughs, consisted only of the space within the walls: and the memory of the original boundary still remains; for persons who dwell beyond it, as in College-green, in Queen-square or in St James's parish, still say that they are *going up into town*, when they go within the original walls. But in earl John's charter there is mention of the *villa* of Bristol also, which I would translate *a township;* and it comprehended not only the ancient burgh, but the whole extent of the modern city, (such as it was until the late addition in 1804 &c), on both sides of the Avon, containing within it on the southern side of that river the two vills of Redcliff and Temple. Madox seems to think the words *burgus* and *villa* to be synonymous. "In England (he (*g*) says) towns and boroughs have been styled in records either *burgum* and *burgus*, or *villa* and *villata* indifferently." Yet within few pages he copies some writs whereby the King orders the sheriff to return *quot civitates, burgi & villæ sunt in quolibet hundredorum;* and the returns being made accordingly, there was surely some difference. In this charter of our's mention is made of damage which might be done to the borough and the vill [*sine damno burgi & villæ*], which proves that the two were not precisely the same. In one of the returns copied by Dr' Brady p' 114, the sheriff writes *nullæ sunt civitates in comitatu Bucks, nec etiam burgi, præter in villâ de Wicomb.* It is evident therefore that the two words signified places of different descriptions; but inasmuch as a town might be both a burg and a vill, as Wicomb just mentioned and Bristow were, hence it is, that such a town was called indifferently *burgus* or *villa*.

§ 17. The original burgh was a fortified or inclosed town; incorporate by prescription, that is, before the Norman Conquest; having

(*g*) Firma Burgi p' 2.

some or all of the following rights not enjoyed by the neighbourhood; such as a market, a right of trade, a magistrate and court of it's own, common property and the like. A vill was an inhabited district, having certain bounds, but not inclosed, having no privileges more than the other inhabitants of the hundred or county. Sometimes a vill was attached or belonged to a burgh, as that of Bristol was; and in the case of Bristol we find from John's charter, that in process of time the privileges of the burgh had been communicated to the inhabitants of the whole vill: this is certainly proved by the modern practice; it was so in earl John's time, for he grants the charter of privileges "to my burgesses of Bristol, dwelling within the walls and without, as far as the boundary of the vill:" by which words I understand, that those tenants, whose tenements were outside the walls, were as much burgesses as those within. This extension must have taken place before earl John's time, for mention is made more than once of the *custom* of the vill [*secundùm consuetudinem villæ*]. Thus the tenants of the vill became burgesses of Bristow: and the vill being of much greater extent became more populous and of more consequence than the burgh itself; and the name of *vill* seems to have been considered as more honourable than that of *borough*, the style of seals and public records being *villa Bristolliæ*, not *burgus Brist'*, although the *burgesses* still kept that title. Many of the vills also, growing more populous, were constituted boroughs by charter from the King or the lord; others at least obtained some of the privileges of boroughs without the name; we shall find the vill of Redcliffe in one of these situations. It appears also from John's charter that the vill or township of Bristol was a separate Hundred, and not a part of Barton-regis Hundred, which surrounds it on the Gloucestershire side; a separation, which seems to be at least as old as the Saxon age. The township (*h*) of Cirencester is in the same manner a separate Hundred.

§ 18. Other privileges and customs are contained in John's charter. The only town officer mentioned is the Prepositor, of whom something has already been said. (*i*) It would be difficult to give an exact description of his office, and wherein it differed from that of other and ordinary

(*h*) Atkyns's Glouc' *Cirencester.*

(*i*) See above Chap' IV, § 8.

bailiffs. Brady (*k*) thinks that they are the same: and that opinion may be correct; or the difference (if any) might have been very little, and not generally obvious; or the same officer might have been denominated differently in different times or places. When he is mentioned as a sole person, he seems to be the chief magistrate of the place, under the King or the lord. In the laws of (*l*) king Ethelred, the chief magistrate of a district is so called. The Prepositus of Wallingford (temp' Henr' II) was (*m*) a King's officer, and sometimes oppressed the burgesses: and in Bristol we see by this charter of earl John, that the Prepositor was something more than a mere bailiff, he was a superior magistrate, having authority to distrain a stranger's goods. He was probably appointed by the King or the lord; but he might have been elected by the burgesses: Richard I (anno r' 1) granted, among several things, to the citizens of Lincoln liberty to choose from themselves their own Præpositus (*n*) annually, "one who may be fit *(idoneus)* for ourselves and for them." The same liberty was granted (*o*) to the citizens of Norwich in 1 John. And we read that (*p*) king John in the same year made Glocester a borough, with two bailiffs elected by the burgesses; and he grants them a gild and divers liberties, the same which had been granted to Winchester. It is not improbable therefore, that Bristol also chose it's own Prepositor.

§ 19. The burgesses had their local courts; the hundred court is mentioned in this charter, and it is ordered, that it shall not be holden oftener than once in a week; and no fine was to be imposed by it greater than 40 shillings. Pleas for debts and mortgages were holden according to the custom of the town; and without doubt in the Tolzey-court, which existed then as at present: and the burgesses had a right to have their causes tried without going to the county courts or to the court at Westminster, but within the walls of the town. This appears, and for good reasons, to have been an object of great importance to them; for we find, that before this time, in 30 Henry II, i' e' 1183-4, "the (*q*) men of"

(*k*) *On Boroughs* p' 82.
(*l*) Spelman Gloss' voc' *Jurata.*
(*m*) Brady app' p' 17.
(*n*) Brady app' p' 47.
(*o*) Idem p' 49.
(*p*) Atkyns Glouc' p' 45, 2.
(*q*) Madox Exch' XI, 2, p' 398.

"Bristou paid a fine of £50 to have respite, and not to be impleaded without the walls of their town, till the King's return into England."

§ 20. The spirit of excluding strangers from participating in their trade will be seen by the following regulations to have operated strongly in these early times. No stranger, i' e' one who is not a burgess, shall settle in the town as a trader, or stay there as a trader more than 40 days; nor shall he, while he continues there, buy corn, leather or wool from another stranger, but only from the burgesses: nor shall a stranger sell wine, except in his ship, nor cut cloth for sale, except at the fair. Modern Bristol has long ago laid aside this illiberal and short-sighted policy, but there are still many towns in Britain, where it is strictly maintained.

§ 21. The burgesses by this Charter were relieved from military, and other uncertain and ruinous services, such as were usual in rural districts: they were allowed to hold their houses and lands by the tenure of free burgage only, that is by no other service than the payment of a reserved rent; a privilege of the utmost value to peaceable townsmen, who must have wished for nothing more than to be allowed to remain within their own boroughs, not liable to be carried far away in the military quarrels of their lords.

§ 22. They are also permitted "to marry themselves, their sons, daughters and widows, without the leave of their lords." If John had intended by these words to give up only his own feudal right of controuling the marriage of his vassals, the words *sine licentiâ meâ & successorum meorum* would have been more appropriate. The words *dominorum suorum* seem to have been intended to relieve them also from the same rights claimed by the *foreign* lords of any of the burgesses. For it must be observed, that the being a burgess did not exempt a man from the jurisdiction of a lord beyond the borough, whose vassal he was. Hence it happened that some burgesses might belong to one lord, and some to another, beside the lord of their own borough: and in some places the

King held some of the burgesses in demean, and other lords had others: each lord might have sac and soc and all custom of his own men in a town, and no connexion with the other burgesses. Thus in Domesday book, Wiltshire, we read "the King holds Aldeborne: to this manor belong six burgesses in Crichelade paying 64 pence." These burgesses however belonged to the *manors* of their foreign lords, and not *personally* to them.

§ 22. *b.* Earl John likewise grants the burgesses an exemption from toll and some other customs throughout all his lands. His father-in-law earl William (*r*) had granted to the church of St Peter in Glocester and it's men a similar freedom from toll [*theoloneo*] in the vill of Bristoll: the present grant must have been far more than equivalent. Such exemptions were very frequent (*s*) in the charters of that age; and if actually claimed, must have been productive of endless controversy.

§ 23. The burgesses also were relieved from the obligation of grinding their corn at the lord's mill, which was certainly the present castle-mill; and they were by this charter now permitted to grind it where they would.

§ 24. Lastly they are permitted to improve their houses as much as they please by building on the bank of the river or elsewhere; so it be without injury to the town.

§ 25. These are the principal contents of earl John's charter; the privileges contained in which are in a great measure similar to those of London, and frequently expressed in the same words: and in return, our charter was a sort of pattern for other towns in similar situations. Thus in 4 Ric' I earl John grants "to my (*t*) burgesses of Lancaster all the liberties which I have granted to the burgesses of Bristol." So also "William le Gros earl of Holdernesse in Yorkshire and Albemarle in Normandy, lord of the manor of Chipping Sodbury, who died in 1179,"

(*r*) Dugdale Mon' Vol' 1, 119.

(*s*) See above Chap' IX, § 4, and 5.

(*t*) Brady p' 98.

"granted (*u*) to the burghers of Sodbury the like liberties, as the burghers of Bristol did enjoy." If we judge from the practice of the age, and John's well-known character, our charter was not granted gratuitously, but purchased by the burgesses; as the citizens of London (*v*) paid 3000 marks for their charter of confirmation; and the citizens of Lincoln paid to Richard I nine score pounds of Lincoln by tale, for the charter quoted above § 19. It was the common practice of the (*w*) age.

§ 26. The chief part, if not the whole, of the liberties and franchises granted, or rather confirmed, by this charter, was not the *grant* of earl John, but the ancient privileges and customs of this borough, as of many others, expressly so called in the charter itself. It is to be lamented that we have no means of ascertaining, which of them were granted by the earls of Gloucester, which by the ancient Saxon lords of the Honour, and which were derived without interruption from the practice of the Roman-Britons, as probably the courts were, and the gilds, and perhaps much more than can be proved.

§ 27. By the operation of these and such like privileges, the cities and towns in Britain and on the Continent resumed something of the form which they had under the Roman Emperors. The Saxons and other nations, which overthrew that empire, were wholly rural, they despised and hated towns, and took pleasure in destroying them. But after some few generations their manners began to be softened; and their Chiefs saw the advantages of encouraging that, on which their fathers trampled; and the towns rose in importance so much, as to give offence to those who still admired the old barbaric system. The pen of Dr' Robertson has given celebrity to the following quotation. "Communities (*x*) were so favourable to freedom, that they were distinguished by the name of *libertates*. They were at first extremely odious to the Nobles, who foresaw what a check they must prove to their power and domination."

(*u*) Atkyns p' 347.

(*v*) 1 John m' 20, quoted by Dr' Brady app' p' 44. (*w*) See Madox Exch' XI, 2.

(*x*) Robertson's Hist' of Charles V, Vol' 1, Note XVI.

"Guibert, abbot of Nogent, calls them *execrable inventions*, by which, contrary to law and justice, slaves withdrew themselves from that obedience, which they owed to their masters." When Glanvil wrote in the latter part of the 12*th* century, a year's residence in a burgh unclaimed secured a bondman from his lord, and so also it was in (*y*) Scotland.

§ 28. These immunities added importance to the inhabitants of cities and towns. Some of the principal citizens of London and other great towns, as York, Chester, Warwick, Feversham &c were called Barons; several examples of this occur (*z*) in the age of Henry I—Henry III. Matth' Paris speaking of the Londoners in general says, "we are accustomed to call them *Barons* on account of the dignity of the city and the antiquity of the citizens." Yet it is not probable, that the citizens of all ranks were so called, but only the aldermen, or those in whom the power of the city resided. In process of time still higher distinctions of title were given to them. In the poll-tax of 1 Rich' II, each of the aldermen of London was rated as a baron, the mayor as an earl, and all other mayors of great towns in England, each as a baron. Our own town partook largely of the general improvement; the situation of the burgesses and other inhabitants of Bristow was rendered far better, than that of the inhabitants of the neighbouring country; they were relieved in some degree from the irregular oppression of their military lords; they obtained a kind of republican government within their own bounds, which in some measure controuled the authority of those despotic Chiefs; and their trade, their wealth and their walls secured to them a great national importance.—Such was Bristow in the year 1190.

§ 29. Richard I, called *Coeur de lion*, crossed the sea Dec' A' D' 1189, and set out on his expedition to the Holy land. Insensible to the extraordinary gifts and favours which the King had bestowed on him, his disloyal and unnatural brother, John, "committing (*a*) many open"

(*y*) Ll' Burg' Scot' c' 17.

(*z*) Lyttleton Hist' Henry II, Vol' 3, p' 351. See Spelman's Gloss' *Baroues de London*.

(*a*) Hoveden.

" acts of warfare and rebellion," made evident preparations for seizing the crown in the King's absence; " publicly (*b*) proclaiming in many places, that his brother was dead or would never return;" nor is it unreasonable to suppose, that his visits to Bristol, and his favour shewn to the townsmen were for the purpose of securing it against his brother, and making it again the military capital of the West. " King (*c*) Richard however was released from his captivity Feb' 4, 1194-5, anno r' 6, and soon returned to England. During his absence a large sum of money was raised on the Jews, by way of *donum* or benevolence. The following record is undoubted authority. In the year 3 Richard I, [A' D' 1192], Josce, (*d*) son of Lic of Bristow accounts for 100 *s* out of the second thousand marks, which the Jews of England had promised to our lord the King. He delivered it into the treasury, and is quit." In the year 5 Ric' I [A' D' 1193], the (*e*) burgesses of Bristow were guilty of some disrespect to the King's Justiciaries, Robert Marmiun and his fellows, in not going out to meet them, as they ought: for which neglect they were fined £100 by those Justices.

§ 30. Historians say that he landed at Sandwich, and no question can be made of it. There is however an old Play entituled *The faire Maid of Bristow*, printed apparently about the time of Q. Elizabeth, a scarce black-letter book, wherein K' Richard is introduced, as one of the *Dramatis Personæ*, just landed at Bristow, where the Scene in the latter part of the Play is laid. The following is an Extract.

" *Enter king Richard, Leicester and Richmond.*

King.—All haile, thou blessed bosome of my peace;
Richard findes instance of his home returne.
Bristow, thou hapie rode, where first I land,
Doth welcome me now from the holy land.
Send word to London of our safe arivall,
While we awhile in Bristow heere repose us.

Godfrey.—Fame with her brasen trump hath born this tidings hether.

Eustace.—And Bristow with their cittizens expresse
Their gladnes by their triumphe at your safetie."

(*b*) Hoveden.

(*c*) Ann' Waverl'.

(*d*) Madox Exch' VII, 1, p' 223.

(*e*) Madox Exch' XIII, 11, p' 503.

There is nothing in the Play particularly relative to Bristol, nothing which might not have happened in any other town. The conclusion is thus.

"*King*.—Since all things sorteth to this happines,
And pining care is turned to ioyfull mirth,
I will be partner in your merymeut. - - - -
In Bristow here awhile ourselves will stay,
And spend some sportfull houres to crowne your ioy,
After so many troubles, and tyerd annoy. *Exit Omnes.*"

§ 31. The King, being well informed of his brother John's seditious practices, "by a solemn (*f*) judgement of his Nobles deprived him" of all his honours, and seized all his castles and land: at which time the castle of Bristow with the rest doubtless fell into the King's hands. It seems however that John's garrison in the castle of Bristol withstood the King's attempt, and endured a siege; for in 7 Ric' I [1196] one Richard Dorescuilz (*g*) was fined 100*s* for having been present at the siege of the castle of Bristou; which is scarcely to be understood, but on the supposition, that the garrison defended the castle, and that this man was one of the garrison, probably a military officer. An inspection of the original would perhaps give some further information. 'About Whitsuntide (*h*) 1195, the King was in some degree reconciled to his brother by the intercession of their mother Eleanor, and restored to him the earldom of Moreton and the Honour of Eye, and the earldom of Glocester, with every thing belonging to them [*cum omni integritate suâ*] except the castles;' "and in lieu of his other earldoms and lands the King gave him annually 8000 pounds of money of Anjou." It is evident from hence, that the castle of Bristow was never restored to earl John, but that the King kept it by a garrison and constable of his own.

§ 32. "In or about the year (*i*) 7 Ric' I [1196], a tallage or tax was laid by William, bishop of Hereford, Hugh Bardolph and others,

(*f*) Bromton.

(*g*) "Ricardus Doreseuilz reddit compotum de 100*s*, quia dicebatur fuisse in obsidione castelli de Bristou. In Thesauro 50*s*, et debet 50*s*. Magn' Rot' 7 Ric' I, rot' 13 *a*." Apud Madox Exch' XIV, 15, p' 564.

(*h*) Annal' Burton, and Bromton.

(*i*) Madox Exch' XVII, 3,

the King's Justices, upon the King's manors and burghs." The words of the Roll are these. "The burgesses of Bristol owe 200 marks for their tallage [*de tallagio suo*], beside the Fair. The Fair owes 10 marks for it's tallage." The *fair* [*Feria*] of Bristow I suppose to be that district now occupied by St James's churchyard, the Horse-fair, and Broad-mead.

§ 33. "A' D' 1198, a' reg' 10 (*k*) the King ordered all the charters in his kingdom to be made anew for a price to be paid; and to be confirmed by the impression of his new seal." No copy or other memorial of such a charter granted to Bristol has yet been discovered.

§ 34. 'Richard I died (*l*) 6 April 1199: and on his death-bed he bequeathed the kingdom of England to his brother John, and ordered all his castles to be restored to him.'

(*k*) Ann' Waverl'

(*l*) Hoveden pars post' p' 791.

End of Chapter X.

CHAPTER XI.

KING JOHN.

1, 2, 3. *The King's divorce.*—4. *his marriage and coronation.*—5. *Another marriage: he keeps Bristol in his own hands: his late wife is again married:*—6. *and again: she dies, and the earldom passes to the De Clare's.*—7. *Earthquake.*—8. *Tallage paid by Bristow.*—9, 10. *Battle of Mirabeau; death of prince Arthur, and imprisonment of the princess Eleanor in Bristow castle.*—11. *Price of bread and wine.*—12. *Tallage laid on Bristow.*—13. *Burgesses of Bristol harass those of Marlborough.*—14. *Distress of the poor.*—15. *The King's expedition to Ireland: he extorts money from the Jews.*—16, 17. *miserable condition of that nation.*—18. *The King raises money from the towns; his Treasury at Bristol.*—19. *He raises money from the Clergy and religious Orders.*—20, 21. *His success in Ireland, and cruelty to his adversaries.*—22. *His visit to Bristol; his houses here.*—23, 24. *The ferm, and profits of Bristow, and other towns.*—25, 26. *Grant of houses &c in Bristol to Beaulieu Abbey.*—27. *John's charter and seal.*—28. *His cruelties: the king of France's son is invited to England: John strengthens the castles of Bristol &c.*—29. *Death of king John.*

§ 1. WHEN John succeeded to the crown, the castle of Bristol again came into his hands: but he was tired of *her*, by whom he first possessed it, and after he had reigned (*a*) one year, he procured a divorce.

(*a*) Tewkesb' MS apud Leland, Itin' 6, 80 [84].

Three causes have been assigned for this irreligious act. First, because although he had lived with her for ten years or more and had no complaint to make of her conduct, yet she had brought him no children. Supposing this to have been John's private motive, which is not probable, yet it could not have been the cause openly assigned to the church. Another cause mentioned was, that the marriage was originally unlawful by reason of consanguinity, as mentioned (*b*) above. But although the marriage was celebrated contrary to the Canons of the Romish church, yet it will appear by the next §, that permission or dispensation was afterward granted, and therefore the divorce was unlawful. A third reason has been given, viz that John was enamoured of her, whom he afterward married, and was determined that nothing should stand in the way of his passion. But it is doubtful, as will appear below, whether John had ever seen her at this time. The real cause was probably nothing more, than his own inconstant and unfeeling disposition.

§ 2. A cotemporary (*c*) author gives the following history of this transaction. "In the first year of his reign a divorce was pronounced in Normandy by the bishops of Lisors, Baieux, Avranches [*Abriencensi*] and other bishops, who were present, between John king of England, and the daughter of the earl of Gloucester; whom in time of his father and by permission of the Roman church, he had taken to wife, with the earldoms of Gloucester, Somerset, Devonshire and Cornwall, and many other Honours throughout England. But he being hurried away by the hope of a more exalted marriage and by the counsel of wicked men divorced her; whereby he incurred the indignation of the supreme Pontiff Innocent III, and of the whole Roman court, by presuming rashly and contrary to the laws and canons to dissolve what had been bound together by their authority."

§ 3. Two other (*d*) annalists give the following account. 'John was divorced in the year 1200, and the second of his reign from Haweis [Isabella], daughter of William, earl of Gloucester, because they were in

(*b*) Cap' X, 5. (*c*) Diceto. (*d*) Hoveden and Burton.

'the third degree of consanguinity. The divorce was effected by Helias archbishop of Bourdeaux, William bishop of Poitiers, and Henry bishop of Rochelle [*Sanctonensem*] [bishop of Scone. *Stowe.*] Whereupon John, by the advice of Philip, king of France, married Isabella, daughter of Ailmar, earl of Angoulesme, although she had been espoused already to Hugh le Brun, earl of Lamarche, and espoused (*e*) *per verba de præsenti*, (when consequently she was more than twelve years of age) but had not been married in the face of the church.'

§ 4. This marriage is variously represented. I prefer the following account, written by a cotemporary, (*f*) and one who seems to have had an opportunity of knowing minute particulars. "The lord John king of England, having an intention to marry the daughter of the king of Portugal, whose fame had raised his passion, sent certain illustrious and honourable men from Rouen to demand her; viz, the bishop of Lisieux, William de la Poole [de Stagno], Ralph de Ardene, Hubert de Burch [de Burgh] and many others both of England and Normandy. But he providing for their safety less than became the magnificence of a king, while they were on their journey without even giving them notice, married Ysabel, the only daughter and heiress of the earl of Angouleme, who (as it was said) had been first married to a certain nobleman of Poitou named *Hugh le Brun*, from whence afterwards arose a very great hatred between them. And the King immediately caused her to be crowned for queen at Westminster, by the lord H' archbishop of Canterbury on Oct' 8, and was himself crowned likewise on the same day."

§ 5. All the historians quoted above relate, that John kept his former wife till the first or second year of his reign, i' e' for ten years, and then married Isabella of Angouleme. One (*g*) writer however mentions an intermediate wife. "King John had no issue by his wife, and kept her but a year; and so repudiating her he took to wife the earl of Hereford's daughter, and retained in his hands the town and castle"

(*e*) That is, words of present espousal, *I take* thee to wife; not words of promise, *I will take* thee to wife. (*f*) Diceto. (*g*) Leland Itin' 6, 92, 93 [93].

"of Brightestow within [*lege* with] the hundred of Berton lying in Glocestershire hard by Brightstow, as betwixt the forest of Kingswood and it: and so it hath since remained in the King's hands." John however permitted his late wife, now again countess of Gloucester, in the year 1214 or thereabout to marry Geoffry de Mandeville, earl of Essex, as was lately (*h*) mentioned, who thereby became earl of Gloucester: but when the King gave her permission to convey her possessions and titles to another husband, he excepted 'and retained (*i*) in his own hands, [as his brother Richard had in some part done before], the Honour of Gloucester, the castle and town of Bristow, and the whole hundred of Barton, with their appertenances, which were never afterwards permanently re-united to the earldom.' And this he probably did not out of any prejudice or illwill, but reasonably judging that the town and castle with their dependencies were too important a possession to be left in the hands of a subject.

§ 6. The countess Isabell outlived her new husband Geoffry de Mandeville, who was accidentally slain in a tournament in 1215; and 'at the time (*k*) when the French prince Louis was master of the best part of England [i' e' 1216], by the permission of her first husband John, she again married Hubert [*or* Hugh] de Burgh, Chief justiciary of England, and earl of Kent and soon after she died without issue. On her death the earldom devolved to the family of Mabile another of the daughters of the late earl William: she had married the earl of Evreux, and her son Almeric succeeded to the earldom; but he also died soon after without issue. Hereupon the earldom of Gloucester came to Amice, the remaining daughter of earl William, who had married Richard de Clare, earl of Hertford: he died in 1211, and therefore Amice was countess of Gloucester in her own right; and on her death her son Gilbert de Clare became earl of Gloucester and Hertford separately and jointly; in which'

(*h*) See above X, 6.

(*i*) The Tewkesbury MS in Leland Itin' Vol' 6, p' 80 [84] and the anonymous author in Dugdale Vol' 1, p' 155, whom Sir R' Atkyns translates p' 383.

(*k*) Leland's Tewkesbury MS, and Anon' ap' Dugdale Tewkesbury Vol' 1, p' 155.

'family it continued for many generations.' Another (*l*) historian gives the same account, except that Gilbert de Clare did not become earl of Glocester and Hertford until the death of his aunt Isabel, and his cousin Almeric. Thus the three daughters of earl William carried the Honour and earldom of Gloucester into three separate families; but as Bristow was now disunited from that Honour and earldom, there will be no further occasion to make mention of the earls of Gloucester.

§ 7. "A (*m*) great earthquake happened May 22, A' D' 1200, in the parts of Somerset and Norfete [read *Dorfete*], so violent as to throw down persons, who were standing up."

§ 8. 'In the (*n*) 1 John [i' e' A' D' 1199] a tallage was laid on Glocestershire by Hugh Bardolf and William Briewer, justices, and their companions. "The burgesses of Glocester paid 300 marks; those of Bristow 500 marks; the men of Berkelai outside the burgh of Bristow 100 marks; the men of the Templars 50 marks." The men of Berkeley here mentioned were certainly the same, who are (*o*) elsewhere called *the men of Radeclive*, that is the tenants of the manor of Bedminster, which was a dependency of the Barony of Berkeley, then possessed by lord Robert, the third baron.

§ 9. In August A' D' 1202 John gained the battle of Mirabeau, by which he released his mother Eleanour who was besieged in the castle of that place, and took prisoner his nephew Arthur, duke of Brittany, the son of his elder brother Geoffry deceased, whose title to the crown was at least as good as the King's own title, and according to the modern rules of succession, far better; and who was then at the head of an army in support of it, asisted by the king of France: and with him

(*l*) Anony' ap' Atkyns p' 383.

(*m*) Dicto.

(*n*) The Original is thus. "Burgenses de Glocestriâ debent CCC marcas de eodem taillagio. Burgenses de Bristou debent D marcas de eodem. Homines de Berkelai extra burgum de Bristou reddunt compotum de C Marcis de eodem. Homines Templariorum debent L marcas de eodem. Magn' Rot', 1 Johan'." Apud Madox Exch' XVII, 4.

(*o*) See below § 18 of this Chapter.

he took prisoner his sister Eleanour also, frequently called the damsel of Britany. From John's insensibility and wickedness no mercy was to be expected even by his own relations: Arthur was sent to Falaise in Normandy, from whence he soon after disappeared, and reports of the worst kind were spread abroad against his unnatural uncle: the damsel of Britany, who after the death of her brother, was heiress of the crown, was sent to Bristow, and confined in the castle until her death. I extract the following account from Adams's MS Calendar, and another of good authority. "Eleanor of Brittany, who was sister to prince Arthur, and daughter to Geffry, earl of Brittaine, eldest brother to king John, having been kept prisoner in Bristol castle with an honorable usage for (*p*) 38 yeares, died there this year [1242]. Her ruine was, she was too nearly alyed to the crowne, and her brother Arthur laid claime thereunto. Her body was at first buried in the Priory of St James in this town, but was afterward taken up and buried in the nunnery of Ambresbury according to her dying request; to which monastery she gave the manor of Melksham. She was called the Damsell of Brittaine."

§ 10. The Chronicle of Thomas Wikes is as follows. "King John took prisoner his nephew Arthur, the son of his elder brother Geoffry, to whom according to the English laws the succession of the kingdom of England belonged; and as some think, he inhumanly ordered him to be killed, and his body to be thrown into the sea: and his sister Alienor, called *La Brett* he carried across with him into England," and had her kept most safely in the strongest castles, under the custody of four knights [*militum*], who were to watch her continually, lest she should conceive a child, who might afterward claim the kingdom of England by right of inheritance."

§ 11. "In (*q*) the year 1202 king John caused the assize of bread to be proclaimed [*acclamari*], according to the price of wheat." He had (*r*) 'regulated the price of wine by an edict in the first year of his'

(*p*) Adams's Chronicle says that she was confined for 40 years, and died in 1240; and so says Rapin. Matth' Westm' says that she died in 1241; and that she was most strictly kept in long continued imprisonment.

(*q*) Matth' Paris.

(*r*) Hoveden p' post' and Annal' Burton, and Walt' Coventr'.

'reign: wherein he had ordered, that a ton of wine of Poitou should not be sold for more than 20*sh*, nor wine of Anjou for more than 24*sh*, [nor any (*s*) wine of France for more than 25*sh*]; unless it were so good, that any person would give about two marks at the highest for it: and that Poitou wine should not be sold for more than 4*d* a gallon [*sextarium*], nor white wine for more than 6*d*: and he appointed 12 officers [*custodes*] in every burgh and city, who were to take care, that these regulations were observed.' But the absurdity of regulating prices by law was soon apparent in this case, as in all others; "the Statute was scarcely published, before it was annihilated; for the merchants were not able to bear this assize; and leave was therefore given them to sell white wine for 8*d*, and red wine for 6d: and thus the land was filled with drink and drinkers." The same subject is thus mentioned in one of our Calendars; it is old, but modernized by a late copyist, and I do not depend on it's accuracy. "Price of wine in Bristol by order of king John A' D' 1208. Rochelle wine 20*s* per ton. Anjou 24*s* per ton. Red port 4*d* per gallon. White wine 6*d* per gallon. Wheat 12*s* per quarter. Beans and oats 4*s* per quarter."

§ 12. In the year 8 John a tax (*t*) was laid on the town of Bristow in the King's presence. The sum was £469 6*s* 8*d*, which of course was paid by the townsmen.

§ 13. "In (*u*) the year 1209 king John issued a proclamation at Bristol, forbidding the taking all sorts of feathered game throughout England: the first edict of this kind ever made by any king." 'In the same (*v*) year 8 John, the burgesses of Merleberge [*Marlborough*] paid a fine of 10 marks to the King, that the burgesses of Bristol might not harrass them in any respect, contrary to the liberty granted to them by the King's charter.'

§ 14. About this time there must have been a great scarcity. "In"

(*s*) Added by Burton, and Walt' Coventr'.

(*t*) Tallagium factum coram Rege. Villata de Bristo reddit compotum de cccc et Lxix £ et vj *s*, et viij *d* de tallagio. Magn' Rot' 8 Johan." Apud Madox Exch' XVII, 4.

(*u*) Barrett p' 667. (*v*) Madox Exch' XI, 2.

"the (*w*) 5th year of the same King [John] writs [*brevia*] for supporting the poor were issued in this form. The King &c to the Maior and Sheriffes of London &c. We command you, that by the oversight of the Priory of the Holy Trinity and my liege men of the city of London, ye cause certain corn to be bought by our fee ferme, and thereof to make bread, so that four loaves shall be worth a penny; and that ye cause also certain meal to be made to make porridge thereof; and from the day of the receiving of these our letters, ye feed at London ccc poor people to the daie of the Assumption of our Lady, so that every one of them have daily one loaf, and so much pottage made of the said meal and herbs, while herbs may be found; and when they cannot be gotten, ye make so much pottage of beans or of peason, whereby they may be sustained, that they perish not. And it shall be allowed you at our Exchequer. Witness myself at Clarendon the second day of May. Under the same form was written to the sheriff of Wiltshier, - - - of Southampton, - - - of Devonshier, - - - to Hugh Nevill at Merleberg, - - - to the sheriff of Somersett and Dorcetshire, - - - to the sheriff of Gloc', that by the oversight of the Prior of Lantonay at Glocester and iiii liege men of the same town be fed iic poor people; and by the oversight of thabbot of St Augustine at Bristow cc poor people, by the term above written."

§ 15. In the (*x*) month of June A' D' 1210 the King led an army into Ireland. To defray the expences of this armament, 'he (*y*) imprisoned all the Jews in England, and plundered them of their goods to the amount of 66 thousand marks.' 'Persons (*z*) of this nation of both sexes, were seized all over England, and cruelly treated, till they would ransom themselves according to the King's pleasure. Among them a Jew of Bristow, although cruelly tormented, refusing to ransom himself, the King ordered, that his tormentors should every day strike out [*excuterent*] one of his cheek teeth, till he would pay down 10,000 marks. Accordingly they struck out seven in as many days; but on the eighth day he relented; and so with the loss of seven teeth, he parted with the 10,000 marks to save the rest.'

(*w*) Ex Turre Londinensi apud Lel' Coll' 6, 15. (*x*) Annal' Margan.

(*y*) Annal' Waverl' p' 172. LXVI Marcarum. [*lege* LXVI MMarcarum]. Madox Exch' VII, 1, p' 223. (*z*) Matth' Paris p' 229.

§ 16. The tyranny exercised by the Kings of that age over the Jews was miserably cruel; notwithstanding which their numbers multiplied exceedingly all over England, and they were common in many small towns, where at present not one is to be found. I copy some few circumstances from (*a*) Prynne. 'A heavy tax was imposed on them 22 Hen' III; to avoid which some attempted to flee the land: whereupon the following Order was issued. "*Mandatum est &c* (*b*) Order is hereby given to the Constable of Bristol, that if Lumbard and Isaac Jews of Bristol, who are taken and imprisoned at Bristol, because they attempted to escape out of the King's land, shall give him security that they will remain in the King's land and in the middle of next Lent will pay their share of the King's tallage, he may then deliver them out of prison. Witness the King at Westminster 5 March." In 2 Hen' III writs (*c*) were issued to many sheriffs &c ordering them to protect the Jews in their persons and property, and particularly that they should not suffer them to be brought before any court ecclesiastical or civil, but only before the Judges appointed for that purpose, as in the time of king John. Writs of this kind were sent to the sheriff of Hereford, of Worcester, to the constable of Bristol for the Jews of Bristol, to the sheriff and constable of Gloucester for the Jews of Glocester &c.

§ 17. Our Kings kept these miserable men under their own peculiar jurisdiction, and even as their own private property, that they might more easily strip them of their wealth. 'In the (*d*) 15 John the King being then at Bristol, as it seems, laid a heavy tax on the Jews; which some Jews at Southampton refusing or delaying to pay, a writ was issued to the sheriff of Southampton, ordering him without delay to send those Jews to the castle of Bristol, and deliver them to the constable.' These Jews, says Prynne, "no doubt were ordered thus to be sent to Bristol Castle, to meet with such a tooth-drawer, as one of them there found some years before." In (*e*) the 25 or 27 Hen' III, a great tax (*f*) was laid on the Jews: the persons appointed to levy it in Bristol were

(*a*) A short Demurrer to the Jewes &c, by William Prynne 1656. (*b*) Prynne 2, p' 26.

(*c*) Prynne 2, p' 17. (*d*) Prynne's Demurrer 2, p' 15.

(*e*) Prynne's Demurrer 2, p' 28 and 29. (*f*) Prynne 2, p' 28 and 29.

Lumbard Bonefi de Bristol, Salom de Ivelcester, Isaac fil' Jacob, Mile le Eveske, Isaac de Bath. The Jews were at this time obliged to keep all the deeds, mortgages, bonds and other papers relating to their property, in certain common chests placed in each town, where they were permitted to dwell; the keys of which chests they were not permitted to keep, but they were deposited in the hands of persons appointed by the King. 'In the 4 Edw' I the (*g*) Abbat of St Augustine, and Bartholomew le Jeovene, constable of the Castle, were appointed to open the chests containing the deeds belonging to the Jews of Bristol.' Notwithstanding these continual oppressions, the Jews continued in England and were rich; until, after several statutes to restrain their usurious practices, they were finally banished out of the kingdom A' D' 1290.

§ 18. The King raised money from the towns likewise for the purpose of his Irish expedition. "The burgesses (*h*) of Glocester account for 500 marks: those of Bristol for 1000 marks: the men of Radeclive for 1000 marks: of which, 237£ 6*s* and 8*d* was put into the Treasury; and 225 marks were paid to Engelard de Cigoni to be put into the King's Treasury at Bristow. The men of the Templars of Radeclive account for 500 marks." The above-mentioned Engelard de Cygoini, who (*i*) was sheriff of Glocester and King's justiciary, was the King's treasurer here.' Now if it were a proof of the importance of Winchester, as Madox (*k*) says that it was, that in the time of Hen' II and Edw' II, the King's treasure, or part of it, was often kept there, and other things of value belonging to the Exchequer;' the royal treasury at Bristol just mentioned must be an equal proof of the political importance of our town in that age.

(*g*) Prynne 2, p' 73.

(*h*) Madox Exch' XV, 10, p' 606. Part of this passage being somewhat obscure, I subjoin the Original. "Auxilium villarum ad passagium Yberniæ. Burgenses Glocestriæ reddunt compotum de D marcis, de eodem [auxilio]. Homines de Bristou reddunt compotum de M marcis de eodem. Homines de Radeclive reddunt compotum de M marcis de eodem: in Thesauro cc et xxxvij £, et vj*s*, et viij*d*: et Engelardo de Cigoni ce et xxv marcas, ad ponendum in Thesauro Regis apud Bristou. Homines Templariorum de Radeclive reddunt compotum de D marcis de eodem. Magn' Rot' 12 Johan."

(*i*) Madox Exch' XXIII p' 146, and Index *Cigoinie*; and see below § 23 of this Chapter.

(*k*) Firma Burgi 1, 7.

§ 19. From contributing to these supplies no class of the King's subjects was exempted. He (*l*) raised 100,000£ from the clergy, and large sums from the several religious Orders. He was particularly enraged with the monks of the Cistercian order. "Before (*m*) he crossed over into Ireland, he had assembled them and demanded an aid toward carrying on the war: and because they refused to grant him money at his pleasure contrary to the liberty of their order, he harrassed them excessively, and allowing them a very short space of time for payment, he violently extorted very much money from all their houses, so that the collection amounted to the sum of 27,000 marks, or upwards. Two of the houses of that order were however exempted from the exaction; namely Margam in Wales, because the King with his army going to Ireland that year and returning thence, had been there entertained; and Beaulieu in England, because it was of the King's own foundation."

§ 20. While he was in Ireland, he had considerable success. "Hugh (*n*) de Lacy, earl of Ulster, was driven into banishment; and William de Brensa, or Braosâ, the younger, was taken prisoner with his wife and many children, and his mother Matilda de St Walcric. They were first carried to Bristol, guarded very strictly; and afterward to the castle of Windleshore [Windsor], and a ransom of 50,000 marks set upon them. William de Brensa the elder was suffered to be at liberty for the purpose of raising the money; whereupon he fled into France, and king John caused his wife and son to be starved to death in prison; his son in law Walter de Lacy he drove into banishment, and confiscated all the goods of these proscribed Nobles, which were considerable in England, Wales and Ireland."

§ 21. Some further particulars of this affair may be seen in the King's (*o*) letters patent sealed by himself and his Nobles. The original is well worth perusal, as it gives a lively picture of the turbulence of the

(*l*) Matth' Paris p' 230. (*m*) Annal' Margan. (*n*) Ibidem.

(*o*) Liber Niger Scacc' p' 377. The beginning is *H. Dei gratia*, but Dugdale, who has copied this story in Baron' I p' 416, says it ought to be *J* for *Johannes*; of which there can be no doubt.

times; the following is an abstract. 'William de Braosa having refused to pay his rents to the King, and being prosecuted for the same, levied open war against him in Wales. Being overpowered he retired into Ireland, where he found adherents, and continued in open rebellion. The King levying an army went into Ireland: upon which William de B' returned into Wales, but his wife Matildis de Hay and his family continued the war. The King took Carrickfergus; and then Matildis and most of the family were delivered up to him, and the King brought them with him to England and imprisoned them in Bristol, until she should pay the fine, which she had promised; which was at first 40,000 marks. She failed in her first payment, and then the King agreed a second time for 50,000, stipulating that each time she failed, he should demand 10,000 more.' But she was never able to make good her payment, and the cruel tyrant caused her to be starved to death with her son (*p*) William at Windleshores. Sir Robert Atkyns says that she was starved by king John in Corfe castle, which is probably an error of his memory.

§ 22. King John in returning from Ireland (*q*) landed in England Aug' 30, 1210; although Stowe says that he returned from Ireland with great triumph in Sept' 1210. He must have been in Bristol at the festival of All-saints a' r' 12 [that is, Nov' 1, 1210], because on that day a general tallage was here (*r*) assessed on all the Jews throughout England; and for several years afterward the arrears of that assesment were paid by various Jews, whose names are mentioned in the Records. It was about this time probably, when the Jew was daily tortured, as mentioned above, the King himself being here. Other reasons there are for supposing, that John sometimes visited Bristol, the possession of his early youth. There was until lately a house between Back-street and Baldwin's street, called by the concurrent tradition of all the neighbourhood *king John's house*. It is at present part of a vast tobacco ware-

(*p*) See Matth' Westm' and Matth' Paris A' D' 1210. See also Kennet's Parochial Antiquities, p' 122; and Giraldus Camb' Vol' 1, pp' 27, 44, 49, 52, 100, and Coxe's Monmouthshire, 1, p' 174.

(*q*) Tertio Kal' Sept'. *Matth' Paris.*

(*r*) Madox Exch' VII, 1.

house, the entrance of which warehouse is in Back-street; something more will be said of it in another (*s*) place. It has been (*t*) already observed that the situation was at that time open and pleasant; and John might have preferred it to the thick and dark towers of the castle. There is another place in this neighbourhood traditionally connected with k' John. About a mile from the city in the manor of Barton-regis, on the left hand side of the road as you go toward Upper-easton, is a gate-way in a wall: the tradition is, that it led to a house belonging to k' John; and it is by no means improbable, that he might occasionally have used such a house, when hunting in the forest of Kingswood.

§ 23. 'In the 12*th* year of his reign [that is A' D' 1210] king John (*u*) granted the ferm of Bristow to Engelard de Cygoini for 145£' per ann': Richard Burgess accounted for him.' This Richard appears elsewhere as agent or attorney of Engelard de Cigoini, who perhaps lay under some legal or other disability, which prevented him from acting in his own name. He fermed 'Glocestershire (*v*) also; and in this case too, the same Richard Burgess acted for him.' Such an increase in the rent of Bristow beyond what was paid to the Conqueror (*w*) marks a considerable degree of improvement. 'The issue or profits of towns in (*x*) that age consisted of divers things according to the situation and productions of the town; as in assized rents, in pleas, perquisites, custom of goods, fairs, markets, stallage, aldermanries, tolls, wharfage &c &c' I copy one example. 'In the (*y*) 25 Edw' III the ferm of the town of Oxford was 40£, and it consisted of the following profits; half the profit arising from the castle-mill; a certain custom [*custuma*] given for the stalls of fishmongers, butchers, cooks, corbels [*corbellorum*], bakers, and from the windows of regraters of bread, and from the fines for breaking the assize of bread and beer [which are said to have

(*s*) Vide Chapt' XII, 90. (*t*) Chapt' VI, 20.

(*u*) "Engelardus de Cygoini (Ricardus Burgensis pro eo) reddit compotum de c et xlv£ de firmâ de Bristo. Magn' Rot' 12 Johan." Apud Madox Exch' X, p' 333.

(*v*) "Engelardus de Ciconiaco (Ricardus Burgis, ut custos, pro eo) reddit compotum de firma comitatus. Magn' Rot' 12 John." Apud Madox Exch' XXIII, 2.

(*w*) See above Chapt' IV, § 51. (*x*) Madox Firma B' p' 251.

(*y*) From Madox Firma Burgi p' 262.

amounted to 100*s* per ann'], and from the rent of houses built by the commonalty, and from toll for all manner of things, which came to the said town to be sold, and from one custom, which is called *Thoruh tol*, and from the perquisites of courts.' From such sources as these the kings of England collected a revenue from their town of Bristow.

§ 24. When a town was kept in the King's own hand, he appointed a Custos or Præpositus, with a salary, who collected these dues from each person and each transaction separately, and accounted to the King: but the usual mode was to let the profits to ferm at a fixed rent, sometimes to one or two persons, whether townsmen or strangers, and sometimes to the corporate body of the townsmen: and then the fermer paid his rent to the King, and collected as much as he could from the town. Thus the town of 'Dunwich (*z*) was fermed to the townsmen in 6 &c Rich' I for 120£, and one mark and 1000 of herrings. In 10 John their ferm was 80£ and a mark. The same year the ferm of Norwich was 108£ blanc.' It will appear, that Bristol was usually farmed in this manner.

§ 25. When king John kept possession of the lordship of Bristow, as related above, he kept also the private property belonging to the town: the following grant is proof of it, dated in the penultimate year of his reign, which gives certain services, lands and houses in Bristol to the Abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire which had been founded by himself.

§ 26. "Johannes Dei gratiâ, Rex Angl' Dūs Hibernie, Dux Normann', Aquitan', Comes Andeg'; Archiepis, Ep'is Abb'ibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Præpositis & omnibus Ballivis & fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos intuitu dei & pro salute anime nostre & antecessorum & successorum nostrorum, dedisse, concessisse & hac carta nostra confirmasse Abbatie Belli Loci Regis & monach' ibidem deo servientibus servicium Rogeri de Kyvilly, burgensis de Bristoll' & heredum suorum, cum omnibus terris [et] tenementis suis, que de nobis tenet in Bristoll' & cum redditu octo sol', quos nobis reddere consuevit de predictis tenementis, antequam servicium suum dicte abbatie & monachis concederemus: Habendum & tenendum in liberam, puram & perpetuam elemosinam, retento nobis & heredibus nostris tallagio ejusdem Rogeri & heredum suorum ultra summam quadraginta sol', cum tallagium fecerimus in civitate Bristoll', si ultra summam quadraginta sol' talliari possint."

(*z*) Madox Firma Burgi 11, 1

" Quare volumus & firmiter precipimus, quòd predicta Abbatia Belli Loci & monachi ibidem deo servientes habeant & teneant in perpetuum servicium predicti Rogeri et heredum suorum cum omnibus terris et tenementis que de nobis tenet in Bristoll', bene & in pace, libere, quiete & integre cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, sicut predictum est. Testibus Dominis W. Lond. P. W----n'. J. Bathon' & Glaston' Ep'is. Will'o de Kantilup'. Simone de Kuna [*perhaps* Kima]. Thoma de Erdinton'. Joh'e Marisc'. Thom' de Muleton'. Data per manum Magistri Ric' de Marisc' Cancellar' n'ri apud Geldeford, decimo septimo die Jan', anno regni n'ri sexto decimo."

§ 27. This charter is in the possession of Edward Michell Esq. of Chippenham, and is beautifully written. The seal is nearly four inches in diameter, appended by threads. On one side is the King sitting, having a sword in his right hand, and in his left a ball with a plant issuing from it, surmounted by a cross: the inscription + IOHAN - - - - - - - - MINVS. HIBERNIE. On the other side the King is on horseback with a sword in his right hand: his shield seems to have the three lions or leopards. The inscription is + IOHS. DUX - - - ORMAN - - - - - VIE.

§ 28. The cruelty of this tyrant was at last intolerable; every year gave proofs of it. We read in Matth' Westm' that "A' D' 1212 one Geoffry de Norwich, suspected of being engaged in a plot against him, was first imprisoned at Nottingham, and then carried to Bristol, and there miserably put to death by a newly invented kind of punishment. In 1208, like Herod of old, he caused a great number of innocent boys, who were kept as hostages, to be hanged on a gallows at Nottingham: so that both English and foreigners, wishing to be delivered from the intolerable yoke of such a tyrant, began to consider to what prince they could have recourse for deliverance." By their invitation Lewis son of the king of France, landed in England with an army, and being joined by most of the barons, they waged open war against the King. At that time when great part of England was possessed by his enemies, that is, in 1216, the last of his reign, (*a*) the King took care to furnish the castles of Wallingford, Corfe, Wareham, Bristol, Devizes, &c with garrisons and provisions.

§ 29. After a most wicked and unfortunate reign, begun in usur-

(*a*) Matth' Paris pp' 282, 283.

pation and carried on with extreme tyranny and cruelty, king John, lord of Bristow, "died (*b*) in Newark castle in the night of Oct' 18-19, in great bitterness of soul, cursing all his Barons, deserted by every person, and destitute of every thing. Having on many accounts rendered himself odious, by the death of his nephew Arthur, his incontinence in bursting asunder his marriage bond, his tyranny, the tribute whereby he fettered the kingdom of England with perpetual slavery, and the war which his misconduct provoked, for these reasons he scarcely deserves to be lamented by any one. He was buried by his own direction in the church of Worcester under the protection of St Wolstan."

(*b*) Matth' Westm'.

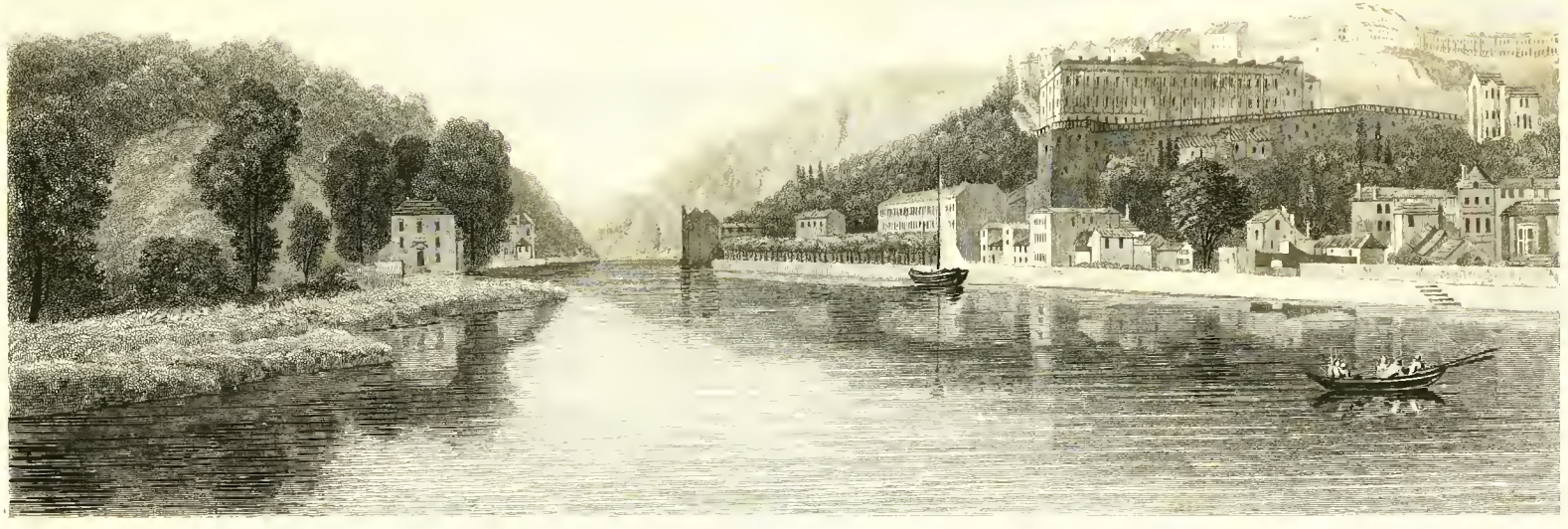
END OF CHAPTER XI,

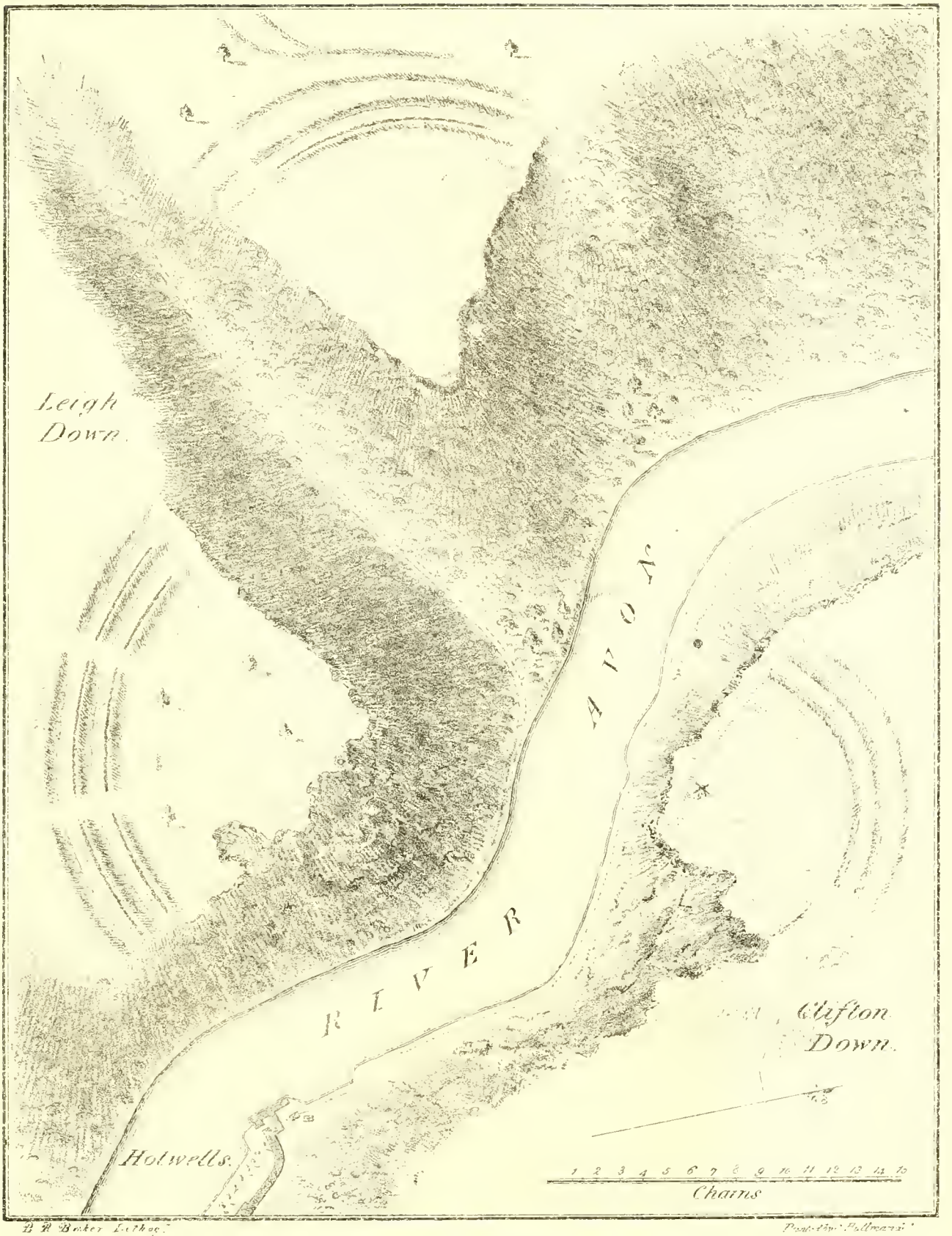
AND OF

VOL. I.

J. M. Gutch, Printer, 15, Small-street, Bristol.

Australes nationes BRITANNIÆ *sub imperio* ROMANO.





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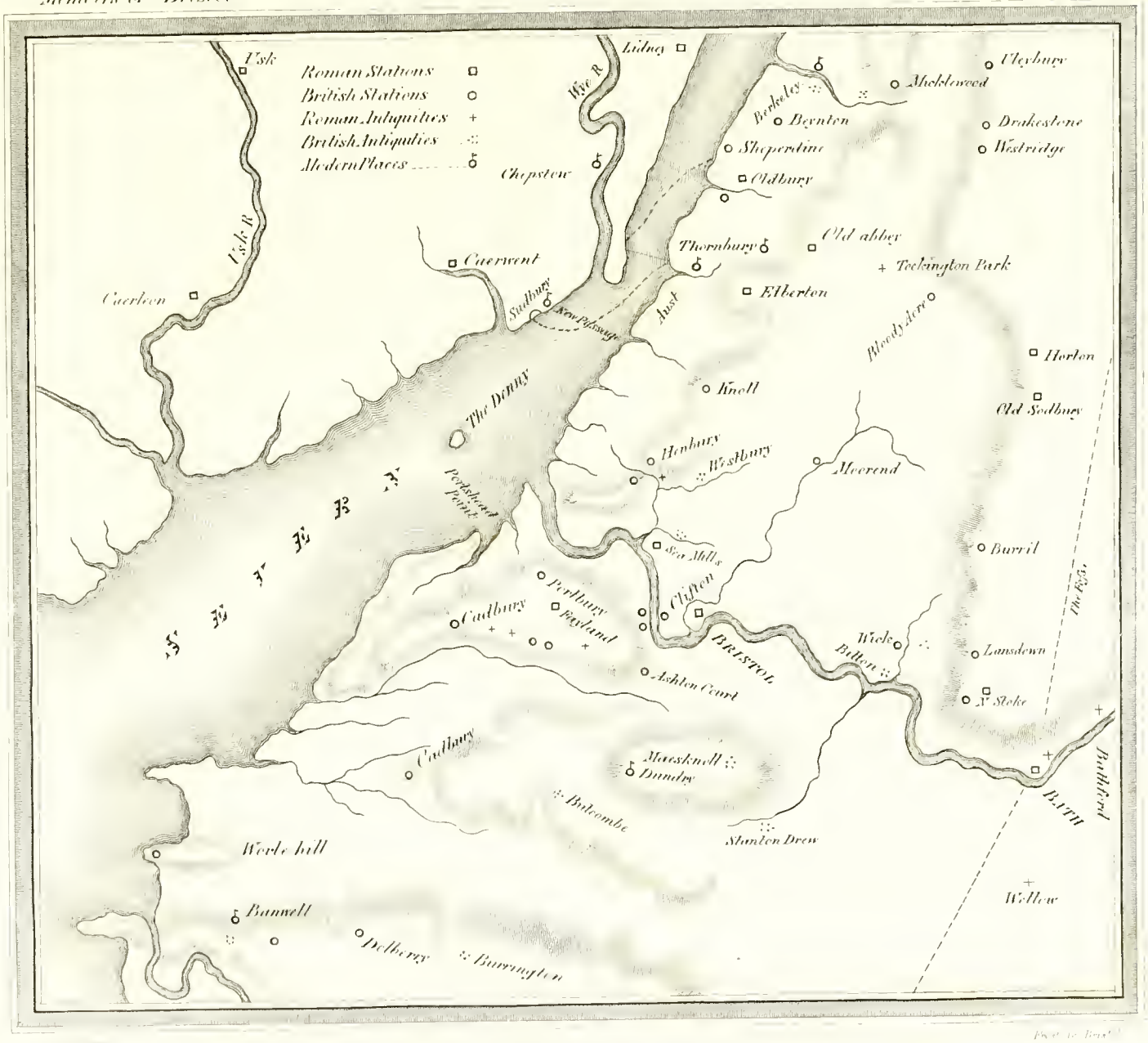
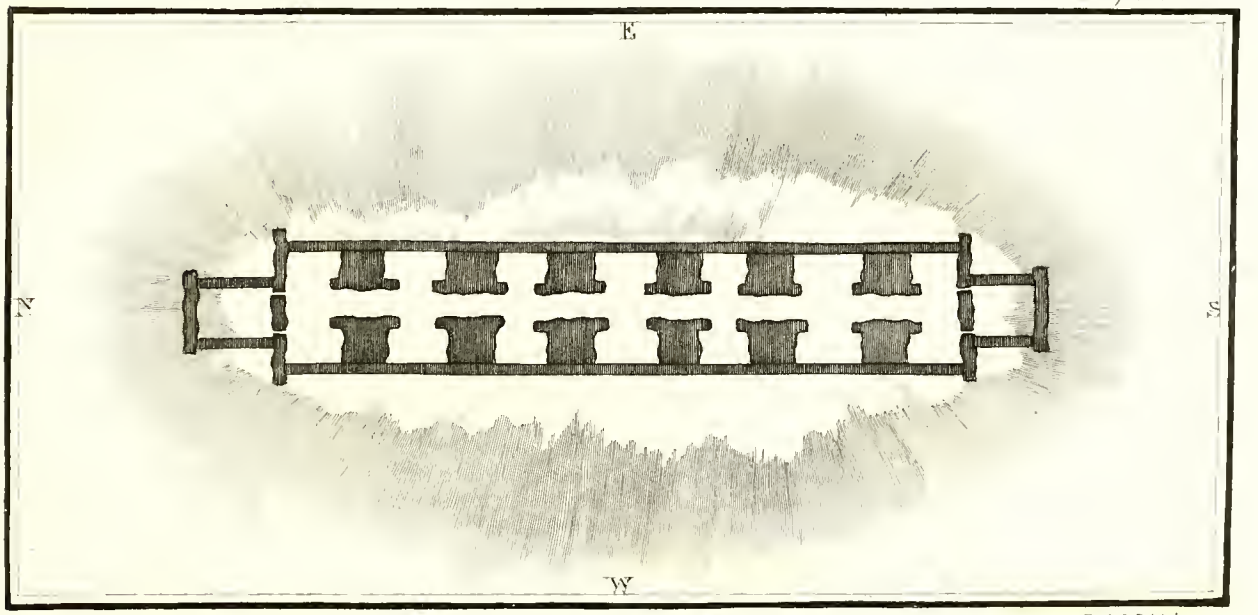
CAMPS ON THE RIVER AVON.



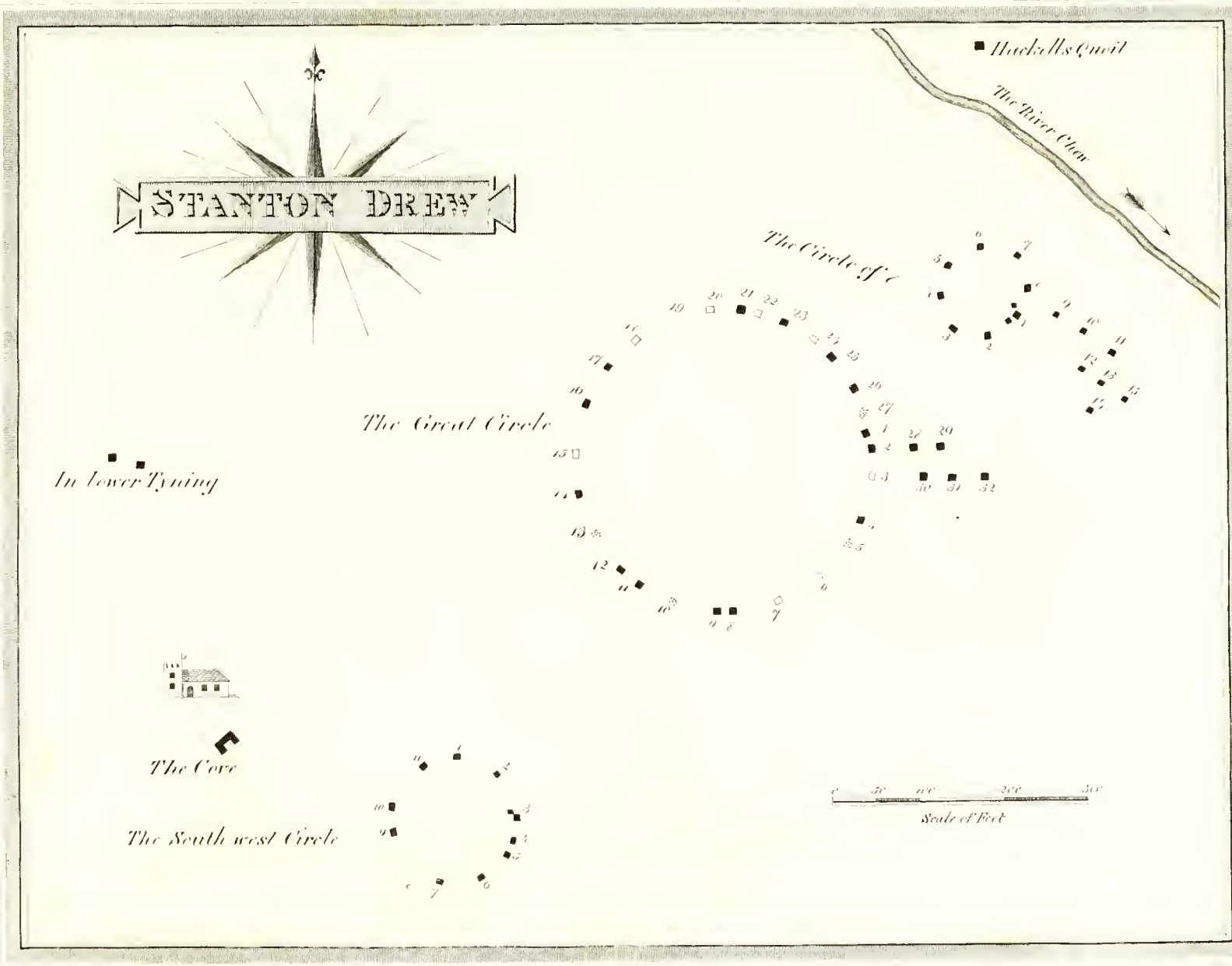
MAP of the BRITISH & ROMAN STATIONS &c. near BRISTOL.

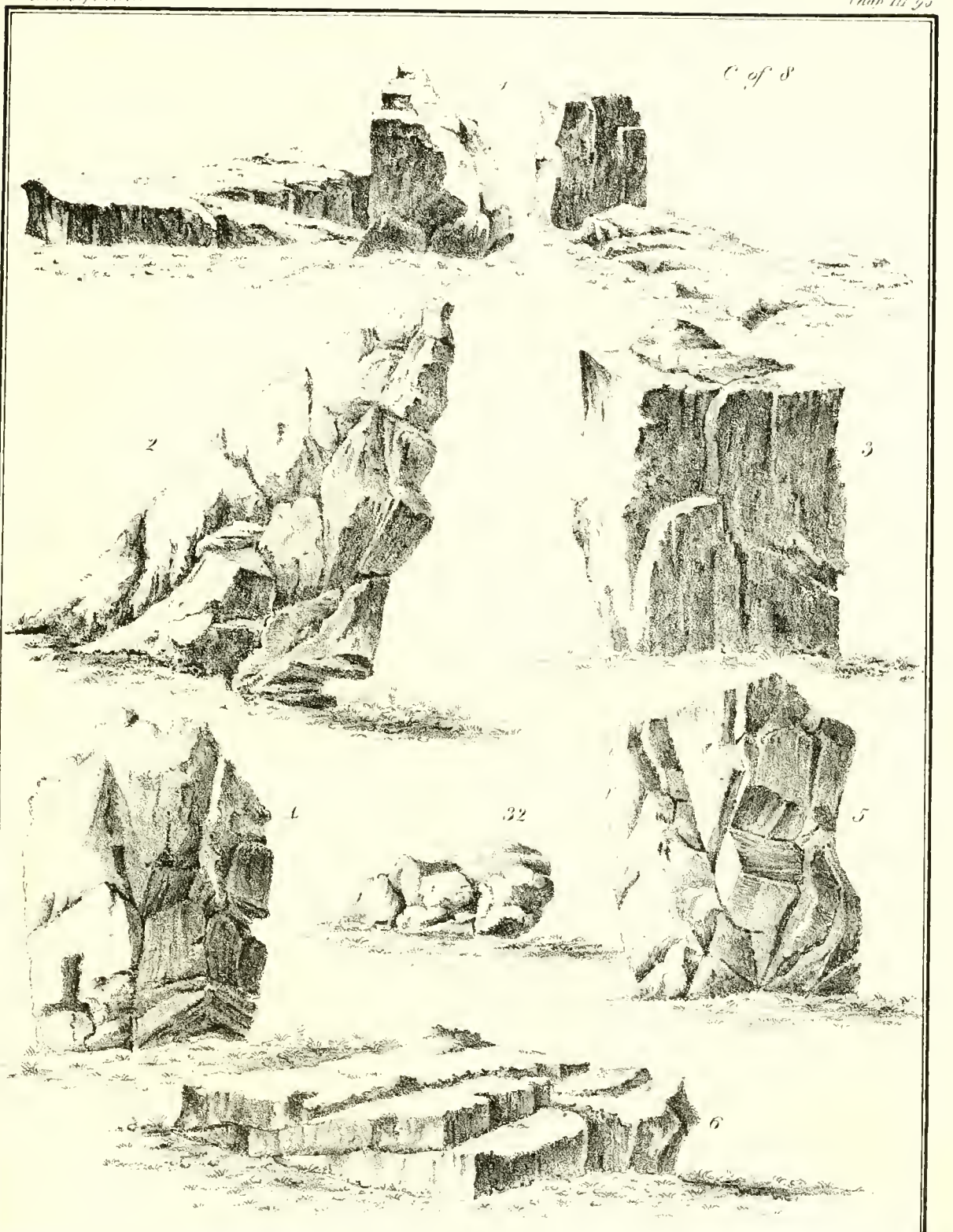
MAES KNOLL *with the British Station adjoining.*



S.S delin. Frost & Bristol.

FAIRIES TOOTE *at Butcombe.*


STANTON DREW
Hackells Quoit
The River Chew
The Circle of C
The Great Circle
In lower Tyning
The Cove
The South west Circle
Scale of Feet



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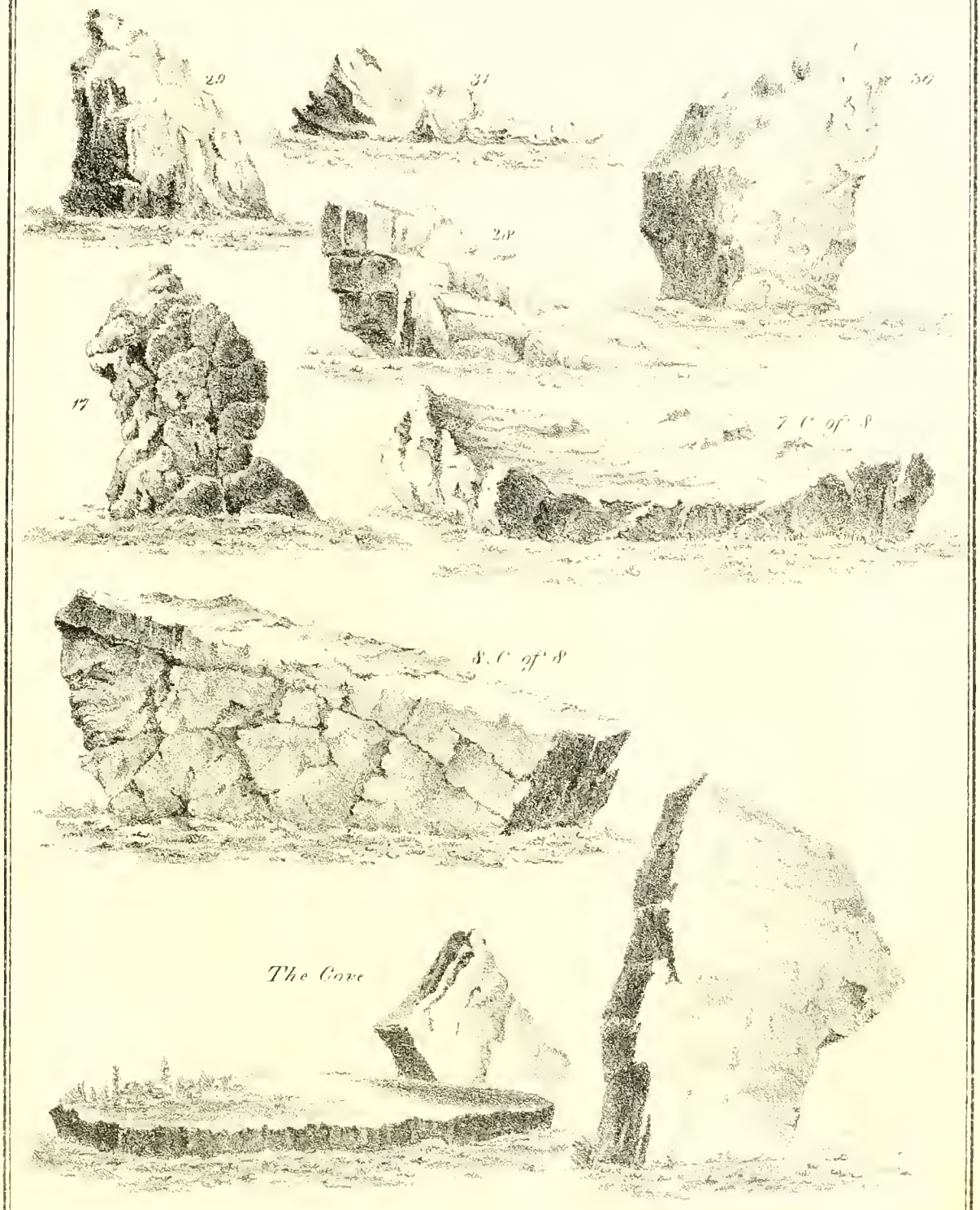
VIEW OF STONES AT STANTON DREW



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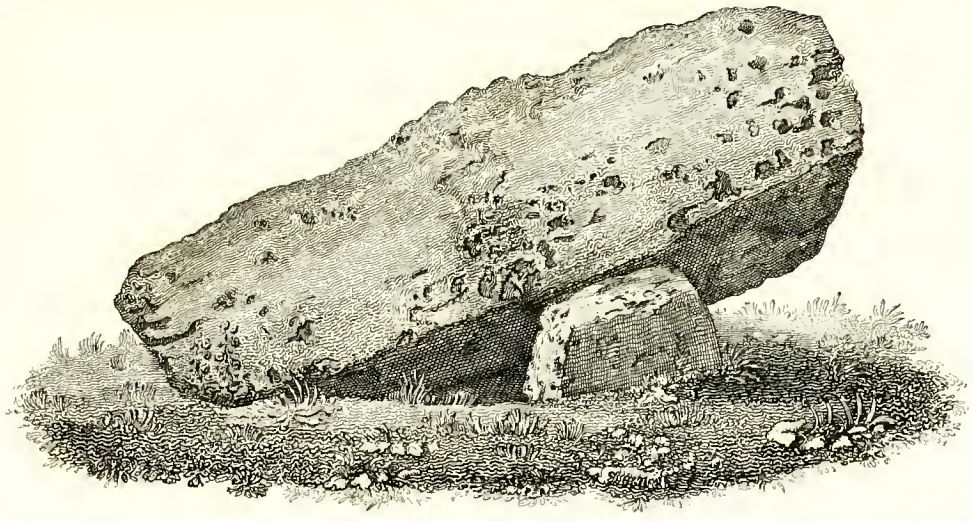
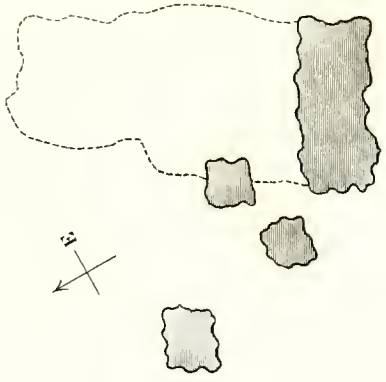
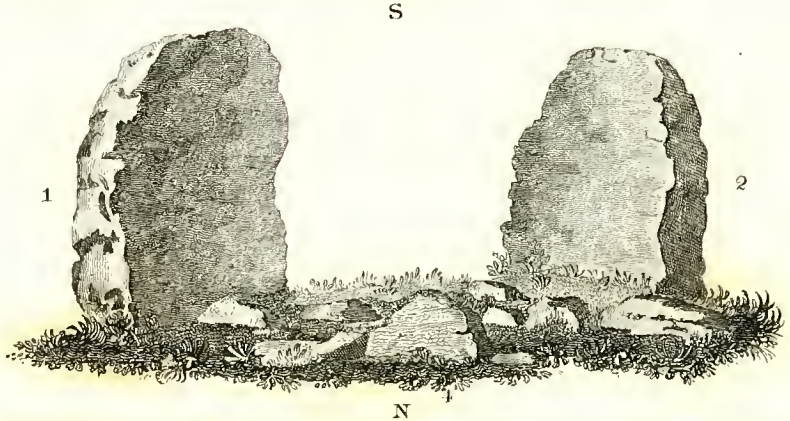
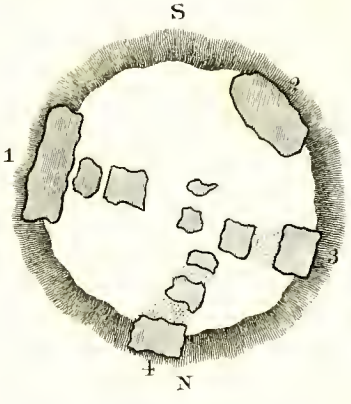




Stone at STOKE BISHOP.

Chap.t I. 107.

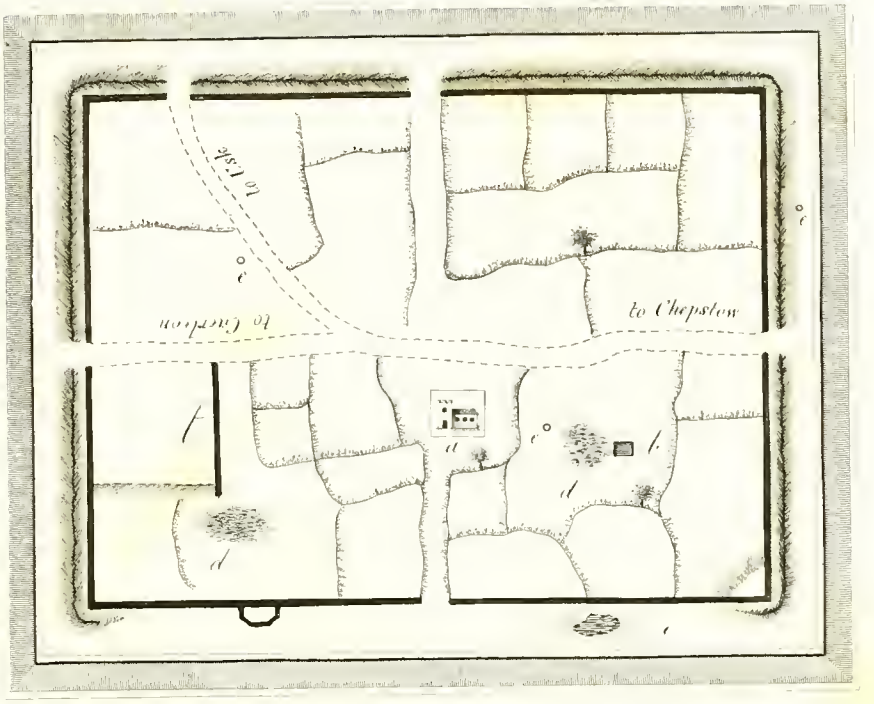




Lander fc. Bristol

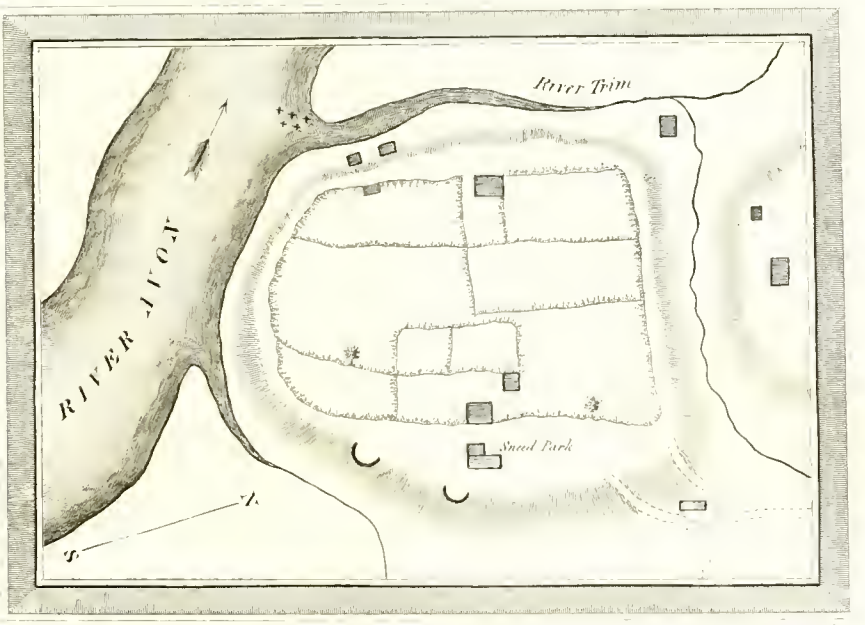
Stones at WICK.

Chap.t I. 106.



CAERWENT *the ancient* VENTA SILURUM

Chap. II. 52.



The Roman Station ABONA *at* SEA MILLS

Frost sc. Bristol

BRISTOW *during the* SAXON *period, & a little after.*

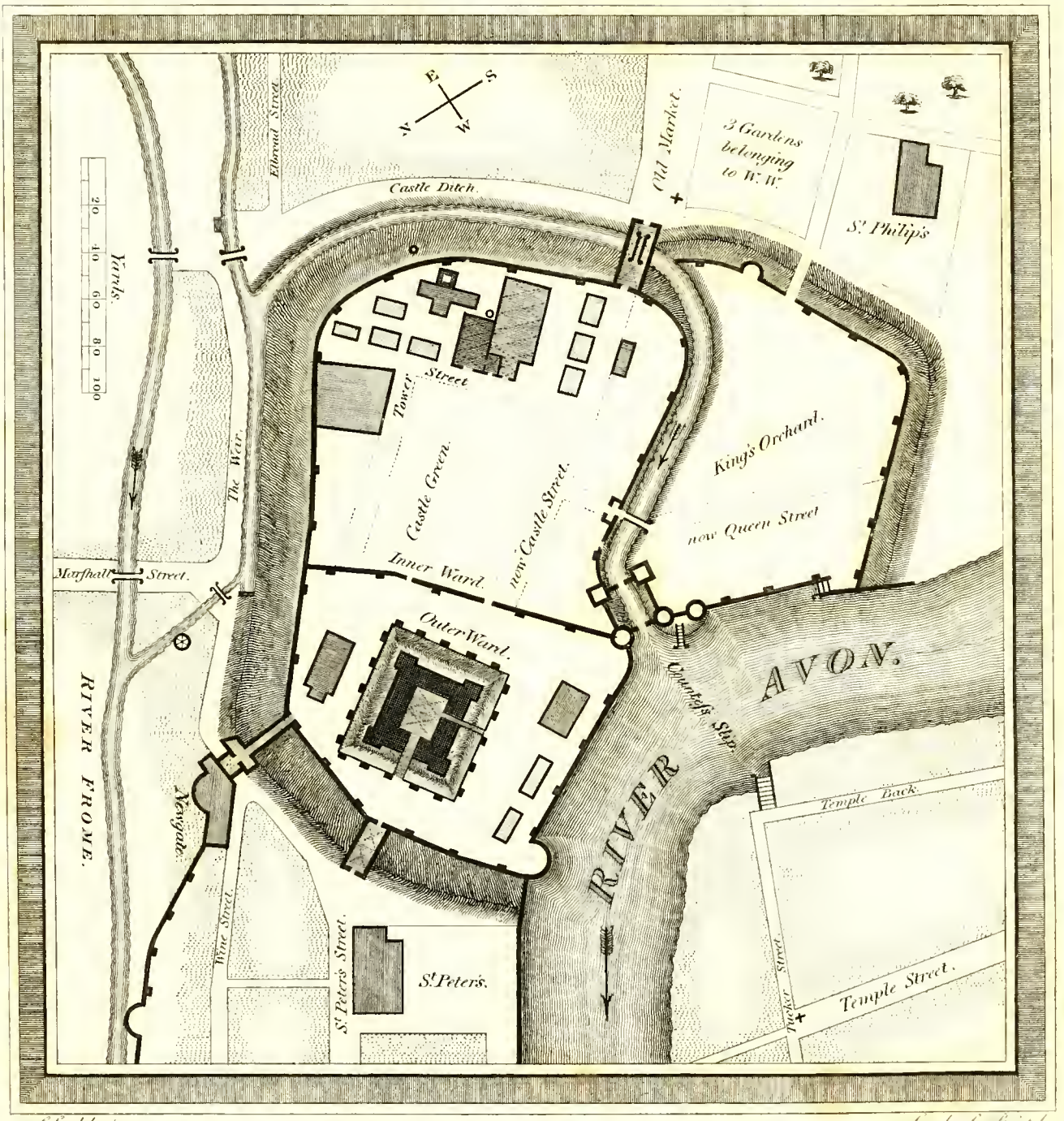
porta &
Johis
porta
nova
alta
Crux
Porta. S Leonardi
Porta S Michi

Bristollia

Drawn by H.O. Neil

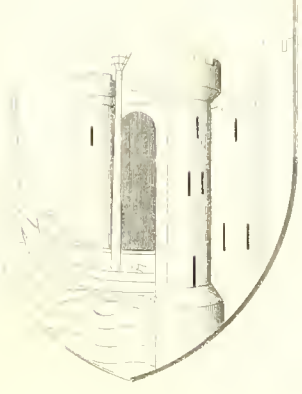
Engraved by [illegible]

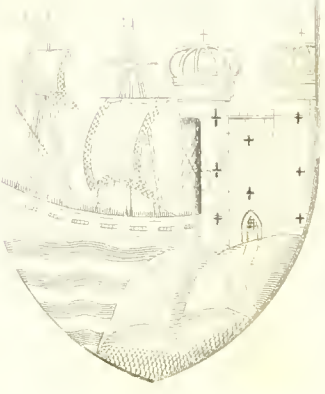
Bristol Published Aug 1 1822 by J. M. Gutch

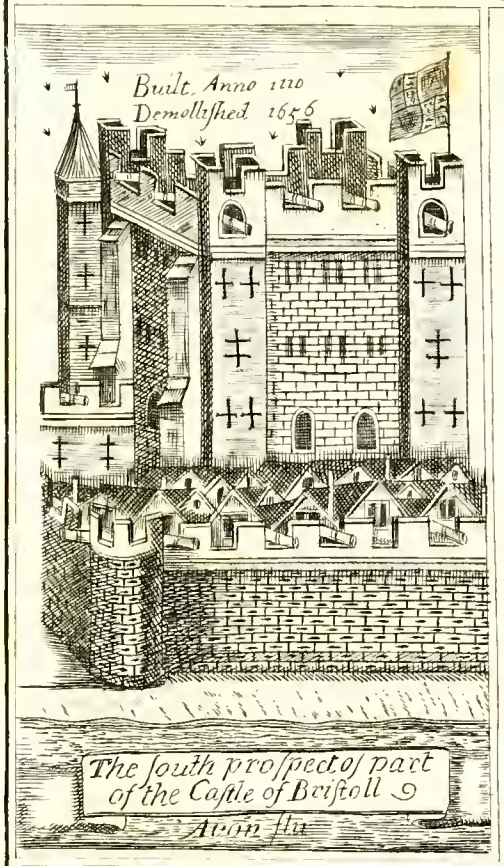


J. Sedelon[illegible] Lander fc. Bristol.

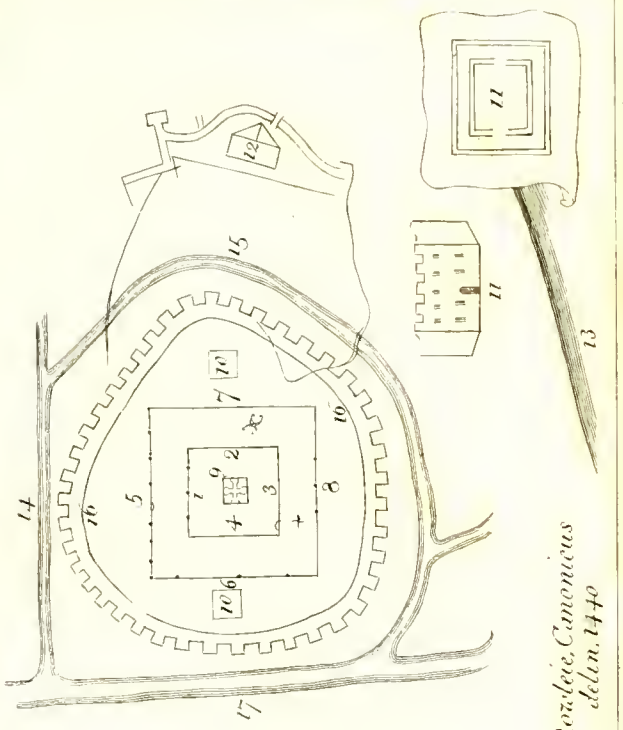
ICHNOGRAPHY of the ancient CASTLE of BRISTOW.

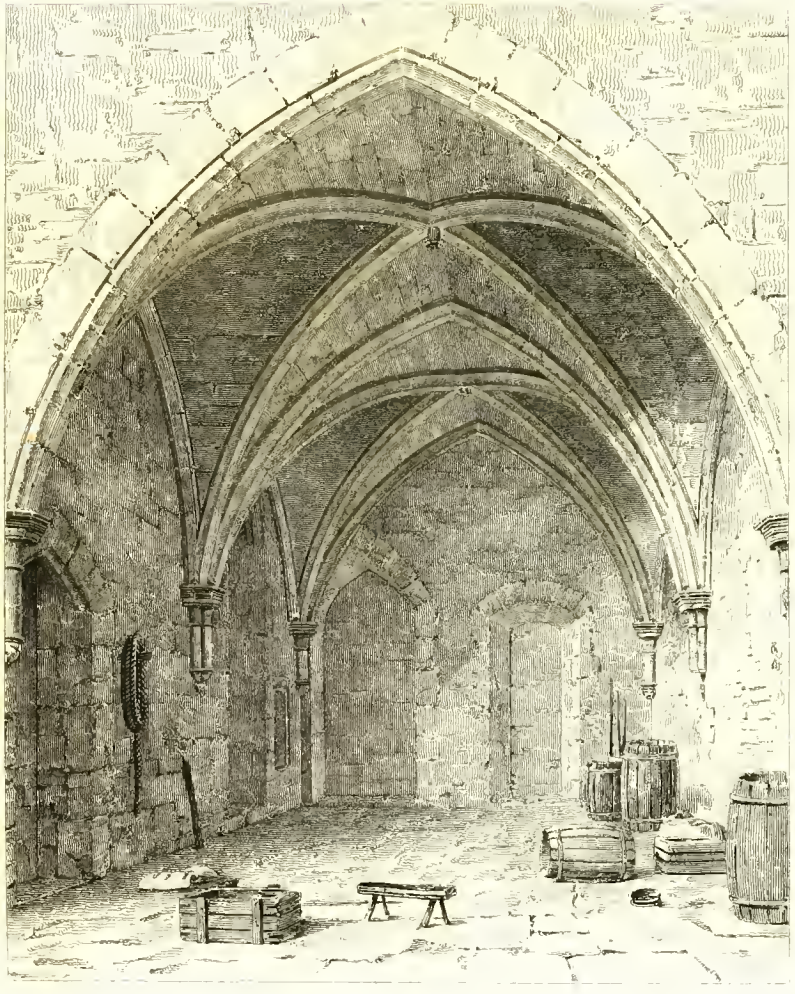






The south prospect of part of the Castle of Bristoll & Avon Ha

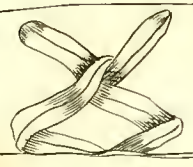




In dorso

Carta Regis Henrici

H. Rex Angl' Dux Norm' & Aquit' & Com' And' Arnegis. Epis. Abbatib. Comitib' Baron'. Justic'. Vicecom'. Ministris & Omnib' fidelib' suis. Franc. & Anglis. & Hibniensib' tote' tre sue. salt' Sciatis me dedisse & concessisse. & psenti Carta confirmasse hominib' meis de Bristowa Gutacatē meā de Kuelmt. ad inhabitandā. Quare uolo & firmiter pcipio ut ipsi eam inhabitent & teneant illā de me & de hered' meis. bn & in pace libe & quiete. integre & plenarie & honorifice. cū oīb' libertatib' & libis consuetudinib' qs homines de Bristowa hīnt apd Bristowā. & p tota tra mea Teste Willo de Brdosa. Regin' de Cyrencestr hugone de Gundevilla Willo filio Aldel. Rand de Glanuilla. Hug' de Creissy. Regin' de Kaineby. apd Druedna.



Ernest Sc. Bristol